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OF

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AND

Those published by H. Valesius, I. Rhodomannus, and F. Ursinus.

TRANSLATED BY

G. BOOTH, ESQ.

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TO THE READER.

SO many are the encomiums of history, both by ancient and modern authors, that little or nothing can be further added to what is already extant upon that subject; and therefore I shall wave troubling myself or the reader with discourses of that kind, but leave every judicious person to his own experience, which is the best judge, and will give the surest testimony to the truth of these commendations. He that rests barely on the matter of fact related in history, pleases his fancy for a moment while he is reading, but never improves his judgment to make it useful in conversation, or in the management of public affairs. He gains no more than children by hearing a winter tale, and strange stories of this brave hero, and that mighty giant, who did wonders in the land of Utopia. The profitable reader is he that not only seeks to please his fancy, but makes use of his reason in observing chiefly the wonderful providence of God, in ruling and governing the world in all ages to this day; his setting up and pulling down of states, kingdoms, and empires, in certain periods of time; his justice in punishing wickedness, and therein the confirmation of his truth and holiness; to see and consider his wisdom, in ordering and disposing of one event for the effecting of his purpose in another. To observe the causes, progress, and end of this or that accident, this war, that revolution, this success, and that miserable disaster, are the main and chief ends and designs of reading of history; whereby the understanding and memory are not only furnished with notions of things done, and long since past, but the judgment is improved with that moral prudence (and sometimes religious too) as to be careful to avoid the rocks others have before split upon; and to imitate the virtue and honourable actions of others (at least for the sake of reputation that attends upon them in this world). Here may be found examples which may justly put Christians to the blush, who come not up to the moral virtues of poor heathens heretofore famous (upon

that account) in the ages wherein they lived; as Themistocles for his faithfulness to his country, Aristides for his justice, Scipio for his chastity, Cato for his sobriety, and several others for eminent and virtuous qualifications. The present author, and his history, is well known among the learned to be a treasury of ancient history. Amongst others, Henry Stephen, in his tract of Diodorus, gives him this honourable encomium: *Quantum solis lumen inter stellas, tantum inter omnes, quotquot ad nostra tempora pervenerunt, historicos (si utilitas potius, quam voluptatis aurium habenda est ratio) noster hic Diodorus eminere dici potest.* And Justin Martyr, and some others, call him the most famous author of all the Greek Historians. Amongst other excellencies of this author, he is peculiarly observable to have a regard and respect to the providence of God in the affairs of the world; and is the only ancient author that takes notice in the course of his history of the times wherein the most famous historians, philosophers, and poets flourished. Our author himself lived about three-score years before our Saviour's birth, in the time of Julius Cæsar, and the reign of Augustus, and wrote a general history from the beginning of the world to his own time, in forty books, called the Historical Library, of which only fifteen are extant, the rest lost by the injury of time. The five first are properly the mythological part of the history, more uncertain, and full of Egyptian and Grecian fables; but very useful for the understanding of ancient authors, and the knowledge of the Assyrian monarchy. They give an account of the affairs of the world from the beginning of time (known to the heathens) to the Trojan war exclusively: the five next in order are perished, which is the reason the eleventh book immediately follows, which begins with the expedition of Xerxes into Greece, and from thence the history is continued in five books to the beginning of the reign of Philip King of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great; and from the reign of Philip, in five more, to the expedition of Seleucus Nicanor into Cappadocia, containing an account of things done for the space of one hundred and seventy-nine years.

The books are divided into chapters, for the ease of the reader, who may thereby the better pause and breath when he thinks fit; and to supply a chronological table in the ten last books, the distinction

of times is observed in the notes, both by the olympiads and the Christian era; for the relations in the first five books were long before the olympiads began, and the history is so ancient, that the certain times of persons and things there related are, for the most part, unknown or very uncertain.

To the present translation is added that of the excerpts or fragments of some of those books of Diodorus Siculus that are lost, collected by Photius in his Bibliotheca, and by others, annexed at the end of the edition of Diodorus published by Rhodomannus. You have here likewise a further addition of the excerpts of Valesius, published by him in the year of our Lord 1634.

After the Fragments, there is a Supplement taken out of Quintus Curtius and Arrianus, to fill up a great chasm in Diodorus, (book seventeenth), where that part of his history is lost. As those authors had their materials from him, (as is not doubted among the learned), so it is but a piece of common gratitude to help him over the ditch by a staff made out of his own pile. That the matter contained in this supplement is that which is wanting in Diodorus, is apparent not only from some part of the broken history that is there, but from the index immediately before the seventeenth book in Rhodomannus's edition, where the heads of the subject matter are to be found in their order together, but nothing of them in the body of the history. The said heads are placed over every distinct subject in the said supplement.

But as to the translation of the whole, it may be very well expected some apology should be made, or reason given for translating the five first books, which appeared in the English tongue above forty years ago. To give, therefore, satisfaction in that particular, we can truly and sincerely say, it was not undertaken without some regret, not willing to seem a captious censurer of other men's labours; therefore, to obviate that suspicion, we are willing to be an advocate to excuse what was before done in this kind, as to those five books; for the errors and defects that appear in the former translation are chiefly occasioned by an old Latin edition of Diodorus, whereunto the translator wholly applied himself, having at that time (without doubt) no better an edition to direct him. At the first it was designed to have spared so much time, because they had been before translated; but,

often hearing the former censured, and a new translation desired of those five books, (which, through a mistake, are divided by the old Latin edition into six, by taking the first book to be two, because it is in two parts), we were the more inclined, and at length resolved, to endure the toil; though withal we might, perhaps, fall under censure, in undertaking to reform the errors of another, and yet prove as much, if not more faulty ourselves.

But whatever it be, we here present it to the judgment of the ingenuous reader, together with the other books, entreating him to accept what he judges worthy his approbation, and, with a favourable censure, to pass by the errors and mistakes he may espy in the perusal.—As for the carping Momus, if the whole were in all respects exact and complete, (which were a vanity to pretend), it were far more likely from such to meet with a cavilling sarcasm, than to be indulged with any favourable acceptance.

THE PREFACE.

ALL mankind are under a great obligation of gratitude to those that have written universal histories; forasmuch as there has been an honourable contest amongst them by their labours and pains, to be helpful to others in the due conduct and management of the common affairs and concerns of this present life. For whereas they usher in a sort of wholesome instruction, without any hazard to the person; so they thereby also procure to their readers art and skill in politics above the ordinary rate, with great ease and security. For knowledge gained by experience, though it brings a man to an aptness to be quick in discerning what is most advisable in every particular case, yet such knowledge is attended with many toils and hazards. And thus he that was the most experienced man among the heroes*, viewed many cities, and came well to understand and pry into the minds and tempers of men, yet it was with many troubles and misfortunes: but knowledge of what was well or ill done by others, gained by history, carries along with it instructions, freed from those misfortunes that others have before experienced.

Besides, these historians have used their utmost diligence to reduce all men, in their consideration of them, (who are united and related one to another in the same common nature and original, though far distant each from the other as to place and time), under one and the same head, and common order, as if they were servants herein to the Divine Providence. For as Providence having marshalled the stars (visible to us) in a most beautiful frame and order, and likewise conjoined the natures of men in a common analogy and likeness one to another, incessantly wheels about every age, as in a circle, imparting to each what is before by fate shared out and allotted for them; so these historians, by committing to writing the

* Ulysses.

common actions of men through the whole world, as if they were the affairs only of one city, represent their labours as one entire account, and common repertory and treasury of human transactions. For it is a desirable thing to be in a capacity to make use of the mistakes of others, the better to order the course of our own lives, and in the various events and accidents that may befal us, not to be then at a loss, and seeking what is to be done, but rather to be able to imitate what has been well done. And certainly, as to counsel and advice, all prefer ancient men before those that are young, because of their prudence gained by a long experience. But history goes as far beyond the knowledge of old men, as we are sure it does surmount all their experience in multitude of examples. So that any man may justly look upon it as a thing most profitable and advantageous, to make use of this upon all occasions and accidents of this life. As for young men, it teaches them the wisdom and prudence of the old, and increases and improves the wisdom of the aged: it fits private men for high places; and stirs up princes (for the sake of honour and glory) to those exploits that may immortalize their names. It encourages likewise soldiers to fight the more courageously for their country, upon the hopes of applause and commendation after their deaths: and as a curb to the impious and prophane, it restrains them in some measure, upon the account of being noted to posterity, with a perpetual brand of infamy and disgrace.

What shall I say? In hopes of having the memory of their good acts recorded to posterity by historians, some have built cities, others have applied themselves to the promulgation of good and wholesome laws: many also, upon this account, have set their wits at work to invent arts and sciences for the good of mankind. And whereas complete happiness is made up of all perfections centering in one, history consequently is to bear away the prize, which is the cause of all those commendable and glorious effects; for it is most certain, she is the preserver of the virtues of worthy men in posterity; an eternal witness to the cowardice and impiety of others; and a benefactor to all mankind in general. For if a fine spun story, consisting merely of fictions told of things done among the spirits below, tends much to the promoting of piety and justice, how much more then may we conclude that history, the most noble assertrix of truth, and

very metropolis (as it were) of all philosophy, may adorn the manners of men with principles of justice and honesty? For there is not a man (through the infirmity of human nature) that lives scarce a moment of an entire eternity, but is extinguished and gone for ever after this life; and with those who never did any thing commendable in their life-time, all their enjoyments and comforts perish with them. But those who have signalized themselves by virtuous actions, are made famous in every age, their praises being proclaimed, as it were, by a divine voice from history.

I judge it therefore honourable and commendable, and a piece of admirable wisdom and prudence, to purchase that glory which is immortal, with labours and sufferings that are but short and temporal. It is confessed by all, concerning Hercules, that while he was here upon earth, he voluntarily undertook great and continual labours, and ran through many dangers, that, by doing good to mankind, he might gain the reward of an immortal fame. And as to other men, some are honoured as heroes, others deified as gods, and all by the help and advantage of history, which has transmitted their virtues to posterity, and caused the remembrance of them to be immortal. Other monuments endure but for a little time, and are often ruined and destroyed by various accidents; but the force and vigour of history pierces through the whole world, and time itself, (which consumes all other things), is its keeper, handing it down to posterity for ever.

History likewise conduces much to make a man eloquent, than which nothing is more commendable; for by this Grecians excel barbarians, and the learned those that are ignorant: and by this art alone it is, that one single person many times prevails over multitudes.

To conclude—Whatever is done, appears to be such either as to quantity or quality, as the eloquent rhetorician is pleased to make it. And such we call good men, men of high esteem for excellent language, as those that by that qualification have attained to the highest pitch of virtue. But this art of speaking well, is divided into several parts: that part which is poetical, seems to delight more than to profit the auditor; that which relates to making of laws tends more to coercion than instruction; and the other parts either contribute

nothing at all to our well-being; or they are as hurtful one way, as they are useful and profitable another; and some of them even oppose the truth with downright lies.

But history only (wherein words and things agree) comprehends in writing, what is both pleasant and profitable; for who cannot discern but that it persuades to justice; condemns the wicked and vicious; praises the good, and greatly improves the understanding of the readers? And therefore, when we saw these sort of writers deservedly in great esteem, we were stirred up to an earnest study of prosecuting the same subject.

But when we seriously consider the authors that have been before us, though we highly approve of their method and design, as far as we may justly; yet we conceive their writings are not altogether composed to the due measure of profit and advantage as they ought to be. For whereas to profit the reader, it is necessarily requisite, that many and various circumstances of affairs be related; many set forth the wars only of one nation, or one single city; for very few have begun their histories from ancient times, or have made it their business to write of the affairs of all nations in general, to these our days. And those that do, some of them fix no certain time to the several transactions they write of; and others altogether pass over the affairs of the barbarians. And some there are that never mention the ancient mythologies, but slip them by, because of the difficulty of the subject. Some that have begun to write, have been prevented by death, and so have left their works imperfect. And none who have hitherto set themselves to this business, have brought down their history below the times of the Macedonians: for some have broke off at Philip, others at the acts of Alexander, and others at his successors or posterity. And although many great and considerable actions since those times, to these our days, have been upon the stage, yet no historian has hitherto undertaken to set them forth in one entire tract, by reason of the tediousness of the work. And in regard that in those writings which we have, the times and actions that have been comprehended in them, are huddled together in several volumes, written by various and several authors, it is a very difficult matter either to understand, or remember them.

Having therefore diligently perused and examined the tracts of the

several authors, I determined to compose an entire history, from which the reader might reap much advantage, with little labour and pains: for he who endeavours, to the utmost of his power, to comprehend in his writings the memorable affairs and actions of the whole world, (as of one single city), bringing down his history from the most ancient times to his own age, though he set upon a work certainly very laborious, yet he will perform that which, when finished, will be undoubtedly most useful and profitable. For hence, every man may, as out of a common fountain, draw what is convenient and serviceable for his own private use. For as to them that have a desire to employ themselves in tumbling and turning over so many authors, first, such cannot easily get so many books together as are necessary for their use; and then again, by reason of the differing relations and multitude of authors, they can scarcely understand the matters related.

But one general history, in one entire tract, as it may be quickly and readily perused, so the understanding of the subject matter, with far more ease, goes along with the reading. Yea, this sort of history excels all others, as far as the whole is more useful than the part; as the entire thing is more desirable than that which is divided; and that which fixes the exact periods of time, more than that which leaves the time uncertain and unknown, when things related were done.

Perceiving, therefore, that such a work would be of mighty use and advantage, but that it would require both a long time, and a great deal of labour and pains, we spent thirty years time in the composing of it; and for that purpose travelled through a great part of Asia and Europe, with many hazards and difficulties, that we ourselves might be eye witnesses of most of the parts and places that were necessary for the carrying on of our design in this work. For, through the ignorance of places, not only common writers, but even those who are reputed the most eminent, have committed many errors and mistakes. The chief cause, and that which most helped forward the design, (which, though thought impossible, is now fully completed and perfected), was the strong and constant desire we had of composing such a work. Many helps likewise were afforded to us at Rome, for the carrying on of what we had undertaken in this

kind. For that noble city, whose power is stretched out as far as to the utmost corners of the earth, (being that we had been there a long time an inhabitant), furnished us with many things ready at hand for our purpose. For being born in Agyrus in Sicily, and having in a great measure learnt the Roman language, by means of the frequent commerce of Romans in that island, I diligently collected out of their ancient records, what I found concerning the memorable actions of this empire.

We have begun our history with the mythologies handed down to us, as well those of the Grecians as of the barbarians, seriously weighing and considering, as far as we were able, what every one of them have related of things done in ancient times. Having now finished what was designed, though not yet exposed to public view, before that be done, we shall declare something briefly concerning the whole work.

Our first six books comprehend the affairs and mythologies of the ages before the Trojan war, of which the three first contain the barbarian, and the next following almost all the Grecian antiquities. In the eleven next after these, we have given an account of what has been done in every place from the time of the Trojan war, till the death of Alexander. In the three-and-twenty books following, we have set forth all other things and affairs, till the beginning of the war the Romans made upon the Gauls; at which time Julius Cæsar the emperor, (who upon the account of his great achievements was surnamed Divus*) having subdued the warlike nations of the Gauls, enlarged the Roman empire, as far as to the British isles; whose first acts fall in with the first year of the hundred and eightieth olympiad, when Herodes was chief magistrate at Athens. But as to the limitation of times contained in this work, we have not bound those things that happened before the Trojan war, within any certain limits, because we could not find any foundation whereon to rely with any certainty.

According to Apollodorus, we have accounted fourscore years from the Trojan war, to the return of the Heraclides: from thence to the first olympiad, three hundred and twenty-eight years, computing the times from the Lacedæmonian kings: from the first

* A Divine person, or a God.

olympiad to the beginning of the Gallic war, (where our history ends), are seven hundred and thirty years: so that our whole work, (comprehended in forty books), is an history which takes in the affairs of eleven hundred and thirty-eight years, besides those times that preceded the Trojan war.

We have been the more careful to premise these things, that the reader might have the clearer prospect into the nature of the whole tract; and that those who commonly take upon them to polish and amend books, may be at least prevailed with not to corrupt other men's works. Whatever, therefore, through the whole history, is written well, let no man envy: what slips there are, (through ignorance), those who have more knowledge are very welcome to amend.

And now, having finished what we thought fit to premise, we shall endeavour actually to perform what we before promised, as to the writing of the history.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Generation of Men. How the World first began. Men's first manner of Life, and who were the first Men. First Men in Egypt. Who were the most ancient Gods of Egypt. Of their Demy Gods. Sol, Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, and Vulcan, reigned in Egypt. Of Osiris and Isis. The Acts of Osiris and Isis. Hermes, his Inventions. Osiris prepares for his Expedition through the World, and to that end raises a great Army.

WHAT notions they had of the gods—who first instituted divine worship, and what is fabulously related of every one of the deities, (because the subject requires much to be said), we shall distinctly set forth: and whatever we conceive to be pertinent to the present history, we shall discourse of severally and distinctly, that nothing worth observation may be omitted. And we shall here give an accurate account (as far as the antiquity of the matters will admit) of the generation and original of mankind, and of the affairs and transactions of all parts of the known world, drawing down our history from the most ancient times.

Of the origin, therefore, of men, there are two opinions amongst the most famous and authentic naturalists and historians.

Some of these are of opinion, that the world had neither beginning nor ever shall have end; and likewise say, that mankind was from eternity, and that there never was a time when he first began to be. Others, on the contrary, conceive both the world to be made, and to be corruptible, and that there was a certain time when men had first a being.

For whereas all things at the first were jumbled together, heaven and earth were in one mass, and had one and the same form: but

afterwards, (they say), when corporeal beings appeared one after another, the world at length presented itself in the order we now see; and that the air was in continual agitation, whose fiery part ascended together to the highest place, its nature (by reason of its levity) tending always upwards; for which reason both the sun, and that vast number of the stars, are contained within that orb. That the gross and earthy matter, (clotted together by moisture), by reason of its weight, sunk down below into one place, and continually whirling about; the sea was made of the humid parts; and the muddy earth of the more solid, as yet very moorish and soft, which by degrees at first was made crusty by the heat of the sun; and then, after the face of the earth was parched, and, as it were, fermented, the moisture afterwards, in many places, bubbled up, and appeared as so many pustules wrapt up in thin and slender coats and skins, which may be even seen in standing ponds and marish places; when, after the earth has been pierced with cold, the air grows hot on a sudden, without a gradual alteration. And whereas moisture generates creatures from heat, as from a seminal principle, things so generated, by being inwrapt in the dewy mists of the night, grew and increased, and in the day solidated, and were made hard by the heat of the sun; and when the births included in those ventricles had received their due proportion, then those slender skins, being burst asunder by the heat, the forms of all sorts of living creatures were brought forth into the light, of which those that had most of heat mounted aloft, and were fowl, and birds of the air; but those that were drossy, and had more of earth, were numbered in the order of creeping things, and other creatures altogether used to the earth. Then those beasts that were naturally watery and moist, (called fishes), presently hastened to the place connatural to them; and when the earth afterwards became more dry and solid by the heat of the sun, and the drying winds, it had not power at length to produce any more of the greater living creatures; but each that had an animal life began to increase their kind by mutual copulation. And Euripides, the scholar of Anaxagoras, seems to be of the same opinion concerning the first generation of all things; for in his Menalippe he has these verses:

> A mass confus'd, heaven and earth once were
> Of one form; but after separation,
> Then men, trees, beasts of th' earth, with fowls of th' air
> First sprung up in their generation.

But if this power of the earth to produce living creatures at the first origin of all things seem credible to any, the Egyptians do bring testimonies of this energy of the earth, by the same things done there at this day. For they say, that about Thebes in Egypt, after the

overflowing of the river Nile, the earth thereby being covered with mud and slime, many places putrify through the heat of the sun, and thence are bred multitudes of mice. It is certain, therefore, that out of the earth, when it is hardened, and the air changed from its due and natural temperament, animals are generated; by which means it came to pass, that in the first beginning of all things, various living creatures proceeded from the earth. And these are the opinions touching the original of things*.

But men they say, at first, led a rude and brutish sort of life, and wandered up and down in the fields, and fed upon herbs, and the natural fruits of the trees. Their words were confused, without any certain signification; but by degrees they spoke articulately, and making signs, and giving proper terms to every thing upon occasion. At length their discourse became intelligible one to another: but being dispersed into several parts of the world, they spoke not all the same language, every one using that dialect proper to the place, as his lot fell: upon which account there were various, and all sorts of languages in the world; and these associations of men first planted all the nations of the world.

But forasmuch as what was useful for man's life, was not at the beginning found out, this first race of mankind lived a laborious and troublesome life, as being as yet naked, not inured to houses, nor acquainted with the use of fire, and altogether destitute of delicacies for their food. For not knowing as yet how to house and lay up their food, they had no barns or granaries where to deposit the fruits of the earth; and therefore many, through hunger and cold, perished in the winter: but being at length taught by experience, they fled into caves in the winter, and laid up such fruits as were fit to keep; and coming by degrees to the knowledge of the usefulness of fire, and of other conveniences, they began to invent many arts and other things beneficial for man's life. What shall we say? Necessity was man's instructor, which made him skilful in every thing, being an ingenious creature, assisted (as with so many servants) with hands, speech, and a rational soul, ready to put every thing in execution. But what we have here said concerning the first generation of mankind, and his way of living in old time, may suffice, designing to keep within due bounds.

And now we shall apply ourselves to recount those things that

* The wiser antients have here asked this pertinent question—Grant that heat unfolds and draws forth the seminal principle—Who first formed that seminal principle; that is, who inclosed the future full grown form in the seed? The fact of the mice is as ridiculous as it is false.

have been done in all the known parts of the world, whereof there is any memorial handed down to us.

Who were the first kings, we ourselves can neither assert, nor agree with those historians who affirm they know; for it is not possible that the account given of affairs should be so antient as to be contemporary with the first kings; and if any should admit any such thing, yet it is apparent, that all the historians extant lived long after those times. For the Greeks themselves are not only in the dark concerning the antiquity of nations, but many of the barbarians also, who call themselves natural inhabitants, and boast themselves to be the first of all other men who have found out things beneficial to mankind, and to have committed to writing, things done among them many ages before. And as for us, we determine nothing certainly of the antiquity of particular nations, nor which nation is antienter than another, or how many years one was before another. But, that we may attain the scope and end we have before designed, we shall distinctly set forth in these chapters, what is reported concerning things done in the several nations, and the antiquity of them.

We shall first speak of the barbarians; not that we judge them more antient than the Grecians, (as Ephorus affirms), but that we are willing, in the first place, to relate many considerable things of them; that, when we come afterwards to the history of the Greeks, we may not confound their antiquity with the other, which are of a foreign nature to them. And because the gods are fabulously reported to be born in Egypt; and the first observation of the motion of the stars being attributed to them, and that there are many remarkable and famous actions of renowned men recorded to be done amongst them, we shall begin with the affairs of Egypt.

The Egyptians report, that, at the beginning of the world, the first men were created in Egypt, both by reason of the happy climate of the country, and the nature of the river Nile. For this river being very fruitful, and apt to bring forth many animals, yields, of itself, likewise food and nourishment for the things produced. For it yields the roots of canes, the fruit of the lote-tree, the Egyptian bean, that which they call Corseon, and such like rarities for man's food, always ready at hand.

And that all living creatures were first produced among them, they use this argument—that even at this day, about Thebes, at certain times, such vast mice are bred, that it causes admiration to the beholders; some of which, to the breast and fore-feet, are animated, and begin to move, and the rest of the body (which yet retains the nature of the soil) appears without form. Whence it is manifest,

that in the beginning of the world, through the fertileness of the soil, the first men were formed in Egypt, being that in no other parts of the world any of these creatures are produced; only in Egypt these supernatural births may be seen.

And that we may sum up all in a word: if in the time of Deucalion's flood, the greatest part only of all living creatures were destroyed, then of such as were so preserved, it is very probable that those in Egypt, especially, were of the number, whose inhabitants lie under the south pole, and the country for the most part without rain: or, if all that had life generally perished, (as some affirm), and that the earth produced animals anew, yet they say, that notwithstanding this, the chief production of things animated is to be ascribed to this country. For they affirm, that if the showers which fall in any other places were warmed with the same heat that is in Egypt, the air would be of that temperature, as that it would aptly conduce to the generation of animals, as at first, in the beginning of the world. For even at this day, such births may be seen (in the waters that have lain long) over all the watered country of Egypt. For they affirm, that when the river returns into its channel, and the sun dries the mud, living creatures are generated, some perfect, others half formed, even cleaving to the soil whence they are produced.

The first generation of men in Egypt, therefore, contemplating the beauty of the superior world, and admiring with astonishment the frame and order of the universe, supposed there were two chief gods that were eternal, that is to say, the sun and the moon, the first of which they called Osiris, and the other Isis, both names having proper etymologies; for Osiris, in the Greek language, signifies a thing with many eyes, which may be very properly applied to the sun, darting his rays into every corner, and, as it were, with so many eyes, viewing and surveying the whole land and sea; with which agrees the poet—

The sun from's lofty sphere, all sees and hears.

Some, also, of the antient Greek mythologists call Osiris Dionysius, and surname him Sirius, amongst whom Eumolpus in his Bacchanal verses—

Dionysius darts his fiery rays.

And Orpheus—

He's called Phanetes and Dionysius.

Some likewise set him forth clothed with the spotted skin of a fawn, (called Nebris), from the variety of stars that surround him.

Isis likewise, being interpreted, signifies antient, that name being ascribed to the moon from eternal generations. They add, likewise,

to her, horns, because her aspect is such in her increase, and in her decrease, representing a sickle; and because an ox, among the Egyptians, is offered to her in sacrifice. They hold that these gods govern the whole world, cherishing and increasing all things; and divide the year into three parts, (that is to say, spring, summer, and winter), by an invisible motion, perfecting their constant course in that time: and though they are in their natures very differing one from another, yet they complete the whole year with a most excellent harmony and consent. They say that these gods in their natures do contribute much to the generation of all things, the one being of a hot and active nature, the other moist and cold, but both having something of the air; and that by these, all things are both brought forth and nourished: and therefore that every particular being in the universe is perfected and completed by the sun and moon, whose qualities, as before declared, are five; a spirit or quickening efficacy, heat or fire, dryness or earth, moisture or water, and air, of which the world does consist, as a man made up of head, hands, feet, and other parts. These five they reputed for gods; and the people of Egypt, who were the first that spoke articulately, gave names proper to their several natures, according to the language they then spake. And therefore they called the spirit Jupiter, which is such by interpretation, because a quickening influence is derived from this into all living creatures, as from the original principle; and upon that account he is esteemed the common parent of all things. And to this the most famous poet of the Greeks gives testimony, where speaking of this god he says—

Of men and gods the father.

Fire they called by interpretation Vulcan, and him they had in veneration as a great god, as he that greatly contributed to the generation and perfection of all beings whatsoever.

The earth, as the common womb of all productions, they called Metera, as the Greeks in process of time, by a small alteration of one letter, and an omission of two letters, called the earth Demetra, which was antiently called Gen Metera, or the mother earth, as Orpheus attests in this verse—

The mother earth, Demeter also call'd,
Brings forth most richly—

Water or moisture, the antients called Oceanus; which by interpretation is a nourishing mother, and so taken by some of the Grecians, of which the poet says thus—

The father of the gods the ocean is,
Tethys the mother call'd—

But the Egyptians account their Nile to be Oceanus, at which all

the gods were born. For in Egypt only, among all the countries in the world, are many cities built by the antient gods, as by Jupiter, Sol, Mercury, Apollo, Pan, Elithia, and many others.

To the air they gave the name of Minerva, signifying something proper to the nature thereof, and called her the daughter of Jupiter, and counted a virgin, because the air naturally is not subject to corruption, and is in the highest part of the universe; whence rises the fable that she was the issue of Jupiter's brain: they say she is called also Tritogeneia, or thrice begotten, because she changes her natural qualities thrice in the year, the spring, summer, and winter; and that she was called Glaucopis, not that she hath grey eyes, (as some of the Greeks have supposed, for that is a weak conceit), but because the air seems to be of a grey colour, to the view. They report, likewise, that these five gods travel through the whole world, representing themselves to men sometimes in the shapes of sacred living creatures, and sometimes in the form of men, or some other representation. And this is not a fable, but very possible, if it be true, that these generate all things: and the poet who travelled into Egypt, in some part of his works, affirms this appearance as he learnt it from their priests—

> The gods also, like strangers come from far,
> In divers shapes within the towns appear,
> Viewing men's good and wicked acts—

And these are the stories told by the Egyptians of the heavenly and immortal gods. And besides these, they say there are others that are terrestrial, which were begotten of these former gods, and were originally mortal men, but by reason of their wisdom and beneficence to all mankind, have obtained immortality, of which some have been kings of Egypt: some of whom, by interpretation, have had the same names with the celestial gods, others have kept their own proper names. For they report that Sol, Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter, (surnamed by some Ammon), Juno, Vulcan, Vesta, and lastly, Mercury, reigned in Egypt; and that Sol was the first king of Egypt, whose name was the same with the celestial planet called Sol.

But there are some of the priests who affirm Vulcan to be the first of their kings, and that he was advanced to that dignity upon the account of being the first that found out the use of fire, which was so beneficial to all mankind. For a tree in the mountains happening to be set on fire by lightning, the wood next adjoining was presently all in a flame; and Vulcan thereupon coming to the place, was mightily refreshed by the heat of it, being then winter season; and when the fire began to fail, he added more combustible matter to it, and by that means preserving it, called in other men to enjoy

the benefit of that which he himself was the first inventor, as he gave out.

Afterwards they say Saturn* reigned, and married his sister Rhea, and that he begat of her Osiris and Isis; but others say, Jupiter and Juno, who for their great virtues, ruled over all the world. That of Jupiter and Juno were born five gods, one upon every day of the five Egyptian intercalary days†. The names of these gods are Osiris, Isis, Typhon, Apollo, and Venus. That Osiris was interpreted Bacchus, and Isis plainly Ceres. That Osiris married Isis, and after he came to the kingdom, did much, and performed many things for the common benefit and advantage of mankind. For he was the first that forbade men eating one another; and at the same time Isis found out the way of making of bread of wheat and barley, which before grew here and there in the fields, amongst other common herbs and grass, and the use of it unknown: and Osiris teaching the way and manner of tillage, and well management of the fruits of the earth, this change of food became grateful; both because it was naturally sweet and delicious, and men were thereby restrained from the mutual butcheries one of another: for an evidence of this first finding out the use of these fruits, they alledge an antient custom among them: for even at this day, in the time of harvest, the inhabitants offer the first fruits of the ears of corn, howling and wailing about the handfuls they offer, and invoking this goddess Isis: and this they do in return of due honour to her for that invention at the first. In some cities also, when they celebrate the feast of Isis, in a pompous procession, they carry about vessels of wheat and barley, in memory of the first invention, by the care and industry of this goddess. They say, likewise, that Isis made many laws for the good of human society, whereby men were restrained from lawless force and violence one upon another, out of fear of punishment. And therefore Ceres was called by the ancient Greeks, Themophorus, that is, lawgiver, being the princess that first constituted laws for the better government of her people.

Osiris moreover built Thebes, in Egypt, with an hundred gates, and called it after his mother's name: but in following times, it was called Diospolis, and Thebes; of whose first founder not only historians, but the priests of Egypt themselves, are much in doubt. For some say that it was not built by Osiris, but many years after, by a king of Egypt, whose history we shall treat of hereafter, in its proper

* This Saturn is judged upon good grounds to be Noah. Boccard, Phaleg. lib. i. c. 1. f. 1. Stilling Orig. Sacr. lib. 5. c. 5. sect. 8.

† These were five days added to the end of every year, to make up their former year, to consist of 365 days. See the reason, Orig. Sacr. 90, 91.

place. They report, likewise, that he built two magnificent temples, and dedicated them to his parents, Jupiter and Juno; and likewise two golden altars, the greater to the great god Jupiter; the other to his father Jupiter, who had formerly reigned there, whom they call Ammon. That he also erected golden altars to other gods, and instituted their several rites of worship, and appointed priests to have the oversight and care of the holy things. In the time of Osiris and Isis, projectors and ingenious artists were in great honour and esteem; and therefore in Thebes there were then goldsmiths and braziers, who made arms and weapons for the killing of wild beasts, and other instruments for the husbanding of the ground, and improvement of tillage; besides images of the gods, and altars in gold. They say that Osiris was much given to husbandry, that he was the son of Jupiter, brought up in Nysa, a town of Arabia the happy, near to Egypt, called by the Greeks Dionysius, from his father, and the place of his education. The poet in his hymns makes mention of Nysa, as bordering upon Egypt, where he says—

> Far off from Phenice stands the sacred Nyse,
> Where streams of Egypt's Nile begin to rise,
> On mountain high with pleasant woods adorn'd.

Here near unto Nysa, they say he found out the use of the vine, and there planting it, was the first that drank wine; and taught others how to plant it and use it, and to gather in their vintage, and to keep and preserve it. Above all others he most honoured Hermes, one of an admirable ingenuity, and quick invention, in finding out what might be useful to mankind. This Hermes was the first (as they report) that taught how to speak distinctly and articulately, and gave names to many things that had none before. He found out letters, and instituted the worship of the gods; and was the first that observed the motion of the stars, and invented music; and taught the manner of wrestling; and invented arithmetic, and the art of curious graving and cutting of statues. He first found out the harp with three strings, in resemblance of the three seasons of the year, causing three several sounds, the treble, base, and mean. The treble to represent the summer; the base, the winter; and the mean, the spring. He was the first that taught the Greeks eloquence; thence he is called Hermes, a speaker or interpreter. To conclude, he was Osiris's sacred scribe, to whom he communicated all his secrets, and was chiefly steered by his advice in every thing. He (not Minerva, as the Greeks affirm) found out the use of the olive-tree, for the making of oil. It is moreover reported, that Osiris being a prince of a public spirit, and very ambitious of glory, raised a great army, with which he resolved to go through all parts of the world that were

inhabited, and to teach men how to plant vines, and to sow wheat and barley. For he hoped that if he could civilize men, and take them off from their rude and beast-like course of lives, by such a public good and advantage, he should raise a foundation amongst all mankind, for his immortal praise and honour, which happened accordingly. For not only that age, but posterity ever after honoured those among the chiefest of their gods, that first found out their proper and ordinary food. Having therefore settled his affairs in Egypt, and committed the government of his whole kingdom to his wife Isis, he joined with her Mercury, as her chief counsellor of state, because he far excelled all others in wisdom and prudence. But Hercules, his near kinsman, he left general of all his forces within his dominions, a man admired by all for his valour and strength of body. As to those parts which lay near Phœnicia, and upon the sea-coasts of them, he made Busiris lord lieutenant, and of Ethiopia and Lybia, Anteus.

Then marching out of Egypt, he began his expedition, taking along with him his brother, whom the Greeks called Apollo. This Apollo is reported to have discovered the laurel-tree, which all dedicate especially to this god. To Osiris they attribute the finding out of the ivy-tree, and dedicate it to him, as the Greeks do to Bacchus: and therefore in the Egyptian tongue, they call Ivy, Osiris's plant, which they prefer before the vine in all their sacrifices, because this loses its leaves, and the other always continues fresh and green: which rule the antients have observed in other plants, that are always green, dedicating myrtle to Venus, laurel to Apollo, and the olive-tree to Pallas.

It is said that two of his sons accompanied their father Osiris in this expedition, one called Anubis, and the other Macedo, both valiant men: both of them wore coats of mail, that were extraordinary remarkable, covered with the skins of such creatures as resembled them in stoutness and valour. Anubis was covered with a dog's, and Macedo with the skin of a wolf; and for this reason these beasts are religiously adored by the Egyptians. He had likewise for his companion, Pan*, whom the Egyptians have in great veneration; for they not only set up images and statues in every temple, but built a city in Thebides after his name, called by the inhabitants Chemmin, which by interpretation is Pan's city. There went along with them likewise, those that were skilful in husbandry, as Maro in the planting of vines, and Triptolemus in sowing of corn, and gathering in the harvest.

* The same with Cham.

CHAP. II.

The Continuation of Osiris's Expedition through Ethiopia, all Arabia, India, and Europe. Buried by Isis and Mercury. How he was killed. His Death revenged by Isis and Orus. Two Bulls, Apis and Mnevis, worshipped in Egypt. Places discussed where Osiris and Isis were buried. Histories of the Egyptian Priests. Their Years, Lunar Years. Giants. Laws about Marriage. Osiris and Isis, their Pillars and Inscriptions. Colonies out of Egypt.

ALL things being now prepared, Osiris having vowed to the gods to let his hair grow till he returned into Egypt, marched through Ethiopia; and for that very reason it is a piece of religion, and practised among the Egyptians at this day, that those that travel abroad, suffer their hair to grow, till they return home. As he passed through Ethiopia, a company of satyrs were presented to him, who (as it is reported) were all hairy down to their loins: for Osiris was a man given to mirth and jollity, and took great pleasure in music and dancing; and therefore carried along with him a train of musicians, of whom nine were virgins, most excellent singers, and expert in many other things, (whom the Greeks call muses), of whom Apollo was the captain; and thence called the Leader of the Muses: upon this account the satyrs, who are naturally inclined to skipping, dancing, and singing, and all other sorts of mirth, were taken in as part of the army: for Osiris was not for war, nor came to fight battles, and to decide controversies by the sword, every country receiving him for his merits and virtues, as a god. In Ethiopia, having instructed the inhabitants in husbandry, and tillage of the ground, and built several stately cities among them, he left there behind him some to be governors of the country, and others to be gatherers of his tribute.

While they were thus employed, it is said that the river Nile, about the dog-days, (at which time it uses to be the highest), broke down its banks, and overflowed the greatest part of Egypt, and that part especially where Prometheus governed, insomuch as almost all the inhabitants were drowned; so that Prometheus was near unto killing of himself for very grief of heart: and, from the sudden and violent eruption of the waters, the river was called Eagle.

Hercules, who was always for high and difficult enterprises, and ever of a stout spirit, presently made up the breaches, and turned the

river into its channel, and kept it within its antient banks; and therefore some of the Greek poets from this fact have forged a fable, that Hercules killed the eagle that fed upon Prometheus's heart. The most antient name of this river was Oceames, which, in the Greek pronunciation is Oceanus; afterwards called Eagle, upon the violent eruption. Lastly, it was called Egyptus, from the name of a king that there reigned; which the poet attests, who says—

> In th' river of Egyptus then I plac'd
> The gallies swift.

For near Thonis (as it is called) an antient mart town of Egypt, this river empties itself into the sea.

The last name which it still retains, it derives from Nileus, a king of those parts.

Osiris being come to the borders of Ethiopia, raised high banks on either side of the river, lest, in the time of its inundation, it should overflow the country more than was convenient, and make it marish and boggy; and made flood-gates to let in the water by degrees, as far as was necessary. Thence he passed through Arabia, bordering upon the Red sea as far as to India, and the utmost coasts that were inhabited; he built likewise many cities in India, one of which he called Nysa, willing to have a remembrance of that in Egypt where he was brought up. At this Nysa in India, he planted ivy, which grows and remains here only of all other places in India, or the parts adjacent. He left likewise many other marks of his being in those parts, by which the latter inhabitants are induced to believe, and do affirm that this god was born in India.

He likewise addicted himself much to hunting of elephants; and took care to have statues of himself in every place, as lasting monuments of his expedition. Thence passing to the rest of Asia, he transported his army through the Hellespont into Europe; and in Thrace he killed Lycurgus, king of the barbarians, who opposed him in his designs. Then he ordered Maro (at that time an old man) to take care of the planters in that country, and to build a city, and call it Maronea, after his own name. Macedo, his son, he made king of Macedonia, so calling it after him. To Triptolemus he appointed the culture and tillage of the land in Attica. To conclude, Osiris having travelled through the whole world, by finding out food fit and convenient for man's body, was a benefactor to all mankind. Where vines would not grow, and be fruitful, he taught the inhabitants to make drink of barley, little inferior in strength and pleasant flavour to wine itself. He brought back with him into Egypt the most precious and richest things that every place did afford; and for the many benefits and advantages that he was the author of, by the common

consent of all men, he gained the reward of immortality and honour equal to the heavenly deities.

After his death, Isis and Mercury celebrated his funeral with sacrifices and other divine honours, as to one of the gods, and instituted many sacred rites and mystical ceremonies, in memory of the mighty works wrought by this hero, now deified. Antiently the Egyptian priests kept the manner of the death of Osiris secret in their own registers among themselves; but in after-times it fell out, that some that could not hold, blurted it out, and so it came abroad. For they say that Osiris*, while he governed in Egypt with all justice imaginable, was murdered by his wicked brother Typhon; and that he mangled his dead body into six-and-twenty pieces, and gave to each of his confederates in the treason a piece, by that means to bring them all within the same horrid guilt, and thereby the more to engage them to advance him to the throne, and to defend and preserve him in the possession.

But Isis, the sister and wife likewise of Osiris, with the assistance of her son Orus†, revenged his death upon Typhon and his accomplices, and possessed herself of the kingdom of Egypt. It is said the battle was fought near a river not far off a town now called Antæa in Arabia, so called from Anteus, whom Hercules slew in the time of Osiris. She found all the pieces of his body, save his privy members; and having a desire to conceal her husband's burial, yet to have him honoured as a God by all the Egyptians, she thus contrived it. She closed all the pieces together, cementing them with wax and aromatic spices, and so brought it to the shape of a man of the bigness of Osiris; then she sent for the priests to her, one by one, and swore them all that they should not discover what she should then intrust them with. Then she told them privately, that they only should have the burial of the king's body; and recounting the many good works he had done, charged them to bury the body in a proper place among themselves, and to pay unto him all divine honour, as to a God. That they should dedicate to him one of the beasts bred among them, which of them they pleased, and that while it was alive, they should pay it the same veneration as they did before to Osiris himself; and when it was dead, that they should worship it with the same adoration and worship given to Osiris. But being willing to encourage the priests to these divine offices by

* This Osiris was murdered about the time Jacob, with his whole family, came into Egypt: as by Helvicus Cro. An. Mund. 2239. Vid. Sir Walter Rawl. History, lib. 2. part 1. cap. 2. sect. 5. That this Orisis was Misraim, the Son of Cham.

† In the time of this Orus, Jacob is said to come into Egypt. Sir Walter Rawl. lib. 2. part 1. c. 2. sect. 5. Helvicus says in the time of Osiris, An. Mun. 2239.

profit and advantage, she gave them the third part of the country for the maintenance of the service of the Gods and their attendance at the altars.

In memory, therefore, of Osiris's good deeds, being incited thereunto by the commands of the queen, and in expectation of their own profit and advantage, the priests exactly performed every thing that Isis injoined them; and therefore every order of the priests at this day are of opinion that Osiris is buried among them. And they have those beasts in great veneration, that were so long since thus consecrated; and renew their mournings for Osiris over the graves of those beasts. There are two sacred bulls especially, the one called Apis, and the other Mnevis, that are consecrated to Osiris, and reputed as gods generally by all the Egyptians. For this creature of all others was extraordinarily serviceable to the first inventors of husbandry, both as to the sowing corn, and other advantages concerning tillage, of which all reaped the benefit. Lastly, they say, that after the death of Osiris, Isis made a vow never to marry any other man, and spent the rest of her days in an exact administration of justice among her subjects, excelling all other princes in her acts of grace and bounty towards her own people; and therefore, after her death, she was numbered among the gods, and, as such, had divine honour and veneration, and was buried at Memphis, where they shew her sepulchre at this day in the grove of Vulcan.

Yet there are some that deny that these gods are buried at Memphis; but near the mountains of Ethiopia, and Egypt, in the isle of Nile, lying near to a place called Philas, and upon that account also named the Holy Field. They confirm this by undoubted signs and marks left in this island, as by a sepulchre built and erected to Osiris, religiously reverenced by all the priests of Egypt, wherein are laid up three hundred and threescore bowls, which certain priests appointed for that purpose, fill every day with milk, and call upon the Gods by name, with mourning and lamentation. For that cause none go into the island but priests. The inhabitants of Thebes (which is the most ancient city of Egypt) account it a great oath, and by no means to be violated, if a man swear by Osiris that lies buried at Philas.

The several parts, therefore, of Osiris being found, they report were buried in this manner before related; but his privy-members (they say) were thrown into the river by Typhon, because none of his partners would receive them; and yet that they were divinely honoured by Isis; for she commanded an image of this very part to be set up in the temples, and to be religiously adored; and in all

their ceremonies and sacrifices to this god, she ordered that part to be held in divine veneration and honour. And therefore the Grecians, after they had learned the rites and ceremonies of the feasts of Bacchus, and the orgian solemnities from the Egyptians, in all their mysteries and sacrifices to this god, they adored that member by the name of Phallus.

From Osiris and Isis, to the reign of Alexander the Great, who built a city after his own name, the Egyptian priests reckon above ten thousand years*, or (as some write) little less thanthree-and-twenty thousand years. They affirm, that those that say this god Orisis was born at Thebes in Bœotia, of Jupiter and Semele, relate that which is false. For they say that Orpheus, after he came into Egypt, was initiated into the sacred mysteries of Bacchus or Dionysius, and being a special friend to the Thebans in Bœotia, and of great esteem among them, to manifest his gratitude, transferred the birth of Bacchus or Osiris over into Greece.

And that the common people, partly out of ignorance, and partly out of a desire they had that this God should be a Grecian, readily received these mysteries and sacred rites among them; and that Orpheus took the occasion following to fix the birth of the god and his rites and ceremonies among the Greeks: as thus, Cadmus (they say) was born at Thebes in Egypt, and amongst other children begat Semele: that she was got with child by one unknown, and was delivered at seven months end of a child very like to Osiris, as the Egyptians describe him. But such births are not used to live, either because it is not the pleasure of the Gods it should be so, or that the law of nature will not admit it. The matter coming to Cadmus's ear, being before warned by the oracle to protect the laws of his country, he wrapt the infant in gold, and instituted sacrifices to be offered to him, as if Osiris had appeared again in this shape; and caused it to be spread abroad, that it was begotten of Jupiter, thereby both to honour Osiris, and to cover his daughter's shame. And therefore it is a common report among the Grecians, that Semele, the daughter of Cadmus, was got with child by Jupiter, and by him had Osiris.

In after-times, Orpheus, by reason of his excellent art and skill in music, and his knowledge in theology, and institution of sacred rites and sacrifices to the gods, was greatly esteemed among the

* These must be understood lunary years of thirty days, as the Egyptians used to account. Vid. Plut. Numa, Lact. lib. 2. c. 12. p. 118. Orus the Son of Osiris, was born An. Mund. 1778. Alexander's Conquest of Egypt, An. Mun. 3661. which is 1889 years after, which makes up 22,996 lunar years, and 15 days, which comes near to this account of Diodorus. Orig. Sacr. c. 5.

Grecians, and especially was received and entertained by the Thebans, and by them highly honoured above all others; who being excellently learned in the Egyptian theology, brought down the birth of the ancient Osiris, to a far later time, and to gratify the Cadmeans or Thebans, instituted new rites and ceremonies, at which he ordered that it should be declared to all that were admitted to those mysteries, that Dionysius or Osiris was begotten of Semele by Jupiter. The people, therefore, partly through ignorance, and partly by being deceived with the dazling lustre of Orpheus's reputation, and with their good opinion of his truth and faithfulness in this matter (especially to have this god reputed a Grecian, being a thing that humoured them) began to use these rites, as is before declared. And with these stories the mythologists and poets have filled all the theatres, and now it is generally received as a truth not in the least to be questioned. To conclude, the priests say, that the Grecians have arrogated to themselves both their Gods and demy-gods (or heroes), and say that divers colonies were transported over to them out of Egypt: for Hercules was an Egyptian, and by his valour made his way into most parts of the world, and set up a pillar in Africa; and of this they endeavour to make proof from the Grecians themselves. For whereas it is owned by all, that Hercules assisted the gods in the giants' war, it is plain that at that time when the Grecians say Hercules was born, the earth had not then strength to produce giants, neither were there any in those days, that is to say, in the age next before the Trojan war; bat rather (as the Egyptians affirm) at the first generation and beginning of mankind; from which time the Egyptians account above ten thousand years; but from the Trojan war, not twelve hundred: and according to this computation of the Egyptians, a club and lion's skin may agree well enough with the antient Hercules; for the use of arms not being at that time found out, men fought with clubs and staves, and covered their bodies with beasts' skins. This ancient Hercules they say was the son of Jupiter, but know not who was his mother: but he who was the son of Alcmena, they affirm was born above ten thousand years after the other, and was called at first Alceus; but afterwards Hercules, not that he had that honourable surname from Juno (as Matris says) but assumed to himself the name out of emulation, desirous to do as great things as the antient Hercules, and so to inherit as well his fame and glory as his name.

Moreover, the Grecians have a very ancient tradition, which agrees with the Egyptians, that Hercules freed the earth from wild beasts; which cannot possibly be applied to him who flourished about the times of the Trojans, when most parts of the world were free from

such annoyances, by improvement of lands and multitudes of populous cities. But the reduction of the world to a more civil course of living, agrees best with the antient Hercules, when men were as yet vexed and plagued with wild beasts; and especially in Egypt, whose upper part is a wilderness, and full of wild beasts at this very day. And it is but very reasonable to think that Hercules should mind the prosperity and welfare of Egypt, his own country, and free the land from beasts, and so deliver it into the hands of the husbandman, to be improved by tillage; and that upon this account he was honoured as a God.

They report likewise, that Perseus was born in Egypt, and that the Grecians have transferred from thence the birth of Isis into Argos, inventing a story that she was the same with Io, who was metamorphosed into a bull. And indeed there are great differences and disputes concerning these gods: for some call the same goddess Isis, others call her Ceres; some Thesmophorus, others Luna, others Juno, and some by all these names.

They term Osiris sometimes Serapis, sometimes Dionysius, and sometimes Pluto; then again Ammon; sometimes Jupiter, and often Pan. There are some likewise that say, Serapis is the same whom the Grecians call Pluto.

The Egyptians report that Isis found out many medicines for the recovery of men's health, being very expert in the art of physic, and contrived many remedies for that purpose; and therefore even now when she is advanced to an immortal state, she takes pleasure in curing men's bodies; and to those that desire her assistance, in their sleep she clearly manifests her presence, and affords ready and effectual relief to them that stand in need of it.

For clear proof of all this, they say, they have not only the usual fables of the Greeks, but the undoubted evidence of the fact to confirm it; and that almost the whole world bears testimony to this, by the respect and honour they pay to this goddess upon the account of her great fame in curing of diseases: for in sleep she is present with persons, and applies remedies to the sick, and wonderfully cures those that are her votaries. That many that have been given up by the physicians as incurable, have been restored by her; and that many that have been blind and lame, who have sought to her for help, have been perfectly restored to their former sight, and soundness of body.

They say she found out a medicine that would raise the dead to life, with which she not only raised her son Orus, that was killed by the Titans, and found dead in the water, but, by that application, made

him immortal. This Orus was the last of the gods that reigned in Egypt, after the translation of Osiris his father. This Orus, they say, by interpretation is Apollo, who being taught by his mother Isis, the art of physic and divination, was very beneficial to mankind in these respects.

The Egyptian priests in their computation of time do reckon above three and twenty thousand years from the reign of Sol, to the passage of Alexander the Great into Asia.

In their fabulous stories they say, that the most ancient of their god's reigned twelve hundred years, and the latter no less than three hundred years a-piece. Whereas this great number of years seems incredible, some have not stuck to affirm that the motion of the sun not being then known, the year was reckoned according to the course of the moon; and therefore the solar year, consisting then but of three hundred days, some of them were sure to live twelve hundred lunary years; and even at this day now that there are twelve months in the year, many live a hundred solar years.

The like they say of them that reigned three hundred years: for in their time (they say) the year was made up of four months, every four applicable to each of the three seasons of the solar year, that is to say, spring, summer, and winter; which is the reason that some of the Grecians call years *Horas*, seasons; and historical annals, *Horography*.

The Egyptians moreover among their fables report, that in the time of Isis, there were men of vast bodies, whom the Grecians call Giants, and whom they place in their temples in prodigious shapes, who are whipt and scourged by them that sacrifice to Osiris. Some idly give forth, that they sprang from the earth, when at first it gave being to living creatures. Others report, that from many extraordinary things done by men of strong bodies, the fables and stories of giants arose. But in this most agree, that for the war they raised against the gods Jupiter and Osiris, they were all destroyed.

It was a law likewise (they say) in Egypt, against the custom of all other nations, that brothers and sisters might marry one with another, which accordingly was prosperous and successful in the marriage of Isis, who married her brother Osiris, and after his death made a vow never to marry any other man; and after she had revenged her husband's death upon his murderers, she governed the kingdom, and reigned justly all her days; and did good universally to all sorts of people, obliging them with many and extraordinary benefits and advantages. And for her sake it is a custom among them, that they honour a queen, and allow her more power and au-

thority than a king: and in their contracts of marriage authority is given to the wife over her husband, at which time the husbands promise to be obedient to their wives in all things.

Isis was buried at Memphis, where at this day her shrine is to be seen in the grove of Vulcan: although some affirm, that these gods lie buried in the Isle of Nile, at Philas, as is before said. Neither am I ignorant that some writers say, their sepulchres are at Nysa in Arabia; whence Dionysius is called Nysæus; there they say is a pillar erected to each of the deities with inscriptions of sacred letters upon them; in one of which, that belonging to Isis, are these words:— "I am Isis, queen of all this country, the scholar of Mercury: "what laws I have made, none ought to disannul. I am the eldest "daughter of the youngest god, Saturn. I am the wife and sister "of king Osiris. I am she that first found out corn for man's use. "I am the mother of king Orus. I am she that arises in the dog-"star. The city Bubastus was built in memory of me. Farewell, "rejoice O Egypt that was my nurse, that brought me up."

Upon Osiris's pillar are these that follow:—"My father was "Saturn, the youngest of all the gods. I am Osiris, that led an "army through all the nations, as far as to the deserts of India, "and in the countries lying to the north, as far as to the head "springs of the river Ister; and to other parts, as far as to the "ocean. I am the eldest son of Saturn, a branch of a famous "noble stock, cousin german to the day. There is not a place in "the world where I have not been; and what I have discovered, I "have imparted to all."

So much of the inscriptions on the pillars (they say) may be read; the rest is defaced and worn out through length of time. Thus, therefore, many disagree concerning the sepulchres of these gods, because the priests, who were secretly instructed in the perfect knowledge of these matters, would not suffer them to be spread abroad, out of fear of those punishments that such were liable unto, who revealed the secrets of the gods.

They report, that afterwards many colonies out of Egypt were dispersed over all parts of the world: that Belus (who was taken to be the son of Neptune and Lybra) led a colony into the province of Babylon, and fixing his seat at the river Euphrates, consecrated priests, and, according to the custom of the Egyptians, freed them from all public taxes and impositions. These priests the Babylonians call Chaldeans, who observe the motions of the stars, in imitation of the priests, naturalists, and astrologers of Egypt. That Danaus likewise took from thence another colony, and planted them in Argos, the most antient city almost of all Greece. And

that the people of Colchos, in Pontus, and the Jews lying between Arabia and Syria, were colonies out of Egypt; and that therefore it is an antient custom among these nations, to circumcise all their male children after the rites and customs received from the Egyptians. That the Athenians likewise are a colony of the Saits, which came out of Egypt, and are their kindred, they endeavour to prove by these arguments; (that is to say) that they only of all the Greeks call the city Astu, from Astu a city among those people of the Saits: and that for the better government of the commonwealth, they divide their people into the same ranks and degrees as they in Egypt do, to wit, into three orders; the first of which are called Eupatride, employed for the most part in studying the liberal arts and sciences, and are advanced to the highest offices and places of preferment in the state, as the priests of Egypt are. The second order of men are the rustic and country people, who are to be soldiers, and take up arms upon all occasions for the defence of their country, like to those who are called husbandmen in Egypt, who furnish out soldiers there. In the third rank are reckoned tradesmen and artificers, who commonly bore all the necessary and public offices, which agrees exactly with the orders and usage among the Egyptians.

They say likewise, that there were some of the Athenian generals that came out of Egypt. For they affirm, that Peteos the father of Menestheus, who was a captain in the Trojan war, was an Egyptian, and afterwards was king of Athens. That the Athenians had not wit enough to find out the true reason why two natures were ascribed to him; for every man knows that he was called half a beast, that is, half a man, and half a beast; and the true ground was, because he was a member of two several commonwealths, a Grecian and a barbarian. Erechtheus likewise, one of the kings of Athens, they say was an Egyptian, which they prove by these arguments, viz. That whereas there was a great drought (as all confess) almost over all the world, except Egypt only (because of the peculiar property of the place) which destroyed both men and the fruits of the earth together, Erechtheus transported a great quantity of corn to Athens out of Egypt, because they and the Egyptians were of the same kindred; with which kindness the citizens were so affected, that they advanced him to the kingdom. After which, he instituted the festivals, and taught the Egyptian rites and mysteries of Ceres in Eleusina.

They say, moreover, that it is reported upon good ground, that the goddess herself came into Attica at that time when corn and other goodly fruit in her name were transported thither; and that therefore it seemed as if she had again renewed the invention of seed, as

she did at the beginning. Likewise that the Athenians themselves confess, that in the reign of Erechtheus, when the drought had burnt up all the fruits of the earth, Ceres came thither and gave them corn. And that the rites and mysteries of this goddess, were then begun in Eleusina, and that the sacrifices and antient ceremonies, both of the Athenians and Egyptians, are one and the same: and that they took the original of their Eumolpidæ from the Egyptian priests, and their heralds from their Pastophori. Further, that only the Grecians swear by the name of Isis, and that in all their manners and customs, they are altogether like the Egyptians. These and many other such like arguments they bring to maintain this colony, more (I think) out of ambition, because of the glory and renown of that city, than any ground of truth they have for their assertion. To conclude, the Egyptians say, that many parts of the world were planted by their ancestors, by colonies sent from thence, by means of the state and grandeur of their kings, and the vast number of their people. Which reports not being supported with sufficient arguments, nor attested by credible authors, we think them not worthy of any further account. But thus much we thought fit to say of the Egyptian Theology.

CHAP. III.

The Description of Egypt. Of the Lake of Serbon. The Nature of the River Nile. The Cataracts; the Mouths of the Nile. The Fruits of Egypt. The Beasts, Crocodile, &c. Several Opinions concerning the Inundation of the Nile.

AND now we shall endeavour to treat distinctly of the country itself, and the river Nile, and other things worthy of remark. The land of Egypt almost lies wholly to the south, and is naturally fortified, and the most pleasant country of any of the kingdoms round about it. For on the west it is defended by the deserts of Libya, full of wild beasts, running out a vast way in length; where the passage is both difficult, and extremely hazardous, through want of water, and other provision. On the south it is environed with the cataracts of Nile, and the mountains adjoining. For from the country of the Troglodites, and the higher parts of Ethiopia, for the space of five thousand and five hundred furlongs, there is no passing either by land or water, without such a measure of provision as a king himself could only be furnished with. Those parts towards the east, are

partly secured by the river, and partly surrounded by the deserts and by the marshes called the Barathra. For there is a lake between Cœlo-Syria and Egypt, very narrow, but exceeding deep, even to a wonder, two hundred furlongs in length, called Serbon: if any through ignorance approach it, they are lost irrecoverably; for the channel being very narrow, like a swadling-band, and compassed round with vast heaps of sand, great quantities of it are cast into the lake, by the continued southern winds, which so cover the surface of the water, and make it to the view so like unto dry land, that it cannot possibly be distinguished; and therefore many, unacquainted with the nature of the place, by missing their way, have been there swallowed up, together with whole armies. For the sand being trod upon, sinks down and gives way by degrees, and like a malicious cheat, deludes and decoys them that come upon it, till too late, when they see the mischief they are likely to fall into, they begin to support and help one another, but without any possibility either of returning back, or escaping certain ruin; for, sinking into the gulf, they are neither able to swim (the mud preventing all motion of the body) nor in a capacity to wade out, having nothing firm to support them for that purpose; for sand and water being mixed together, the nature of both is thereby so changed, that there is neither fording, nor passing over it by boats. Being brought therefore to this pass, without the least possibility of help to be afforded them, they go together with the sand to the bottom of the gulf, at the very brink of the bog; and so the place, agreeable to its nature, is called Barathrum.

Having spoken of the three boundaries of Egypt, by which it is distinguished from the rest of the continent, we now proceed to the next.

The fourth side is nearly surrounded with a vast sea, without any harbours, being a very long and tedious voyage, and very difficult to find any place of landing. For from Parcetonium in Africa, to Joppa in Cœlo-Syria, for the space almost of five thousand furlongs, there is not one safe harbour to be found, except Pharus. Then again all along the coasts of Egypt, the sea is full of rocks and sands, not discernible by mariners unacquainted with the places; so that when they look upon themselves as safe, and to have escaped the danger of the seas, and make with great joy to land (wanting skill to steer aright) they are on a sudden and unexpectedly shipwrecked. Others inconsiderately, because they cannot see the land, in regard it lies so low, are carried either into the bogs, or to the deserts. And in this manner is Egypt naturally guarded on every side. It is of a long form or shape; that part that lies along to the sea coast stretches forth itself in length two thousand furlongs; but to the south it runs

almost six thousand furlongs. It was antiently the most populous country in the world, and at this day not inferior to any. It was formerly full of famous towns, and had in it above eighteen thousand cities, as is to be seen registered in their sacred records: and in the time of Ptolemy Lagus, there were reckoned above three thousand, which remain still to this day. Once they say in a general account taken of all the inhabitants, they amounted to seven millions; and at this time are not less than three millions of people. And therefore they say that their kings by the help of such a multitude, left behind them in their great and wonderful works, eternal monuments of their state and grandeur; which we shall by and by distinctly treat of; but at present we shall speak of the nature of the Nile, and of the property of the soil.

The Nile runs from the south towards thè north from spring-heads hitherto unknown, for they are in the utmost borders of Ethiopia, where, by reason of the vast deserts, and extremity of heat, there is no coming. It is the greatest of all other rivers, and runs through many countries, and therefore has many large turnings and windings, sometimes making its way to the east and Arabia, and then again to the west and Libya. For it runs down from the mountains of Ethiopia, till it empties itself into the sea, at least twelve thousand furlongs, accounting the several windings it makes in the way. In its course it makes many islands; amongst many others in Ethiopia, one remarkable for its greatness, called Meroes, two-and-twenty furlongs broad. But, in the lower places, its swelling waves grow narrower, and the current divides itself into two channels towards the continents that lie on either side the island. One of the currents bends towards Africa, and is at length swallowed up in a bed of sand of an incredible depth: the other makes its course towards Arabia, on the other side, and falls into deep guts and vast bogs, inhabited round by divers nations; entering at last into Egypt, it keeps no direct course, but turns and winds here and there in some places ten furlongs in breadth, in others less, sometimes running towards the east, then to the west, and sometimes back again to the south. For mountains stand on both sides the river, and take up a large tract of ground; and the river, forcing itself with great violence against strait and narrow precipices, the water is driven back, and flows over the neighbouring fields; and after it has run a considerable way towards the south, it returns at length to its natural course. And though this river is thus remarkable above all others, yet this is especially observable in it, that its stream runs calm and smooth, without any violent surges, or tempestuous waves, except at the cataracts; a place of ten furlongs being so called,

running down in a precipice, in a strait and narrow passage amongst steep rocks; the whole is a rugged shelvy gulf, where there lie many great stones, like huge rocks. The water dashing violently against these rocks, is beaten back, and rebounds the contrary way, by which are made wonderful whirlpools, and by the repeated influx, the whole place is covered with froth and foam, to the no small amazement of the beholders: for the river there runs down with as quick and violent a current, as an arrow out of a bow. Sometimes it happens that (these rocks, and the whole gulf being covered with the vast quantity of the waters of the Nile) some ships, driven with contrary winds, are hurried down the cataract, but there is no possibility of sailing up against it, the force of the stream baffling all the art of man. There are many cataracts of this kind, but the greatest is that in the confines of Ethiopia and Egypt.

How the river Nile makes several islands near Ethiopia (amongst which Meroe is the chief) is before declared. In this island is a famous city of the same name, which Cambyses built, and called it after the name of his mother Meroe. This island is said to be of the shape of a shield, and for greatness exceeding all the rest of the islands in those parts, being three thousand furlongs in length, and a thousand in breadth, having in it many cities, of which Meroe is the noblest. The island is surrounded towards the coasts of Libya with vast heaps of sand, all along close to the river, and towards Arabia run along steep rocky mountains. It is said there are in it mines of gold, silver, iron, and brass, a great number of ebony trees, and all sorts of precious stones. To conclude, there are so many islands made by this river, that it is scarcely credible. For besides those islands in that part of Egypt called Delta, there are (they say) seven hundred, some of which the Ethiopians inhabit, and sow with millet; others are so pestered with serpents, baboons, and all kinds of hurtful beasts, that it is dangerous to come into them.

The river Nile, parting itself into several channels in Egypt, makes that part called Delta, so called from the shape resembling that Greek letter. The two sides of this Delta are fashioned by the two extreme branches of the river; the foot of this letter is the sea, where the seven mouths of the Nile disgorge themselves. For there are seven places called mouths, through which it empties itself into the ocean. The first, lying to the most eastward channel, is at Pelusium, called Pelusaicum; the second Taniticum; the third Mendisium; the fourth Phatniticum; the fifth Sebenyticum; the sixth Bolbitinum, and the last Canopicum or Herculeum, as some call it. There are some other mouths made by art, of which it is not material to write. At every of the mouths is a city built on

either side of the river, defended with strong guards and bridges on each bank. From Pelusaicum as far as to the Arabian gulf, and the Red Sea, is a canal cut out. Necos the son of Psameticus, was the first that began this work, and after him Darius the Persian carried it on, but left it unfinished, being told by some that if he cut it through the isthmus, all Egypt would be drowned, for that the Red Sea lay higher than Egypt. The last attempt was made by Ptolemy the second, who cut a sluice across the isthmus in a more convenient place, which he opened when he had a mind to sail down that way, and then presently after shut up again; which contrivance proved very useful and serviceable. The river which runs through this cut is called Ptolemy, after the name of the maker. Where it falls into the sea, there is a city built called Arsinoe. Delta is of the shape of Sicily: both sides are seven hundred and fifty furlongs in length, and the foot which lies along the sea-coast, is thirteen hundred furlongs.

This island has in it many dikes and sluices cut by art, and is the most sweet and pleasantest part of Egypt; for being enriched and watered by the river, it produces all sorts of grain and other fruits; and by the yearly overflowing of the river, the face of the ground is still continually renewed, and the inhabitants have an easy way to water it by means of a certain engine, invented by Archimedes the Syracusan, which from its form is called Choelia. And whereas the Nile flows gently over it, it brings along with it much soil, which resting in low and hollow grounds, makes very rich marshes. For in these places grow roots of several tastes and savours, and fruits and herbs of a singular nature and quality, which are very useful both to the poor, and those that are sick; for they do not only afford plentifully in every place things for food, but all other things necessary and useful for the life of man. There grows in great plenty Lotus, of which the Egyptians make bread for the nourishment of man's body. Here is likewise produced in plenty Ciborium, called the Egyptian bean. Here are divers sorts of trees, amongst which those called Persica, whose fruit is of wonderful sweetness: this plant was brought out of Ethiopia by the Persians, when Cambyses conquered these places. The sycamore (or Egyptian fig-tree); some of them bear mulberries, others a fruit like unto figs, and bear all the year long; so that a man may satisfy his hunger at any time. After the falling of the waters of the river, they gather the fruits called Bates, which, for their sweet and delightful taste, are at entertainments served up at last course as delicious desserts.

The Egyptians make a drink of barley, called Zythus, for smell and sweetness of taste not much inferior to wine. They make a

liquor like oil for the feeding of their lamps, of the juice of a plant which they call Cici. There are many other plants which grow in Egypt of admirable use, which would be too tedious here to enumerate.

The river Nile breeds many creatures of several forms and shapes, amongst which, two are especially remarkable, the crocodile and the horse, as they are called: amongst these, the crocodile of the least creature becomes the greatest; for it lays an egg much of the bigness of that of a goose, and after the young is hatched, it grows to the length of sixteen cubits, and lives to the age of a man: it wants a tongue, but has a body naturally armed in a wonderful manner. For its skin is covered all over with scales of an extraordinary hardness; many sharp teeth are ranged on both sides its jaws, and two of them are much bigger than the rest. This monster does not only devour men, but other creatures that come near the river. His bites are sharp and destructive, and with his claws he tears his prey cruelly in pieces, and what wounds he makes, no medicine or application can heal. The Egyptians formerly caught these monsters with hooks, baited with raw flesh; but of later times, they have used to take them with strong nets like fishes: sometimes they strike them on the head with forks of iron, and so kill them. There is an infinite multitude of these creatures in the river and the neighbouring pools, in regard they are great breeders, and are seldom killed: for the crocodile is adored as a god by some of the inhabitants; and for strangers to hunt and destroy them is to no purpose, for their flesh is not eatable. But nature has provided relief against the increase of this destructive monster; for the ichneumon, as it is called (of the bigness of a little dog), running up and down near the water side, breaks all the eggs laid by this beast, wherever he finds them; and that which is most to be admired is, that he does this not for food or any other advantage, but out of a natural instinct for the mere benefit of mankind.

The beast called the River Horse, is five cubits long, four-footed, and cloven-hoofed like to an ox. He has three teeth or tushes on either side his jaw, appearing outwards larger than those of a wild boar; as to his ears, tail, and his neighing, he is like a horse. The whole bulk of his body is not much unlike an elephant; his skin is firmer and thicker almost than any other beast. He lives both on land and in water; in the day time he lies at the bottom of the river, and in the night time comes to land, and feeds upon grass and corn. If this beast were so fruitful as to bring forth young every year, he would undo the husbandman, and destroy a great part of the corn of Egypt. He is likewise by the help of many hands often caught, being struck with instruments of iron; for, when he is found, they

hem him round with their boats, and those on board wound him with forked instruments of iron, cast at him like so many darts; and having strong ropes to the irons, they fix them in him; they let him go till he loses his blood, and he then dies. His flesh is extraordinary hard, and of ill digestion. There is nothing in his inner parts that can be eaten, neither his bowels, nor any other of his entrails.

Besides these before mentioned, the Nile abounds with multitudes of all sorts of fish: not only such as are taken fresh to supply the inhabitants at hand, but an innumerable number likewise which they salt to send abroad. To conclude, no river in the world is more beneficial and serviceable to mankind than the Nile.

Its inundation begins at the summer solstice, and increases till the equinoctial in autumn; during which time, he brings in along with him new soil, and waters as well the tilled and improved ground, as that which lies waste and untilled, as long as it pleases the husbandman; for the water flowing gently and by degrees, they easily divert its course, by casting up small banks of earth; and then, by opening a passage for it, as easily turn it over their land again, if they see it needful. It is so very advantageous to the inhabitants, and done with so little pains, that most of the country people turn in their cattle into the sowed ground to eat, and tread down the corn, and four or five months after, they reap it. Some lightly run over the surface of the earth with a plow, after the water is fallen, and gain a mighty crop without any great cost or pains: but husbandry amongst all other nations, is very laborious and chargeable, only the Egyptians gather their fruits with little cost or labour. That part of the country likewise where vines are planted, after this watering by the Nile, yields a most plentiful vintage. The fields that after the inundation are pastured by their flocks, yield them this advantage, that the sheep yean twice in a year, and are shorn as often. This increase of the Nile is wonderful to beholders, and altogether incredible to them that only hear the report; for when other rivers about the solstice fall and grow lower all summer long, this begins to increase, and continues to rise every day, till it comes to that height that it overflows almost all Egypt; and on the contrary, in the same manner, in the winter solstice, it falls by degrees till it wholly returns into its proper channel. And in regard the land of Egypt lies low and champaign; the towns, cities, and country villages, that are built upon rising ground, (cast up by art), look like the islands of the Cyclades. Many of the cattle sometimes are by the river intercepted, and so are drowned; but those that fly to the higher grounds are preserved. During the time of the inundation, the

cattle are kept in the country towns and small cottages, where they have food and fodder before laid up and prepared for them. But the common people, now at liberty from all employments in the field, indulge themselves in idleness, feasting every day, and giving themselves up to all sorts of sports and pleasures. Yet out of fear of the inundation, a watch-tower is built in Memphis, by the kings of Egypt, where those who are employed to take care of this concern, observing to what height the river rises, send letters from one city to another, acquainting them how many cubits and fingers the river rises, and when it begins to decrease; and so the people, coming to understand the fall of the waters, are freed from their fears, and all presently have a foresight what plenty of corn they are like to have; and this observation has been registered from time to time by the Egyptians for many generations.

There are great controversies concerning the reasons of the overflowing of the Nile, and many, both philosophers and historians, have endeavoured to declare the causes of it, which we shall distinctly relate, neither making too long a digression, nor omitting that which is so much banded and controverted. Of the increase and spring-heads of the Nile, and of its emptying itself at length into the Sea, and other properties peculiar to this river above all others, though it be the greatest in the world, yet some authors have not dared to say the least thing: some who have attempted to give their reasons, have been very wide from the mark. For as for Hellanicus, Cadmus, Hecatæus, and such like antient authors, they have told little but frothy stories, and mere fables. Herodotus, above all other writers, very industrious, and well acquainted with general history, made it his business to find out the causes of these things; but what he says is, notwithstanding, very doubtful, and some things seem to be repugnant and contradictory one to another. Thucydides and Xenophon, who have the reputation of faithful historians, never so much as touch upon the description of any place in Egypt. But Ephorus and Theopompus, though they are very earnest in this matter, yet they have not in the least discovered the truth.

But it was through ignorance of the places, and not through negligence, that they were all led into error. For antiently, none of the Grecians, till the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, ever went into Ethiopia, or so much as to the utmost bounds of Egypt. For those places were never frequented by travellers, they were so hazardous, till that king marched with a Grecian army into those parts, and so made a more perfect discovery of the country.

No writer hitherto has pretended that he himself ever saw, or heard of any one else that affirmed, he had seen the spring-heads

of the Nile: all, therefore, amounting to no more than opinion and conjecture, the priests of Egypt affirm that it comes from the ocean, which flows round the whole earth. But nothing that they say is upon any solid grounds, and they resolve doubts by things that are more doubtful; and to prove what they say, they bring arguments that have need to be proved themselves.

But the Troglodites (otherwise called Molgii), whom the scorching heat forced to remove from the higher parts into those lower places, say, that there are some signs, whence a man may rationally conclude, that the river Nile rises from streams which run from many ountains or spring-heads, and meet at last in one channel, and therefore to be the most fruitful and richest river of any that is known in the world.

The inhabitants of the Isle of Meroe (who are most to be credited upon this account), are far from inventing so much as any probable arguments; and though they live near to the place in controversy, are so far from giving any certain account of this matter, that they call the Nile, Astapus; which, in the Greek language, signifies water that issues out of a place of darkness; so that they give a name to the river, to denote their ignorance of the place from whence it springs. But that seems the truest reason to me, that looks to be furthest from fiction and studied contrivance. Yet I am not ignorant, that Herodotus who bounds Libya both on the east and west, with this river, ascribes the exact knowledge of it to the Africans, called Nasamones, and says, that the Nile rises from a certain lake, and runs through a large tract of ground, down all along through Ethiopia: but, neither are the sayings of the Africans in this behalf, (as not altegether agreeable to truth), nor the affirmation of the writer, (who proves not what he says), to be of absolute credit. But enough concerning the spring-heads and course of the Nile:—let us now venture to treat of the causes of the risings of this river.

Thales, who is reckoned one of the seven wise men of Greece, is of opinion, that the Etesian winds that beat fiercely upon the mouth of the river, give a check and stop to the current, and so hinder it from falling into the sea, upon which the river swelling and its channel filled with water, at length overflows the country of Egypt, which lies flat and low. Though this seems a plausible reason, yet it may be easily disproved: for if it were true what he says, then all the rivers which run into the sea against the Etesian winds, would overflow in like manner; which being never known in any other part of the world, some other reason, and more agreeable to truth, must of necessity be sought for. Anaxagoras the philosopher, ascribes the

cause to the melting of the snow in Ethiopia, whom the poet Euripides (who was his scholar) follows, saying thus—

> The pleasant streams of th' river Nile forsakes,
> Which flowing from the Negro's parched land,
> Swells big when th' melting snow to th' river takes,
> Comes falling down, and overflows the strand.

Neither is it any hard task to confute this opinion, since it is apparent to all, that by reason of the parching heats, there is no snow in Ethiopia at that time of the year. For in these countries there is not the least sign either of frost, cold, or any other effect of winter, especially at the time of the overflowing of the Nile; and suppose there be abundance of snow in the higher parts of Ethiopia, yet what is affirmed, is certainly false; for every river that is swelled with snow, fumes up in cold fogs, and thickens the air; but about the Nile only, above all other rivers, neither mists gather, nor are there any cold breezes, nor is the air gross and thick. Herodotus says, that the Nile is such in its own nature, as it seems to be in the time of its increase; for that in winter, when the sun moves to the south, and runs its daily course directly over Africa, it exhales so much water out of the Nile, that it decreases against nature; and in summer, when the sun returns to the north, the rivers of Greece, and the rivers of all other northern countries, fall and decrease; and therefore, that it is not so strange for the Nile about summer time to increase, and in winter to fall and grow lower. But to this it may be answered, that if the sun exhale so much moisture out of the Nile in winter time, it would do the like in other rivers in Africa, and so they must fall as well as the Nile, which no where happens throughout all Africa; and therefore, this author's reason is frivolous; for the rivers of Greece rise not in the winter, by reason of the remoteness of the sun, but by reason of the great rains that fall at that time.

Democritus the Abderite says, that the northern countries, and not those towards the south, (as Anaxagoras and Euripides say), are subject to snow; for that it is clear and evident to every body, that in the northern parts, drifts and heaps of snow lie congealed at the time of the winter solstice; but in summer, the ice being melted by the heat of the sun, the land becomes very wet, which causes many thick mists to appear upon the hills, from the vapours rising from the earth. These vapours, he says, are driven about by the Etesian winds, till they fall upon the highest mountains, which are, (as he affirms, in Ethiopia), and by the violent impression they make upon the tops of these mountains, great storms and showers of rain are occasioned, which, about the time of the Etesian winds, cause the rivers

to rise. But if any will diligently observe the time and season of the year when this falls out, he may easily answer this argument; for the Nile begins to swell at the time of the summer solstice, when there are no Etesian winds; and after the autumnal equinox, when those winds are past, it falls again. Inasmuch, therefore, as certain experience to the contrary, answers all arguments, be they ever so probable, the man's diligence and ingenuity is to be commended; but his affirmations and opinions are by no means to be relied upon. And I wave this, that it is evident that the Etesian winds come as often from the west, as from the north. For not only the north-east winds, called Aparctie, but those of the north-west, called Argeste, go under the name of the Etesian winds. And whereas he affirms, that the greatest mountains are in Ethiopia, as it wants proof; so likewise, all grounds for credit and belief, as is evident from the thing itself.

Ephorus, who gives the last account of the thing, endeavours to ascertain the reason, but seems not to find out the truth.

The whole land of Egypt (says he) is cast up from the river, and the soil is of a loose and spungy nature, and has in it many large cliffs and hollow places, wherein are abundance of water, which in the winter time is frozen up, and in the summer issues out on every side, like sweat from the pores, which occasions the river Nile to rise. This writer does not only betray his own ignorance of the nature of places in Egypt, that he never saw them himself, but likewise, that he never was rightly informed by any that was acquainted with them. For if the overflowing of the Nile should proceed from Egypt itself, it could not flow above the land of Egypt, where it passes through rock and mountainous places. For, as it takes its course through Ethiopia for above the space of six thousand furlongs, it is at its full height before ever it reach Egypt; and therefore, if the river Nile lie lower than the caverns of congested earth, those clefts and hollow places must be above, towards the superficies of the earth, in which it is impossible so much water should be contained. And if the river lie higher than those spongy caverns, it is not possible that from hollow places, much lower than the river, the water should rise higher than the river. Lastly, who can imagine that waters issuing out of holes and hollow parts of the earth, should raise the river to such a height, as to overflow almost all the land of Egypt? But I let pass this vain imagination of casting up the soil, and lodging of waters in the bowels of the earth, being so easily to be confuted. The river Meander hath cast up a great tract of land in Asia, whereas, at the time of the rising of the Nile, nothing of that kind in the least can be seen.

In the same manner the river Archelous in Arcadia, and Cephesus in Boeotia, which runs down from Phocæa, have cast up great quan-

tities of earth, by both which the writer is convicted of falsity: and indeed no man is to expect any certainty from Ephorus, who may be palpably discerned not to make it his business in many things to declare the truth. The philosophers indeed in Memphis have urged strong reasons for the increase of the Nile, which are hard to be confuted; and though they are improbable, yet many agree to them. For they divide the earth into three parts, one of which is that wherein we inhabit; another quite contrary to these places in the seasons of the year; the third lying between these two, which they say is uninhabitable by reason of the scorching heat of the sun; and therefore, if the Nile should overflow in the winter time, it would be clear and evident, that its source would arise out of our zone, because then we have the most rain: but on the contrary, being that it rises in summer, it is very probable that in the country opposite to us it is winter time, where then there is much rain, and that those floods of water are brought down thence to us: and therefore that none can ever find out the head-springs of the Nile, because the river has its course through the opposite zone; which is uninhabited. And the exceeding sweetness of the water, they say, is the confirmation of this opinion; for passing through the torrid zone, the water is boiled, and therefore this river is sweeter than any other in the world; for heat does naturally dulcorate water. But this reason is easily refuted; for it is plainly impossible that the river should rise to that height, and come down to us from the opposite zone; especially if it be granted that the earth is round. But if any yet shall be so obstinate as to affirm it is so as the philosophers have said, I must in short say, it is against, and contrary to the laws of nature.

For, as they hold opinions which in the nature of the things can hardly be disproved, and place an inhabitable part of the world between us and them that are opposite to us, they conclude, that by this device, they have made it impossible, and out of the reach of the wit of man to confute them. But it is but just and equal, that those who affirm any thing positively, should prove what they say, either by good authority or strength of reason. How comes it about that only the river Nile should come down to us from the other opposite zone? Have we not other rivers that this may be as well applied to? As to the causes alledged for the sweetness of the water, they are absurd: for if the water be boiled with the parching heat, and thereupon becomes sweet, it would have no productive quality, either of fish or other kinds of creatures and beasts: for all water whose nature is changed by fire, is altogether incapable to breed any living thing; and therefore as the nature of the Nile contra-

dicts this decoction and boiling of the water, we conclude that the causes alledged of its increase are false.

The opinion of Œnopides of Chios is this: the waters (says he) that are under the earth in summer time, are cold, and warm in the winter, as we see by experience in deep wells; for in a sharp winter they are the least cold, but in summer they are the coldest of any other time; and therefore, saith he, there is good reason that the Nile in the winter should grow low and contracted, because the heat in the bowels of the earth exhales much of the water, which cannot be supplied, in regard no rains fall in Egypt. But in summer time, when the waters that lie deep in the earth are no longer exhaled, then the channel of the river, according to the order of nature, fills without any obstruction. But to this it may be answered, that many rivers in Africa, whose mouths lie parallel with this river, and run the like course, yet overflow not like the Nile. For on the contrary they rise in winter, and fall in summer, which clearly evinces his falsity, who endeavours with a shew of reason to oppose the truth. But to the true cause, Agartharchides of Cnidus comes nearest. For he says, that in the mountainous parts of Ethiopia, there are yearly continual rains from the summer solstice to the equinox in autumn, and therefore there is just cause for the Nile to be low in the winter, which then flows only from its own natural spring-heads, and to overflow in summer through the abundance of rains. And though none hitherto have been able to give a reason for these inundations, yet he says his opinion is not altogether to be rejected; for there are many things that are contrary to the rules of nature, for which none are able to give any substantial reason. That which happens in some parts of Asia, he says, gives some confirmation to his opinion. For in the confines of Scythia, near Mount Caucasus, after the winter is over, he affirms, that abundance of snow falls every year for many days together: and that in the northern parts of India, at certain times, there falls abundance of hail, and of an incredible bigness: and that near the river Hydaspes, in summer time, it rains continually; and the same happens in Ethiopia for many days together; and that this disorder of the air whirling about, occasions many storms of rain in places near adjoining; and that therefore it is no wonder if the mountainous parts of Ethiopia, which lies much higher than Egypt, are soaked with continual rains, wherewith the river being filled, overflows; especially since the natural inhabitants of the place affirm, that thus it is in their country. And though these things now related, are in their nature contrary to those in our own climates, yet we are not for that reason to disbelieve them. For with us the

south wind is cloudy and boisterous, whereas in Ethiopia it is calm and clear; and that the north winds in Europe are fierce and violent, but in those regions low and almost insensible.

But however, (after all), though we could heap up variety of arguments against all these authors concerning the inundation of the Nile, yet those which we have before alledged shall suffice, lest we should transgress those bounds of brevity which at the first we proposed to ourselves. Having therefore divided this book, because of the largeness of it, into two parts, (having before determined to keep within moderate bounds), we shall now end the first part of this treatise, and continue, in the other, those things that are further remarkable in Egypt coherent with those before, beginning with the actions of the kings of Egypt, and the antient way of living among the Egyptians.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

BOOK I.

PART SECOND.

CHAP. IV.

The first way of Living of the Egyptians: Gods and Demi-Gods, their Reigns in Egypt. The antient Kings of Egypt, Menis, &c. Their several Works. Thebes built by Busiris. The stately Sepulchres, Obelisks, and Temples there. A Description of Osymandyas's Sepulchre. Memphis built by Uchoreus. Meris's Lake. Sesostris or Sesoosis, his famous Expedition, and great Works.

THE first book of Diodorus is divided into two parts, by reason of the greatness of it; the first whereof is as a preface to the whole work, and in which an account is given of what the Egyptians say concerning the beginning of the world, of the first creation of the universe, and of those gods that built cities in Egypt, and called them after their own names; of the first men, and their antient way of living; of the worship of the gods, and the building of temples by the Egyptians. Moreover, of the situation of Egypt, and what strange things are related of the Nile; the causes of its inundation, and the various opinions of philosophers and historians concerning it: wherein likewise is set down the confutations of the several writers. In this we shall handle and go through those matters that have a dependence upon the former.

After we have distinctly set forth the antient way of living among the Egyptians, we shall then begin with their first kings, and declare the acts of every one of them successively down to Amasis.

They say the Egyptians in antient times fed upon nothing but

roots and herbs, and colewort leaves, which grew in fens and bogs, having first tried the taste of them: but above all, and most commonly, they fed upon the herb called Agrostis, because it was sweeter than any other, and was very nourishing to men's bodies: and it is very certain, that the cattle much covet it, and grow very fat with it. At this day, therefore, superstitious persons, in memory of its usefulness, when they sacrifice to the gods, they worship them with their hands full of this herb: for they conceive man, from the frame of his nature and frothy constitution, to be a watery creature, something resembling the fenny and marish ground, and that he hath more need of moist than of dry food. They say the Egyptians afterwards fell to another course of diet, and that was eating of fish, wherewith they were plentifully supplied by the river, especially after the inundation, when it was returned within its former bounds: and they ate likewise the flesh of some cattle, and clothed themselves with their skins. That they made their houses of reeds, of which there are some marks amongst the shepherds of Egypt at this day, who care for no other houses, but such like, which they say, serves their turn well enough. Afterwards, in process of time, after many ages, they fell to those fruits which were made more apt and fit for man's food, amongst which was bread made of Lotus, which invention some attribute to Isis, others to Menis, one of the antient kings: the priests indeed do make Hermes* the inventor of all arts and sciences, but say, that their kings found out all things necessary for the support of men's lives; and therefore that kingdoms antiently were not inheritable, but given to such as had been most useful and serviceable to the people, thereby either to induce their kings to be kind and beneficial to all their subjects, or for that, (as most agreeable to the truth), it was a law registered in their sacred records commanding them so to do.

At the first, (as some of them, *i. e.* the priests have fabulously reported), the gods and demi-gods reigned in Egypt for the space almost of eighteen thousand years, the last of which was Orus, the son of Isis. Afterwards, they say, that men reigned there for the space of fifteen thousand years, to the hundred and eightieth Olympiad, at which time I myself came into Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy, who took upon him the name of Dionysius the younger. Most of their kings were natives of the country. There were a few in the mean time that were Ethiopians, Persians, and Macedonians. Four of them that were Ethiopians, reigned not in a continued line, but at several times, for the space of thirty-six years or thereabouts: from the time that Cambyses conquered the nation, the Persians

* Mercury.

reigned for the space of a hundred and thirty-five years, reckoning the defections of the Egyptians within the time occasioned by the intolerable cruelty of the governors, and their impiety against the Egyptian gods. Last of all, the Macedonians ruled there for the space of two hundred and seventy-six years. The rest of the princes were Egyptians, to the number of four hundred and seventy men, and five women. The Egyptian priests keep registers in their temples of all their kings successively, from many generations past; to what greatness and majesty every one of them arrived; what were their particular tempers and inclinations, and their actions in their several times. To write particularly of every one of them, as it would be tedious, so it would be altogether superfluous, inasmuch as many things concerning them are insignificant, and of no use; and therefore we have limited ourselves to treat only of those matters that are most remarkable and worthy of remembrance.

After the gods, (they say), Menis was the first king of Egypt. He taught the people the adoration of the gods, and the manner of divine worship; how to adorn their beds and tables with rich cloths and coverings, and was the first that brought in a delicate and sumptuous way of living.

Many ages after, reigned Gnephachthus, father of Bocchoris the wise; who, leading an army into Arabia, through many barren and desert places, his provision failed, so that for the space of one day he was forced to take up with such mean food as the common people, among whom he happened then to be, could supply him with, which he ate so heartily, and relished with so much delight, as for the future he forbade all excess and luxury, and cursed that king who first brought in that sumptuous and luxurious way of living; and this change and alteration of meat, and drink, and bedding, was so delightful to him, that he ordered the curse beforementioned, to be entered in the sacred records in the temple of Jupiter at Thebes; which was the chief reason why the fame and reputation of Menis became to be clouded in future generations.

They say, the posterity of Gnephachthus, to the number of fifty-two, reigned for the space of fourteen hundred years; in which time there is found nothing worthy of remark.

Afterwards reigned Busiris, and eight of his posterity after him; the last of which (of the same name with the first) built that great city which the Egyptians call Heliopolis, the Greeks Thebes; it was in circuit a hundred and forty furlongs, adorned with stately public buildings, magnificent temples, and rich donations and revenues to admiration; and that he built all the private houses, some four, and others five stories high. And to sum up all in a word,

made it not only the most beautiful and stateliest city, of Egypt, but of all others in the world. The fame, therefore, of the riches and grandeur of this city was so noised abroad in every place, that the poet Homer takes notice of it in these words:—

> .....Nor Thebes so much renown'd,
> Whose courts with unexhausted wealth abound,
> Where through a hundred gates with marble arch,
> To battle twenty thousand chariots march.

Although there are some that say it had not a hundred gates; but that there were many large porches to the temples, whence the city was called Hecatompylus, a hundred gates, for many gates: yet that it was certain they had in it twenty thousand chariots of war; for there were a hundred stables all along the river from Memphis to Thebes towards Libya, each of which were capable to hold two hundred horses, the marks and signs of which are visible at this day: and we have it related, that not only this king, but the succeeding princes from time to time, made it their business to beautify this city; for that there was no city under the sun so adorned with so many and stately monuments of gold, silver, and ivory, and multitudes of Colossuses and obelisks, cut out of one entire stone. For there were there four temples built, for beauty and greatness to be admired, the most antient of which was in circuit thirteen furlongs, and five-and-forty cubits high, and had a wall four-and-twenty feet broad. The ornaments of this temple were suitable to its magnificence, both for cost and workmanship. The fabric hath continued to our time, but the silver and the gold, and ornaments of ivory and precious stones were carried away by the Persians, when Cambyses burnt the temples of Egypt. At which time they say those palaces at Persepolis and Susa, and other parts of Media, (famous all the world over), were built by the Persians, who brought over these rich spoils into Asia, and sent for workmen out of Egypt for that purpose. And it is reported, that the riches of Egypt were then so great, that in the rubbish and cinders there were found and gathered up above three hundred talents of gold, and of silver no less than two thousand and three hundred.

There, they say, are the wonderful sepulchres of the antient kings, which, for state and grandeur, far exceed all that posterity can attain unto at this day. The Egyptian priests say that, in their sacred registers, there are entered seven-and-forty of these sepulchres; but in the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, there remained only seventeen, many of which were ruined and destroyed when I myself came into those parts, which was in the hundred-and-eightieth olympiad. And these things are not only reported by the Egyptian priests, out of

their sacred records, but many of the Grecians, who travelled to Thebes in the time of Ptolemy Lagus, and wrote histories of Egypt, (among whom was Hecateus), agree with what we have related. Of the first sepulchres, (wherein they say the women of Jupiter were buried), that of king Osymandyas was ten furlongs in circuit; at the entrance of which they say, was a portico of various-coloured marble, in length two hundred feet; and in height, five-and-forty cubits: thence going forward, you come into a four-square stone gallery, every square being four hundred feet, supported, instead of pillars, with beasts, each of one entire stone, sixteen cubits high, carved after the antique manner. The roof was entirely of stone; each stone eight cubits broad, with an azure sky, bespangled with stars. Passing out of this peristylion, you enter into another portico, much like the former, but more curiously carved, and with more variety. At the entrance stand three statues, each of one entire stone, the workmanship of Memnon of Sienitas. One of these, made in a sitting posture, is the greatest in all Egypt, the measure of his foot exceeding seven cubits; the other two, much less than the former, reaching but to his knees; the one standing on the right, and the other on the left, being his daughter and mother. This piece is not only commendable for its greatness, but admirable for its cut and workmanship, and the excellency of the stone. In so great a work there is not to be discerned the least flaw, or any other blemish.

Upon it there is this inscription:—"I am Osymandyas, king of "kings; if any would know how great I am, and where I lie, let "him excel me in any of my works."

There was likewise at this second gate, another statue of his mother, by herself, of one stone, twenty cubits in height; upon her head were placed three crowns, to denote she was both the daughter, wife, and mother of a king. Near to this portico, they say there was another gallery of Piazzo, more remarkable than the former, in which were various sculptures, representing his wars with the Bactrians, who had revolted from him, against whom (it is said) he marched with four hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse; which army he divided into four bodies, and appointed his sons generals of the whole.

In the first wall might be seen the king assaulting a bulwark, environed with the river, and fighting at the head of his men against some that make up against him, assisted by a lion, in a terrible manner; which some affirm, is to be taken for a true and real lion, which the king bred up tame, which went along with him in all his wars, and by his great strength, ever put the enemy to flight. Others make

this construction of it, that the king being a man of extraordinary courage and strength, he was willing to trumpet forth his own praises, setting forth the bravery of his own spirit, by the representation of a lion.

In the second wall, was carved the captives dragged after the king, represented without hands and privy members; which was to signify, that they were of effeminate spirits, and had no hands when they came to fight.

The third wall represented all sorts of sculptures, and curious images, in which were set forth the king's sacrificing of oxen, and his triumphs in that war.

In the middle of the peristylion, open to the air at the top, was reared an altar of shining marble, of excellent workmanship, and for largeness to be admired.

In the last wall were two statues, each of one entire stone, seven-and-twenty cubits high: near to which, three passages opened out of the peristylion, into a stately room, supported with pillars like to a theatre for music; every side of the theatre was two hundred feet square. In this, there were many statues of wood, representing the pleaders and spectators, looking upon the judges that gave judgment. Of these, there were thirty carved upon one of the walls. In the middle sat the chief justice, with the image of truth hanging about his neck, with his eyes closed, having many books lying before him. This signified that a judge ought not to take any bribes, but ought only to regard the truth and merits of the cause.

Next adjoining, was a gallery full of divers apartments, in which were all sorts of delicate meats, ready dressed up. Near hereunto, is represented the king himself, curiously carved, and painted in glorious colours, offering gold and silver to the gods; as much as he yearly received out of the gold and silver mines. The sum was there inscribed, (according to the rate of silver), to amount unto thirty-two millions of minas. Next hereunto, was the sacred library, whereon was inscribed these words, viz. The cure of the Mind. Adjoining to this, were the images of all the gods of Egypt; to every one of whom the king was making offerings, peculiarly belonging to each of them, that Osiris and all his associates, who were placed at his feet, might understand his piety towards the gods, and his righteousness towards men. Next to the library, was a stately room, wherein were twenty beds to eat upon, richly adorned; in this house, were the images of Jupiter and Juno, together with the kings; and here it is supposed, the king's body lies interred. Round the room are many apartments, wherein are to be seen in curious painting, all the beasts that are accounted sacred in Egypt. Thence are the ascents to the top of the

whole monument of the sepulchre, which being mounted, appears a border of gold round the tomb, of three hundred and sixty-five cubits in compass, and a cubit thick; within the division of every cubit, were the several days of the year engraven, with the natural rising and setting of the stars, and their significations, according to the observations of the Egyptian astrologers. This border, they say, was carried away by Cambyses and the Persians, when he conquered Egypt. In this manner they describe the sepulchre of king Osymandyas, which seems far to exceed all others, both for magnificence and curiosity of workmanship.

The Thebans boast they were the most antient philosophers and astrologers, of any people in the world, and the first that found out exact rules for the improvement both of philosophy and astrology; the situation of their country being such as gave them an advantage over others, more clearly to discern the rising and setting of the stars: and that the months and years are best and most properly ordered, and disposed by them; for they measure their days according to the motion of the sun, and not of the moon; and account thirty days to every month, and add five days and a quarter to every twelve months; and by this means, they complete the whole year: but they add no intercalary months, nor subtract any days, as it is the custom with many of the Greeks. But these of Thebes seem most accurately to have observed the eclipses of the sun and moon; and from them do so manage their prognostications, that they certainly foretel every particular event.

The eighth of this king's race, called after the name of his father, Uchoreus, built Memphis, the most famous city of Egypt. For he chose the most convenient place for it in all the country, where the Nile divides itself into several branches, and makes that part of the country called Delta, so named from the shape of the Greek letter Delta, which it resembles. The city being thus conveniently situated at the head of the river, commands all the shipping that sail up it. He built it in circuit a hundred and fifty furlongs, and made it exceeding strong and commodious in this manner: for the Nile flowing round the city, and at the time of its inundation covering all round on the south side, he casts up a mighty rampart of earth, both for a defence to the city against the raging of the river, and as a bulwark against an enemy on land; on every other side, likewise, he dug a broad and deep trench, which received the violent surges of the river, and filled every place round the rampart with water, which fortified the city to admiration.

This place was so commodiously pitched upon by the builder, that most of the kings after him preferred it before Thebes, and removed

the court thence to this place: from that time, therefore, the magnificence of Thebes began to decrease, and Memphis to increase to the times of Alexander king of Macedon, who built a city called after his own name, near the sea, and planted it with inhabitants, which all the succeeding kings of Egypt still made it their business to enlarge: for some beautified it with royal palaces, some with ports and arsenals, and others with magnificent buildings and rich donations, that it is judged by most to be second, if not the first city of the whole world.

But we shall treat of this particularly in its proper time and place. But the builder of Memphis after he had finished the rampart and trench, built palaces not inferior to others built elsewhere; yet much below the state and grandeur of the former kings. For the inhabitants of this country little value the short time of this present life; but put an high esteem upon the name and reputation of a virtuous life after death; and they call the houses of the living, inns, because they stay in them but a little while; but the sepulchres of the dead they call everlasting habitations, because they abide in the graves to infinite generations. Therefore they are not very curious in the building of their houses; but in beautifying their sepulchres they leave nothing undone that can be thought of.

Some have thought that the city of which we have just now spoken, was so called from the daughter of the founder, and tell a fabulous story, that the river Nile, in the shape of a bull, fell in love with her, and begat Egyptus, famous among the inhabitants for his admirable virtue, from whom the whole country was called Egypt; for, coming to the crown by descent, he was exceeding kind to his subjects, just and diligent in all his affairs, and therefore was judged justly to merit honour and esteem from all, and for his gracious disposition generally applauded.

After the death of this king, and twelve descents, Meris came to the crown of Egypt, and built a portico in Memphis towards the north, more stately and magnificent than any of the rest. And, a little above the city, he cut a dyke for a pond, bringing it down in length from the city three hundred and twenty-five furlongs, whose use was admirable, and the greatness of the work incredible. They say it was in circuit three thousand and six hundred furlongs; and in many places three hundred feet in depth. Who is he, therefore, that considers the greatness of this work, that may not justly ask the question—How many ten thousand men were employed, and how many years were spent in finishing it? Considering the benefit and advantage, (by this great work), brought to the government, none ever sufficiently could extol it, according to what the truth of the

thing deserved. For being that the Nile never kept to a certain and constant height in its inundation, and the fruitfulness of the country ever depended upon its just proportion, he dug this lake to receive such water as was superfluous, that it might neither immoderately overflow the land, and so cause fens and standing ponds, nor by flowing too little, prejudice the fruits of the earth for want of water. To this end he cut a trench along from the river into the lake, fourscore furlongs in length, and three hundred feet broad; into this he let the water of the river sometimes run, and at other times diverted it, and turned it over the fields of the husbandmen, at seasonable times, by means of sluices which he sometimes opened, and at other times shut up, not without great labour and cost; for these sluices could not be opened or shut at a less charge than fifty talents. This lake continues to the benefit of the Egyptians for these purposes to our very days, and is called the lake of Myris or Meris to this day.

The king left a place in the middle of the lake, where he built a sepulchre and two pyramids, one for himself, and another for his queen, a furlong in height; upon the top of which he placed two marble statues seated in a throne, designing, by these monuments, to perpetuate the fame and glory of his name to all succeeding generations. The revenue arising from the fish taken in this lake, he gave to his wife to buy her dresses, which amounted to a talent of silver every day. For there were in it two-and-twenty sorts of fish, and so vast a number were taken, that those who were employed continually to salt them up, (though they were multitudes of people), could hardly perform it. And these are the things which the Egyptians relate of Meris.

Seven descents after, (they say), Sesostris reigned, who excelled all his ancestors in great and famous actions. But not only the Greek writers differ among themselves about this king, but likewise the Egyptian priests and poets relate various and different stories concerning him. We shall relate such as are most probable and agreeable to those signs and marks that are yet remaining in Egypt to confirm them. After his birth his father performed a noble act, and becoming a king, he caused all throughout Egypt, that were born the same day with his son, to be brought together; and together with his son to be bred up with the same education, and instructed in the same discipline and exercises, conceiving that, by being thus familiarly brought up together, and conversing with one another, they would be always most loving and faithful friends, and the best fellow-soldiers in all the wars. Providing, therefore, every thing for the purpose, he caused the boys to be exercised daily in the schools with hard and difficult labours; as that none should eat till

he had run a hundred and fourscore furlongs*: and by this means, when they came to be at men's estate, they were fit either to be commanders, or to undertake any brave or noble action, both in respect of the vigour and strength of their bodies, and the excellent endowments of their minds.

Sesostris in the first place being sent with an army into Arabia, by his father, (with whom went his companions that were bred up with him), toiled and troubled himself with the hunting and killing of wild beasts; and then having at last overmastered all his fatigues and wants of water and provision, he conquered all that barbarous nation, which was never before that time subdued. Afterwards, being sent into the western parts, he conquered the greatest part of Libya, being as yet but a youth. Coming to the crown after the death of his father, encouraged by his former successes, he designed to subdue and conquer the whole world. Some report that he was stirred up by his daughter Athyrte to undertake the gaining of the empire of the world; for, being a woman of an extraordinary understanding, she made it out to her father, that the conquest was easy: others encouraged him by their divinations, foretelling his successes by the entrails of the sacrifices, by their dreams in the temples, and prodigies seen in the air.

There are some also that write, that when Sesostris was born, Vulcan appeared to his father in his sleep, and told him that the child then born should be conqueror of the universe; and that that was the reason why his father assembled all of the like age, and bred them up together with his son, to make way for him with more ease to rise to that height of imperial dignity: and that when he was grown to man's estate, fully believing what the god had foretold, he undertook at length this expedition.

To this purpose he first made it his chief concern, to gain the love and good will of all the Egyptians, judging it necessary in order to effect what he designed, so far to engage his soldiers, as that they should willingly and readily venture, nay, lose their lives for their generals, and that those whom he should leave behind him, should not contrive or hatch any rebellion in his absence: to this end, therefore, he obliged every one, to the utmost of his power, working upon some by money, others, by giving them lands, and many by free pardons, and upon all by fair words, and affable and courteous behaviour. He pardoned those that were condemned for high treason, and freed all that were in prison for debt, by paying what they owed, of whom there was a vast multitude in the gaols.

He divided the whole country into thirty-six parts, which the

* Twenty-seven miles.

Egyptians call Nomi, over every one of which he appointed a governor, who should take care of the king's revenue, and manage all other affairs relating to their several and respective provinces. Out of these he chose the strongest and ablest men, and raised an army answerable to the greatness of his design, to the number of six hundred thousand foot, and twenty-four thousand horse, and twenty-seven thousand chariots of war: and over all the several regiments and battalions, he made those who had been brought up with him commanders, being such as had been used to martial exercises, and from their childhood hot and zealous after that which was brave and virtuous, and who were knit together as brothers in love and affection, both to the king and one to another; the number of whom were above seventeen hundred.

Upon these companions of his, he bestowed large estates in lands, in the richest parts of Egypt, that they might not be in the least want of any thing, reserving only their attendance upon him in the wars.

Having therefore rendezvoused his army, he marched first against the Ethiopians, inhabiting the south, and having conquered them, forced them to pay him tribute of ebony, gold, and elephant's teeth.

Then he sent forth a navy of four hundred sail into the Red Sea, and was the first Egyptian that built long ships. By the help of this fleet, he gained all the islands in this sea, and subdued the bordering nations as far as to India. But he himself marching forward with his land army, conquered all Asia: for he not only invaded those nations which Alexander the Macedonian afterwards subdued, but likewise those which he never set foot upon. For he both passed over the river Ganges, and likewise pierced through all India to the main ocean. Then he subdued the Scythians as far as to the river Tanais, which divides Europe from Asia; where they say he left some of his Egyptians at the lake Mœotis, and gave origin to the nations of Colchis; and, to prove that they were originally Egyptians, they bring this argument, that they are circumcised after the manner of the Egyptians, which custom continued in this colony as it did amongst the Jews. In the same manner he brought into his subjection all the rest of Asia, and most of the islands of the Cyclades. Thence passing over into Europe, he was in danger of losing his whole army, through the difficulty of the passages, and want of provisions. And, therefore, putting a stop to his expedition in Thrace, up and down in all his conquests, he erected pillars, whereon were inscribed, in Egyptian letters, called hieroglyphics, these

words:—"Sesostris, king of kings, and lord of lords, subdued this "country by his arms."

Among those nations that were stout and warlike, he carved upon those pillars the privy members of a man: amongst them that were cowardly and faint-hearted, the secret parts of a woman; conceiving that the chief and principal member of a man would be a clear evidence to posterity of the courage of every one of them. In some places he set up his own statue, carved in stone, (armed with a bow and a lance), above four cubits and four hands in height, of which stature he himself was.

Having now spent nine years in this expedition, (carrying himself courteously and familiarly towards all his subjects in the mean time), he ordered the nations he had conquered, to bring their presents and tributes every year into Egypt, every one proportionable to their several abilities: and he himself, with the captives and the rest of the spoils, (of which there were a vast quantity), returned into Egypt, far surpassing all the kings before him in the greatness of his actions and achievements. He adorned all the temples of Egypt with rich presents, and the spoils of his enemies. Then he rewarded his soldiers that had served him in the war, every one according to their desert. It is most certain that the army not only returned loaded with riches, and received the glory and honour of their approved valour, but the whole country of Egypt reaped many advantages by this expedition.

Sesostris having now disbanded his army, gave leave to his companions in arms, and fellow victors, to take their ease, and enjoy the fruits of their conquest. But he himself, fired with an earnest desire of glory, and ambitious to leave behind him eternal monuments of his memory, made many fair and stately works, admirable both for their cost and contrivance, by which he both advanced his own immortal praise, and procured unspeakable advantages to the Egyptians, with perfect peace and security for the time to come. For, beginning first with what concerned the gods, he built a temple in all the cities of Egypt, to that god whom every particular place most adored; and he employed none of the Egyptians in his works, but finished all by the labours of the captives; and therefore he caused an inscription to be made upon all the temples thus—"None of the "natives were put to labour here." It is reported that some of the Babylonian captives, because they were not able to bear the fatigue of the work, rebelled against the king; and having possessed themselves of a fort near the river, they took up arms against the Egyptians, and wasted the country thereabouts: but at length having got a pardon, they chose a place for their habitation, and called it after

the name of that in their own country, Babylon. Upon the like occasion, they say, that Troy, situated near the river Nile, was so called: for Menelaus, when he returned from Ilium with many prisoners, arrived in Egypt, where the Trojans deserting the king, seized upon a certain strong place, and took up arms against the Greeks, till they had gained their liberty, and then built a famous city after the name of their own. But I am not ignorant how Ctesias the Cretan gives a far different account of these cities, when he says, that some of those who came in former times with Semiramis into Egypt, called the cities which they built after the names of those in their own country. But it is no easy matter to know the certain truth of these things: yet it is necessary to observe the different opinions concerning them, that the judicious reader may have an occasion to inquire, in order to pick out the real truth.

Sesostris moreover raised many mounds and banks of earth, to which he removed all the cities that lay low in the plain, that both man and beast might be safe and secure at the time of the inundation of the river. He cut likewise many deep dykes from the river, all along as far as from Memphis to the sea, for the ready and quick conveying of corn and other provisions and merchandize, by short cuts thither, both for the support of trade and commerce, and maintenance of peace and plenty all over the country: and that which was of greatest moment and concern of all, was, that he fortified all parts of the country against incursions of enemies, and made it difficult of access; whereas, before, the greatest part of Egypt lay open and exposed either for chariots or horsemen to enter. But now, by reason of the multitude of canals drawn all along from the river, the entrance was very difficult, and the country not so easily to be invaded. He defended, likewise, the east side of Egypt against the irruptions of the Syrians and Arabians, with a wall drawn from Pelusium through the deserts, as far as to Heliopolis, for the space of a thousand and five hundred furlongs. He caused likewise a ship to be made of cedar, two hundred and fourscore cubits in length, gilded over with gold on the outside, and with silver within; and this he dedicated to the god that was most adored by the Thebans. He erected likewise two obelisks of polished marble, a hundred and twenty cubits high, on which were inscribed a description of the large extent of his empire, the great value of his revenue, and the number of the nations by him conquered. He placed likewise at Memphis, in the temple of Vulcan, his and his wife's statues, each of one entire stone, thirty cubits in height, and those of his sons, twenty cubits high, upon this occasion. After his return from his great expedition into Egypt, being at Pelusium, his brother at a

feast having invited him, together with his wife and children, plotted against his life; for, being all overcome by wine, and gone to rest, he caused a great quantity of dry reeds, (long before prepared for the purpose), to be placed round the king's pavilion in the night, and set them all on fire; upon which the flame suddenly mounted aloft; and little assistance the king had either from his servants or life-guard, who were all still overloaden with wine: upon which Sesostris with his hands lift up to heaven, calling upon the gods for help for his wife and children, rushed through the flames and escaped; and so being thus unexpectedly preserved, he made oblations as to other of the gods, (as is before said), so especially to Vulcan, as he by whose favour he was so remarkably delivered.

Although Sesostris was eminent in many great and worthy actions, yet the most stately and magnificent of all, was that relating to the princes in his progresses. For those kings of the conquered nations, who through his favour still held their kingdoms, and such as had received large principalities of his free gift and donation, came with their presents and tributes into Egypt, at the times appointed, whom he received with all the marks of honour and respect; save that when he went into the temple or the city, his custom was to cause the horses to be unharnessed out of his chariot, and in their room four kings, and other princes to draw it; hereby thinking to make it evident to all, that there was none comparable to him for valour, who had conquered the most potent and famous princes in the world. This king seems to have excelled all others that ever were eminent for power and greatness, both as to his warlike achievements, the number of his gifts and oblations, and his wonderful works in Egypt.

After he had reigned three-and-thirty years, he fell blind, and wilfully put an end to his own life; for which he was admired not only by priests, but by all the rest of the Egyptians; for that as he had before manifested the greatness of his mind by his actions, so now his end was agreeable, (by a voluntary death), to the glory of his life.

The fame and renown of this king continued so fresh down to posterity, that many ages after, when Egypt was conquered by the Persians, and Darius the father of Xerxes would set up his statue at Memphis above that of Sesostris, the chief priest in the debating of the matter in the conclave boldly spoke against it, declaring that Darius had not yet exceeded the noble acts of Sesostris. The king was so far from resenting this, that, on the contrary, he was so pleased and taken with this freedom of speech, that he said he would endeavour, (if he lived as long as the other did), to be nothing in-

ferior to him; and wished them to compare things done proportionably to the time, for that this was the justest examination and trial of valour. And thus much shall suffice to be said of Sesostris.

CHAP. V.

The Acts of Sesostris the Second. Of Ammosis, Actisanes, Mendes, Proteus or Cetes, Remphis, Chemmis, (the great Pyramids built by him), Cephres, Mycerinus, Bocchoris, Sabach. The Reign of Twelve Kings in Egypt. Psammetichus Saites, one of the Kings, gained the whole; Two Hundred Thousand of his Army forsake him, and settle themselves in Ethiopia. Apries succeeds long after. Amasis rebels, and next succeeds; and Apries is strangled by the People. Amasis the last King, to the Time of the Conquest of Egypt by Cambyses.

THE son of Sesostris succeeded his father in the kingdom, and took upon him the same name, yet performed nothing remarkable by his arms; but the affliction and misery that befel him was observable; for he became blind, as his father did before him, deriving the malady either from his father in his birth, or as a judgment upon him for his impiety against the river, against which, (as it is fabulously reported), he threw his javelin; whereupon, falling under this misfortune, he was forced to apply himself for help to the gods, whom he sought to appease with many offerings and sacrifices for a long time together, yet could find no relief, till, at the end of ten years he was directed by the oracle to go and worship the god of Heliopolis, and wash his face in the urine of a woman that never had known any other man besides her own husband. Hereupon he began with his own wife, and made trial of many others, but found none honest except a gardener's wife, whom he afterwards married when he was recovered. All the adulteresses he caused to be burnt in a little village, which, from this execution, the Egyptians called the Holy Field, to testify his gratitude to the god of Heliopolis for this great benefit. At the command of the oracle, he erected two obelisks, each of one entire stone, eight cubits in breadth, and a hundred in height, and dedicated them to the deity.

After this Sesostris the second, were many successions of kings in Egypt, of whom there is nothing worth remark to be found. But many ages after, Ammosis came to the crown, who carried it tyran-

nically towards his subjects. For he put many to death against all law and justice, and as many he stripped of all they had, and turned them out of their estates, and carried himself haughtily and proudly in every thing towards all persons he had to deal with. This the poor oppressed people endured for a time, while they had no power to resist those that overpowered them. But as soon as Actisanes king of Ethiopia invaded him, (having now an opportunity to discover their hatred, and to revenge themselves), most of his subjects revolted from him, so that he was easily conquered, and Egypt became subject to the kings of Ethiopia.

Actisanes bore his prosperity with great moderation, and carried himself kindly and obligingly towards all his subjects. Against robbers he contrived a notable device, neither putting them that were guilty to death, nor wholly acquitting or discharging them from punishment. For he caused all that were guilty, to be brought together from all parts of the country, and after a just and strict inquiry, and certain knowledge of their guilt, he ordered all their noses to be cut off, and banished them into the utmost parts of the desert; and built a city for them, called, from the cutting off of the noses of the inhabitants, Rhinocorura, which is situated in the confines of Egypt and Syria, in a barren place, destitute of all manner of provision. All the country round about is full of salt and brackish ponds, and the wells within the walls, afford but very little water, and that stinking and very bitter. And he sent them to this place on purpose that they might not for the future do any more hurt, nor lie lurking and unknown among other men. But, being banished to such a barren place, void almost of all things necessary for the support of man's life, (men naturally contriving all manner of arts to prevent starving), they wittily found out a way to supply their wants. For they cut up out of the neighbouring fields, reeds, and slit them in several pieces, and made long nets of them, and placed them several furlongs all along upon the shore, with which they catched the quails, (which came flying over the sea in great flocks), and by that means sufficiently provided for themselves.

After this king's death, the Egyptians recovered their liberty, and set up a king of their own nation to rule over them, Mendes, (whom some call Marus), who never undertook any warlike design, but made a sepulchre for himself called a labyrinth, not to be admired so much for its greatness, as it was inimitable for its workmanship. For he that went in, could not easily come out again, without a very skilful guide. Some say that Dædalus, who came into Egypt, admired the curiosity of this work, and made a labyrinth for Minos king of Crete, like to this in Egypt, in which they fabulously relate

the Minotaur was kept. But that in Crete was either ruined by some of their kings, or came to nothing through length of time, but that in Egypt continued whole and entire to our days.

After the death of this Mendes, and five generations spent, (during which time there was an interregnum), the Egyptians chose one Cetes, of an ignoble extraction, to be their king, whom the Grecians call Proteus; this fell out in the time of the Trojan war. This prince, they say, was a magician, and could transform himself sometimes into the shape of a beast, other times into a tree, or appearance of fire, or any other form and shape whatsoever. And this agrees with the account the priests of Egypt give of him; from his daily converse with the astrologers, they say, he learnt this art. The Greeks raised this story of transformation, from a custom amongst the kings; for the Egyptian princes used to wear upon their heads, (as badges of their royal authority), the shapes of lions, bulls, and dragons; and sometimes to fix upon their heads sprouts of trees, fire, and strong perfumes of frankincense, and other sweet odours. And with these they both adorned themselves, and struck a terror and superstitious awe into the hearts of their subjects at one and the same time.

After the death of Proteus, his son Remphis succeeded him, who spent all his time in filling his coffers, and heaping up wealth. The poorness of his spirit, and his sordid covetousness was such, that they would not suffer him to part with any thing, either for the worship of the gods, or the good of mankind; and therefore, more like a good steward than a king, instead of a name for valour and noble acts, he left vast heaps of treasure behind him, greater than any of the kings that ever were before him: for it is said he had a treasure of four hundred thousand talents of gold and silver.

After this king's death, for seven generations together, there reigned successively a company of kings, who gave themselves up to sloth and idleness, and did nothing but wallow in pleasures and luxury; and therefore there is no record of any great work, or other thing worthy to be remembered that ever any of them did, except Nile, who called the river after his own name, which was before called Egyptus. For being that he cut many canals and dykes in convenient places, and used his utmost endeavour to make the river more useful and serviceable, it was therefore called Nile.

Chemmis, the eighth king from Remphis, was of Memphis, and reigned fifty years. He built the greatest of the three pyramids, which were accounted amongst the seven wonders of the world. They stand towards Libya, one hundred and twenty furlongs from Memphis, and forty-five from the Nile. The greatness of these

works, and the excessive labour of the workmen seen in them, do even strike the beholders with admiration and astonishment. The greatest being four-square, took up, on every square, seven hundred feet of ground in the basis, and above six hundred feet in height, spiring up narrower by little and little, till it came up to the point, the top of which was six cubits square. It is built of solid marble throughout, of rough work, but of perpetual duration: for though it be now a thousand years since it was built, (some say above three thousand and four hundred), yet the stones are as firmly jointed, and the whole building as entire and without the least decay, as they were at the first laying an erection. The stone, they say, was brought a long way off, out of Arabia, and that the work was raised by making mounts of earth; cranes and other engines being not known at that time. And that which is most to be admired, is to see such a foundation so imprudently laid, as it seems to be, in a sandy place, where there is not the least sign of any earth cast up, nor marks where any stone was cut and polished; so that the whole pile seems to be reared all at once, and fixed in the midst of heaps of sand by some god, and not built by degrees by the hands of men. Some of the Egyptians tell wonderful things, and invent strange fables concerning these works, affirming that the mounts were made of salt and salt-petre, and that they were melted by the inundation of the river, and being so dissolved, every thing was washed away but the building itself. But this is not the truth of the thing; but the great multitude of hands that raised the mounts, the same carried back the earth to the place whence they dug it; for they say, there were three hundred and sixty thousand men employed in this work, and the whole was scarce completed in twenty years time.

When this king was dead, his brother Cephres* succeeded him, and reigned six-and-fifty years: some say it was not his brother, but his son Chabryis that came to the crown: but all agree in this, that the successor, in imitation of his predecessor, erected another pyramid like to the former, both in structure and artificial workmanship, but not near so large, every square of the basis being only a furlong in breadth.

Upon the greater pyramid was inscribed the value of the herbs and onions that were spent upon the labourers during the works, which amounted to above sixteen hundred talents.

There is nothing written upon the lesser: the entrance and ascent is only on one side, cut by steps into the main stone. Although the kings designed these two for their sepulchres, yet it happened that

* Cephres, Chabryis. Supposed to reign in the time of David, and the beginning of Solomon's reign, Helv. Chron. 42.

neither of them were there buried. For the people, being incensed at them by the reason of the toil and labour they were put to, and the cruelty and oppression of their kings, threatened to drag their carcases out of their graves, and pull them by piece-meal, and cast them to the dogs; and therefore both of them upon their beds commanded their servants to bury them in some obscure place.

After him reigned Mycerinus, (otherwise called Cherinus), the son of him who built the first pyramid. This prince began a third, but died before it was finished; every square of the basis was three hundred feet. The walls for fifteen stories high were of black marble, like that of Thebes, the rest was of the same stone with the other pyramids. Though the other pyramids went beyond this in greatness, yet this far excelled the rest in the curiosity of the structure, and the largeness of the stones. On that side of the pyramid towards the north, was inscribed the name of the founder Mycerinus. This king, they say, detesting the severity of the former kings, carried himself all his days gently and graciously towards all his subjects, and did all that possibly he could to gain their love and good will towards him; besides other things, he expended vast sums of money upon the oracles and worship of the gods; and bestowing large gifts upon honest men, whom he judged to be injured, and to be hardly dealt with in the courts of justice.

There are other pyramids, every square of which are two hundred feet in the basis; and in all things like unto the others, except in bigness. It is said that these three last kings built them for their wives.

It is not in the least to be doubted, but that these pyramids far excel all the other works throughout Egypt, not only in the greatness and costs of the building, but in the excellency of the workmanship: for the architects, (they say), are much more to be admired than the kings themselves that were at the cost. For those performed all by their own ingenuity, but these did nothing but by the wealth handed to them by descent from their predecessors, and by the toi and labour of other men.

Yet, concerning the first builders of these pyramids, there is no consent, either amongst the inhabitants or historians. For some say, they were built by the kings before mentioned, some by others.

As that the greatest was built by Armeus, the second by Amasis, and the third by Inaronas. But some say, that this last was the sepulchre of one Rhodopides, a courtezan, and was built in remembrance of her, at the common charge of some of the governors of the provinces, who had amours with her.

Bocchoris*, was the next who succeeded in the kingdom, a very little man for body, and of a mean and contemptible presence; but as to his wisdom and prudence, far excelling all the kings that ever were before him in Egypt.

A long time after him, one Sabach†, an Ethiopian, came to the throne, going beyond all his predecessors in his worship of the gods, and kindness to his subjects. Any man may judge, and have a clear evidence of his gentle disposition in this, that when the laws pronounced the severest judgment, (I mean sentence of death), he changed the punishment, and made an edict, that the condemned persons should be kept to work in the towns in chains, by whose labour, he raised many mounts, and made many commodious canals, conceiving by this means, he should not only moderate the severity of the punishment, but instead of that which was unprofitable, advance the public good, by the service and labours of the condemned. A man may likewise judge of his extraordinary piety, from his dream, and his abdication of the government; for the tutelar god of Thebes, seemed to speak to him in his sleep, and told him, that he could not long reign happily and prosperously in Egypt, unless he cut all the priests in pieces, when he passed through the midst of them with his guards and servants; which advice being often repeated, he at length sent for the priests from all parts, and told them, that if he staid in Egypt any longer, he found that he should displease God, who never at any time before, by dreams or visions, commanded any such thing. And that he would rather be gone and lose his life, being pure and innocent, than displease God, or enjoy the crown of Egypt, by staining his life with the horrid murder of the innocent. And so at length, giving up the kingdom into the hands of the people, he returned into Ethiopia. Upon this, there was an anarchy for the space of two years; but the people falling into tumults and intestine broils and slaughters one of another, twelve of the chief nobility of the kingdom joined in a solemn oath, and then calling a senate at Memphis, and making some laws, for the better directing and cementing of them in mutual peace and fidelity, they took upon them the regal power and authority. After they had governed the kingdom very amicably for the space of fifteen years, (according to the agreement which they had mutually sworn to observe), they applied themselves to the building of a sepulchre, where they might all lie together; that, as in their life time, they had been equal in their power and au-

* Bocchoris, in the reign of Uzziah, king of Judah, An. Mun. 3283. Before Christ, 766. Helv. Chron.

† Sabacon, or Sabaco, who joined with Hoshea, king of Israel.

thority, and had always carried it with love and respect one towards another; so, after death, (being all buried together in one place), they might continue the glory of their names, in one and the same monument. To this end, they made it their business to excel all their predecessors in the greatness of their works: for near the lake of Meris in Libya, they built a four-square monument of polished marble, every square a furlong in length, for curious carvings, and other pieces of art, not to be equalled by any that should come after them. When you are entered within the wall, there is presented a stately fabric, supported round with pillars, forty on every side. The roof was of one entire stone, whereon was curiously carved, racks and mangers for horses, and other excellent pieces of workmanship; and painted and adorned with divers sorts of pictures and images; where likewise were pourtrayed, the resemblances of the kings, the temples, and the sacrifices, in most beautiful colours. And such was the cost and stateliness of this sepulchre, begun by these kings, that, (if they had not been dethroned before it was perfected), none ever after could have exceeded them in the state and magnificence of their works. But after they had reigned over Egypt fifteen years, all of them but one lost their sovereignty in the following manner:

Psammeticus Saites*, one of the kings, whose province was upon the sea coast, trafficked with all sorts of merchants, and especially with the Phœnicians and Grecians; by this means, enriching his province, by vending his own commodities, and the importation of those that came from Greece, he not only grew very wealthy, but gained an interest in the nations and princes abroad; upon which account, he was envied by the rest of the kings, who for that reason made war upon him. Some antient historians tell a story, that these princes were told by the oracle, that which of them should first pour wine out of a brazen phial, to the god adored at Memphis, should be sole lord of all Egypt. Whereupon Psammeticus, when the priest brought out of the temple twelve golden phials, plucked off his helmet, and poured out a wine-offering from thence; which when his colleagues took notice of, they forebore putting him to death, but deposed him, and banished him into the fens, bordering upon the sea coast. Whether, therefore, it were this, or envy, as it is said before, that gave birth to this dissension and difference amongst them, it is certain Psammeticus hired soldiers out of Arabia, Caria, and Ionia, and, in a field-fight near the city Moniemphis, he got the day. Some of the kings of the other side were slain, and the rest fled into Africa, and were not able further to contend for the kingdom.

* Psammeticus. An. Mun. 3289. Ant. Ch. 669. Twenty-ninth year of Manasseth, king of Judah.

Psammeticus having now gained possession of the whole, built a portico to the east gate of the temple at Memphis, in honour of that god, and incompassed the temple with a wall, supporting it with Colossuses of twelve cubits high, in the room of pillars. He bestowed likewise upon his mercenary soldiers many large rewards over and above their pay promised them.

He gave them also a place called Stratopedon to inhabit, and divided amongst them by lot a large piece of land, a little above the mouth of Pelusium, whom Amasis, (who reigned many years after), transplanted to Memphis. Being therefore that he had gained the kingdom by the help of his stipendiary soldiers, he intrusted them chiefly in the concerns of the government, and entertained great numbers of strangers and foreigners.

Afterwards undertaking an expedition into Syria, (to honour the foreigners), he placed them in the right wing of his army; but out of slight and disregard to the natural Egyptians, he drew them up in the left; with which affront the Egyptians were so incensed, that above two hundred thousand of them revolted, and marched away towards Ethiopia, there to settle themselves in new habitations. At first the king sent some of his captives after them, to make an apology for the dishonour done them; but these not being hearkened unto, the king himself, with some of his nobility, followed them by water. But they marched on, and entered Egypt, near the river Nile, where he earnestly entreated them to alter their purpose, and to remember their gods, their country, wives, and children: they all cried out, (beating upon their shields, and shaking their spears), that as long as they had arms in their hands, they could easily gain another country; and then turning aside the flaps of their coats, they shewed their privy members, bawling out, that as long as they were so furnished, they should never want wives or children. Possessed with this resolution and magnanimity of mind, they despised every thing that by all others are highly prized and valued, and settled themselves in a rich and fruitful soil in Ethiopia, dividing the land amongst themselves by lot.

Psammeticus laid this greatly to heart, and made it his business to settle the affairs of Egypt, and to increase his revenues, and entered into league with the Athenians and other Grecians, and was very kind and liberal to all strangers that came into Egypt. He was so taken with the Grecians, that he caused his son to be instructed in the Grecian learning. He was certainly the first of all the kings of Egypt that encouraged foreigners to traffic in his country, giving safe conduct to all strangers that sailed hither. For the former kings allowed no strangers to come into Egypt, and if any did arrive,

CHAP. VI.

The Customs of the Egyptians. Of their Kings. Of their Hourly Employment, Sacrifices, Diet, &c. Their Burials. The division of Egypt. Their Trades in Egypt. Courts of Justice. Their Law Proceedings. The several Laws of Egypt. Beasts and Birds adored in Egypt, as Lions, Wolves, Cats, the Bird Ibis, Kites, &c. Costs in their Burial of these Creatures. Reasons given for this Adoration.

SINCE sufficient hath been said of the Egyptian kings from the most antient times, to the death of Amasis, (leaving for awhile what remains till a more proper time), we shall now give a brief account of those laws and customs of the Egyptians that are most to be admired, and may especially delight and profit the reader. For many of the antient customs of the Egyptians were not only allowed by the natural inhabitants, but were greatly admired by the Grecians, so that every learned man earnestly coveted to travel into Egypt to learn the knowledge of their laws and customs, as things of great weight and moment: and though the country antiently forbade all reception of strangers, (for the reasons before alledged), yet some of the antients, as Orpheus and Homer, and many of later times, as Pythagoras the Samian, and Solon the lawgiver, ventured to travel hither. And therefore the Egyptians affirm that letters, astronomy, geometry, and many other arts were first found out by them; and that the best laws were made and instituted by them. To confirm which, they alledge this as an undeniable argument, that the native kings of Egypt have reigned there for the space of above four thousand and seven hundred years, and that their country, for all that time has been the most prosperous and flourishing kingdom in the world, which could never have been so, if the inhabitants had not been civilized, and brought up under good laws, and liberal education in all sorts of arts and sciences. But we shall omit what Herodotus and other writers of the Egyptian history relate, who wilfully pursue and prefer prodigious stories before truth, and relate a company of fictions merely for sport and diversion sake, and shall give an account of such things as we have carefully perused and examined recorded in their books by the Egyptian priests.

The first kings of Egypt lived not after the way and manner of other monarchs, to do what they list, without controul; but in every thing conformed themselves to their laws, not only in the

public administration of the government, but in their daily private conversation, and their very meals and diet. For among their attendants, they had neither slaves for servants, nor such as were born in their houses; but the sons of the chiefest of the priests, (after they attained to the age of twenty years), brought up and educated more nobly than any other of the rest of the Egyptians; that having such noble attendants upon his person, (of the best and highest rank in the kingdom) to be always with him night and day, he might not do any thing that was base and blame-worthy. For no prince is apt to be very wicked, except he have some ready at hand to encourage him in his lusts.

There were hours set apart in the night as well as the day, wherein the king was to do something enjoined him by the laws, and not to indulge himself in his pleasures.

When he rose in the morning, the first thing he was to do, was to peruse all the public letters and advices sent from all parts, that he might order his concerns the better, by having perfect knowledge of all the affairs of the kingdom. Then washing himself, and putting on his splendid robes, and the ensigns and badges of his royal authority, he went to sacrifice to the gods.

When the victims were brought to the altar, it was the custom for the high priest, in the presence of the king and people standing round about him, to pray with a loud voice for the health and prosperity of the king, who righteously ruled and governed his subjects, wherein he recounted all the virtues of the prince, his piety towards the gods, his kindness to his people; how continent, just, magnanimous and faithful he was; how bountiful, and what a master he was over all inordinate appetites and passions; how he was mild and gentle in inflicting punishments upon offenders, less than their deserts, and bountiful in distributing of his rewards. When the priest had uttered these and such like commendations, he at last pronounced a curse upon all such offences and miscarriages as had been ignorantly committed; yet withal, clearing the king, and laying all the blame and guilt upon his ministers and advisers. And this the priest did that he might thereby induce and persuade the king to an awe of the gods, and to live so as might be pleasing to them; and likewise by praise and commendation rather gently to win upon him, than by harsh and rugged rebukes to drive him to the practice of virtuous actions. Afterwards, when the king had viewed the entrails, and finished his sacrifices, the priests read out of the sacred records, the edicts, laws, and most useful and remarkable actions, of such as were most famous in their generations, that the prince might seriously consider and ponder upon what was

most commendable in those examples, and imitate them according to the rules there prescribed. For there were not only set times allotted for despatch of public business, and administration of justice, but likewise for taking the air, bathing, lying with the queen, and almost every action of their lives.

The custom was likewise for the kings to feed upon plain and ordinary meat, as veal and goose, and to drink wine according to a stinted measure, which might neither overcharge their stomachs, nor make them drunk. Such a moderate diet was prescribed, as that it seemed rather to be ordered by a skilful physician for health sake, than by a law-maker. It is indeed to be admired and very strange, that the king should not be left to his liberty for his daily food; but much more is it to be admired, that he could not do any public business, condemn or punish any man to gratify his own humour or revenge, or for any other unjust cause; but was bound to do according as the laws had ordered in every particular case. The kings observing those rules according to the antient custom, were so far from thinking it dishonourable, or being uneasy under it, that they looked upon themselves to live most desirable and happy lives; and judged that all other men who inconsiderately indulged their natural appetites, did many things that were attended with great losses, or apparent hazards at the least; yea, that some, though they know beforehand that what they were about to do was ill and unjustifiable, yet, overcome either with love or hatred, or some other unruly passion, committed the wicked act notwithstanding; and therefore they were resolved to follow the rules of living, before approved of by wise and prudent men, and not to fall into the least irregularity. The kings, therefore, carrying this even hand towards all their subjects, were more beloved by them than by their own kindred and relations: for not only all the orders of the priests, but the whole nation together, were more concerned for the health and prosperity of their kings, than they were for their wives and children, or their private interests in their goods and estates; and therefore, as long as these wholesome laws were observed amongst them, they preserved their government without stain or blemish for many ages under the king's before mentioned, living in the height of all worldly happiness: and besides all this, were conquerors of many nations, and grew exceeding rich, and their provinces were beautified with many stately magnificent works, and their cities adorned with many rich gifts of all sorts.

What the Egyptians performed after the deaths of every of their kings, clearly evidences the great love they bore to them. For honour done him that cannot possibly know it, (in a grateful return of

a former benefit), carries along with it a testimony of sincerity without the least colour of dissimulation. For upon the death of every king, the Egyptians generally lament with an universal mourning, rend their garments, shut up their temples, inhibit sacrifices, and all feasts and solemnities for the space of seventy-two days: they cast dust likewise upon their heads, and gird themselves under their breasts with a linen girdle; and thus men and women, two hundred or three hundred sometimes in a company, twice a-day go about singing mournful songs in praise of the deceased king, recalling his virtues, (as it were), from the very grave. During that time, they neither eat flesh, nor any thing baked or heated by the fire, and abstain from wine and all sumptuous fare: neither dare any use baths or ointments, beds trimmed up, or indulge themselves with women. But every one, (as if they had lost their dearest beloved child), is in mourning and sadness, and spends all these days in lamentation. In the mean time all things are prepared in a stately manner for the funeral, and the last day the coffin, with the body enclosed, is set at the entrance into the sepulchre: and there, according to the law, in honour of the deceased, all the actions of his life are rehearsed, where every one that will, has free liberty to accuse him. But all the priests set forth his praise, mentioning all the noble actions of his life; and many thousands of people met together at the bringing forth of the body, (if the king have ruled well), second the priests with a tumultuous cry and noise of approbation: but if he have governed otherwise, they are hush and still: and therefore many of the kings, (through the dislike of the people), have not been honoured with any funeral pomp or solemn burial; upon which account the succeeding kings, (not only for the reasons before mentioned, but because they fear the abuse of their bodies after death, and everlasting disgrace and dishonour), have studied how to acquit themselves by just and virtuous actions. These are the most remarkable manners and customs of the antient kings of Egypt.

The whole land of Egypt is divided into several parts, which the Greeks call Nomoi, over every one of which is appointed a lord lieutenant, or provincial governor, who is intrusted with the administration of public affairs in the province. The whole country likewise is divided into three parts, whereof the first is allotted to the priests, who are highly reverenced, and are in great authority among the people, both for their piety towards the gods, and their great wisdom and learning wherein they instruct the people. And out of their revenues, they provide sacrifices throughout all Egypt, and maintain their families and servants, and procure all other things necessary for themselves: for they judge it not lawful by any means,

that the worship of the gods should be altered, (but always performed by them after the same manner), nor that those who are the public ministers of state should want any thing that is necessary. For these are always at the king's elbow, as the chief of his privy counsel, who assist, advise, and instruct him upon all occasions. By the help of astrology, and viewing the entrails of the sacrifices, they divine and foretel future events, and out of the records in the sacred registers from things done in former times, they read profitable lectures for present use and practice. For it is not, (as among the Grecians), that one man or one woman only executes the priest's office, but in Egypt, many are employed in the sacrifices and worship of the gods, who teach the same way and manner of service to their children and posterity. They are free from all public taxes and impositions, and are in the second place to the king in honour and authority. The second portion belongs to the king, as his revenue to support his royal state and dignity, and maintain the charge of his wars, and to enable him to reward those that have been eminent for their virtue and public service, with gifts according to their deserts; and inasmuch as this portion brings in a plentiful provision for all these purposes, the people are not oppressed with taxes and heavy impositions. The last portion belongs to the soldiers, who at a word are ready at the king's commands for every expedition; that they who venture their lives in the wars, being endeared to their country by that plentiful share and proportion allotted them, may more cheerfully undergo the hazards of war. For it would be an irrational thing to intrust the safety and preservation of the whole, with them who have nothing in their country that is dear or valuable to them to fight for. And the chief reason why so large a share is allotted to them, is, that they might more readily marry, and by that means make the nation more populous; and so there might be no need of foreign aids and assistances. Besides, that children descended from soldiers, would be apt to imitate the valour of their ancestors, and, minding arms from their very childhood, would at length, (through their natural courage and skill in their arms), become unconquerable.

The nation likewise is distinguished into three other classes and orders of men, shepherds, husbandmen, and artificers. The husbandmen take the land, (fit for tillage and bearing of other fruits), of the king, the priests, and the swordmen, upon an easy rent, and take up all their time in this business; and because they are bred up from their very infancy in country affairs, they are the most skilful husbandmen of any other nation in the world. For they know exactly the nature of the land, the inundation of the waters,

seed-time, and harvest, and the gathering in of the other fruits of the earth, partly from the knowledge gained from their ancestors, and partly from their own particular experience.

The way and manner of the shepherds is the same, who being used to look after the flocks and herds from father to son, make it their whole employment to feed and pasture them. They have indeed learnt many things from their ancestors concerning the best way of governing and feeding their flocks, but not a few, by their own study and invention. And that which is chiefly to be admired, is, that their industry is such in these matters, that they that keep poultry and geese, not content with the ordinary way of breeding these creatures, (as amongst other people), but by their wit and ingenuity, cause them to increase to an infinite number, for they do not suffer them to hatch, but, to admiration, force out the young with their hands with so much art and skill, that it is done as effectually as by nature itself.

Arts and trades likewise, among the Egyptians, are greatly improved and brought to their highest perfection. For it is a rule only among the Egyptians, that no mechanic or other artificer is to be of any other trade or employment, or to be reckoned among any other order or class of the commonwealth, than such as by the law is allowed, and taught them by their parents; to the end that neither envy attending magistracy, nor public business of the state, nor any thing else might interrupt them in the diligent improvement of their trades. In other places, we see artificers and tradesmen busied about many other things, and, (to gratify their covetousness), not to stick to any one employment. For some apply themselves to husbandry, others to merchandise, and some follow two or three trades at once. And many who run to the public assemblies in cities, under a democratical government, by bribes and rewards enrich themselves, to the damage and prejudice of the commonwealth. But in Egypt, if any tradesman meddle in civil affairs, or exercise any more than one trade at once, he is grievously punished. And in this manner the antient Egyptians divided their commonwealth, and every order took care to preserve themselves entire, as that which they had learnt, and had been handed down to them from their ancestors. They were likewise extraordinarily careful concerning their courts of justice, for they looked upon just sentences and decrees, pronounced from the seats of justice on both sides, to be of great weight and moment to the advancement of the public good. For they knew very well, that men's miscarriages would be best reformed, if offenders were duly punished, and the injured and oppressed relieved: and, on the contrary, they foresaw, that if the punishment

due by the law to malefactors could be bought off for money, favour, or affection, then nothing but disorder and confusion would enter into all orders and societies of men among them: and therefore, to prevent this, (with good effect), they chose men of the greatest reputation out of the chiefest cities to be their judges: as out of Heliopolis, Thebes, and Memphis; which assembly of the judges was nothing inferior to the Areopagitæ in Athens, or the senate at Sparta. Out of these, (being thirty in number), they chose one, the most eminent among them, to be president, and in his room the city sent another. The judges received their salaries from the king, but the president had the greatest allowance; about his neck he wore a golden chain, at which hung a picture representing truth, set with precious stones. When the president put on his chain, it was a sign that he was about to hear causes. And when the eight books wherein the laws were written were laid before the judges, it was the custom that the plaintiff should exhibit his complaint in writing, distinctly and particularly, setting forth wherein he was injured, and how, and the value of his damage sustained. On the other side the defendant or the party accused, after a copy had of his adversary's libel, answered in writing to every particular, either by denying or justifying, or pleading something in mitigation of damages. Then the plaintiff replied in writing, and the defendant rejoined. After the litigants had thus twice exhibited their libels, it was then the part of the thirty judges to consider amongst themselves of the judgment to be pronounced, and incumbent upon the president to turn the effigy of truth towards one of the litigants. And this was the usual manner of proceeding in the courts of justice among the Egyptians. For it was judged, that by the harangues of lawyers, a cloud was cast upon the truth and justice of the cause; inasmuch as the arts of rhetoricians, the juggling tricks of dissemblers, and the fears of them that are like to be overthrown in their cause, have wrought upon many to wave the strictness of the law, and to turn aside from the rule of justice and truth: and indeed it is often found by experience, that offenders, brought to the bar of justice, by the help of a cunning orator, or their own rhetorical flourishes, (either through a fallacy put upon the court, or taking insinuations, or melting compassions wrought by the speaker on the judge), have escaped: therefore the Egyptians concluded, that if all the accusation was put into writing, and consideration had barely of what was there set down, the sentence would be more exact and just. And so by that means crafty and ingenious fellows would be no more favoured than those that were more dull, nor the experienced artist more than those that were ignorant and unskilful, nor the audacious liar more than those that

are modest and sincere; but all would have equal justice, in regard sufficient time was allowed by the law, both for the parties to answer each other, and for the judges to consider and give judgment upon the allegations of both sides.

And since now we are come to mention the laws, we conceive it will not be foreign from our history to give an account of such laws of the Egyptians as are either remarkable for their antiquity, or strange and different from all others, or that may be any way useful and profitable to the studious readers.

1. And, in the first place, those were to die who were guilty of perjury, being such as committed the two greatest crimes; that is, impiety towards the gods, and violation of faith and truth, the strongest bond of human society.

2. If any upon the road saw a man likely to be killed, or to be violently assaulted, and did not rescue him, if he were able, he was to die for it. And if in truth he were not able to defend him, yet he was bound to discover the thieves, and to prosecute them in a due course of law. If he neglected this, he was, according to the law, to be scourged with a certain number of stripes, and to be kept without food for three days together.

3. False accusers were to suffer the same punishment as those whom they falsely accused were to have undergone, if they had afterwards been convicted of the offence.

4. All the Egyptians were enjoined to give in their names in writing, to the governors of the provinces, shewing how and by what means they got their livelihood. He that gave a false account in such case, or if it appeared he lived by robbery, or any other unjust course, he was to die; which law it is said Solon brought over out of Egypt into Athens.

5. He that wilfully killed a freeman; nay, a very bond slave, was by the law to die; thereby designing to restrain men from wicked actions, as having no respect to the state and condition of the person suffering, but to the advised act of the offender; and by this care of slaves, men learned that freemen were much less to be destroyed.

6. Parents that killed their children, were not to die, but were forced for three days and nights together to hug them continually in their arms, and had a guard all the while over them, to see they did it; for they thought it not fit that they should die, who gave life to their children; but rather that men should be deterred from such attempts by a punishment that seemed attended with sorrow and repentance.

7. But for parricides, they provided a most severe kind of punishment: for those that were convicted of this offence, were laid upon thorns, and burnt alive, after they had first mangled the

members of their bodies with sharp canes, piecemeal, about the bigness of a man's thumb. For they counted it the most wicked act that man could be guilty of, to take away the lives of them from whom they had their own.

8. Those that were with child, were not to be executed till they were delivered, which law was received by many of the Grecians, judging it very unjust for the innocent to suffer with the offender, and two to die for the offence of one only. Besides, inasmuch as the crime was maliciously and advisedly committed, it was unreasonable that the child that understood not what was done, should undergo the same punishment. And that which is of the greatest consideration, is, that it was altogether unjust, (being the mother was only accused and condemned as guilty), the child, (common both to father and mother), should lose its life; for that judge is as unjust that destroys the innocent, as he that spares him that is guilty of murder.

9. These are the capital laws which are chiefly worthy of praise and commendation; as to others, those concerning military affairs, provided that soldiers who ran away from their colours, or mutinied, though they should not die, yet should be otherwise punished with the utmost disgrace imaginable; but if they afterwards wipe off their disgrace by their valour, they are restored to their former post and trust. By thus inflicting of a punishment more grievous than death, the lawgiver designed that all should look upon disgrace and infamy as the greatest of evils: besides it was judged, that those who were put to death, could never be further serviceable to the commonwealth; but such as were degraded only, (through a desire to repair their reputation), might be very useful, and do much service in time to come.

10. Such as revealed the secrets of the army to the enemy, were to have their tongues cut out.

11. They that coined false and adulterated money, or contrived false weights, or counterfeited seals; and scriveners or clerks that forged deeds, or razed public records, or produced any forged contracts, were to have both their hands cut off, that every one might suffer in that part wherewith he had offended in such a manner as not to be repaired, during their life; and that others, warned by so severe a punishment, might be deterred from the commission of the like offence.

12. In relation to women, the laws were very severe: for he that committed a rape upon a free woman, was to have his privy members cut off; for they judged that three most heinous offences were included in that one vile act, that is, wrong, defilement, and bastardy.

13. In case of adultery, the man was to have a thousand lashes with rods, and the woman her nose cut off. For it was looked upon very fit, that the adulteress that tricked up herself to allure men to wantonness, should be punished in that part where her charms chiefly lay.

14. They say that Bocchoris made the laws concerning merchandise. As to these, it was a law, that if a man borrowed money, and the lender had no writing to shew for it, and the other denied it upon his oath, he should be quit of the debt; to that end, therefore, in the first place, they were to sacrifice to the gods, as men making conscience, and tender and scrupulous in taking of an oath. For it being clear and evident, that he that swears often again and again, at last loses his credit; every man to prevent that mischief, will be very cautious of being brought to an oath. Moreover, the lawgiver had this design, that by grounding a man's credit and reputation wholly upon the integrity of his life and conversation, every one would be induced to honest and virtuous actions, lest he should be despised as a man of no credit or worth. Besides, it was judged a most unjust thing, not to believe him upon his oath, in that matter relating to his contract, to whom credit was given in the self-same thing, without an oath before.

15. For those that lent money by contract in writing, it was not lawful to take usury above what would double the stock; and that payment should be made only out of the debtor's goods; but his body was not to be liable in any wise to imprisonment: and those were counted the debtor's goods, which he had either earned by his labour, or had been bestowed upon him by the just proprietors. But as for their bodies, they belonged to the cities where they inhabited, who had an interest in them for the public service, both in times of peace and war, for that it was an absurd thing for him who was to venture his life for his country, to be carried to gaol for a debt by his creditor, (if it should so happen), and that the public safety should be hazarded, to gratify the covetousness of some private men. This law seems to have been established in Athens, by Solon, which he called Sisachthy, freeing all the citizens from being imprisoned by their creditors for debt. And some do justly blame many of the law-makers of Greece, that they forbade arms, plows, and other things absolutely necessary for labour, to be taken in pawn, and yet permitted them that should use them to be imprisoned.

16. There is a very remarkable law among the Egyptians, concerning theft. Those that enter into the list of thieves, are to give in their names to one who is their chief and head, and whatever they steal, they engage to bring to him. They that have lost any thing,

are to set down in writing every particular, and bring it to him, and set forth the day, hour, and place, when and where they lost their goods. Every thing being thus readily found out, after the things stolen are valued, the true owner is to pay a fourth part of the value, and so receive his goods again. For being it was not possible to restrain all from thieving, the law-maker found out a way that all might be restored, except a small proportion for redemption.

The Egyptian priests only marry one wife, but all others may have as many wives as they please; and all are bound to bring up as many children as they can, for the further increase of the inhabitants, which tends much to the well-being either of a city or country. None of the sons are ever reputed bastards, though they be begotten of a bond-maid, for they conceive that the father only begets the child, and that the mother contributes nothing but place and nourishment. And they call trees that bear fruit males, and those that bear none, females; contrary to what the Grecians name them. They bring up their children with very little cost, and are sparing upon that account, to admiration: for they provide for them broth, made of any mean and poor stuff that may easily be had; and feed those that are of strength able to eat it, with the pith of bulrushes, roasted in the embers, and with roots and herbs got in the fens; sometimes raw, and sometimes boiled; and at other times fried and boiled. Most of their children go barefooted and naked, the climate is so warm and temperate. It costs not the parent to bring up a child to man's estate, above twenty drachmas; which is the chief reason why Egypt is so populous, and excels all other places in magnificent structures. The priests instruct the youth in two sorts of learning; that which they call sacred, and the other, which is more common and ordinary. In arithmetic and geometry, they keep them a long time: for in regard the river every year changes the face of the soil, the neighbouring inhabitants are at great difference among themselves concerning the boundaries of their land, which cannot be easily known but by the help of geometry. And as for arithmetic, as it is useful upon other occasions, so it is very helpful to the study of geometry, and no small advantage to the students of astrology; for the Egyptians, (as well as some others), are diligent observers of the course and motions of the stars; and preserve remarks of every one of them for an incredible number of years, being used to this study, and to endeavour to outvie one another therein, from the most antient times. They have with great cost and care, observed the motions of the planets; their periodical motions, and their stated stops; and the influences of every one of them, in the nativity of living creatures, and what good or ill they foreshew; and very often they so clearly discover what is to come in

the course of men's lives, as if they pointed at the thing with the point of a needle. They frequently presage both famine and plenty; grievous diseases likely to seize both upon man and beast; earthquakes, inundations, and comets; and through long experience, they come to the foreknowledge of such things as are commonly judged impossible for the wit of man to attain unto. They affirm, that the Chaldeans in Babylon are Egyptian colonies, and that their astrologers have attained to that degree of reputation, by the knowledge they have learned of the Egyptian priests.

The rest of the common people of Egypt, (as we have before declared), are trained up from their very childhood either by their parents or kindred, in all manner of arts and trades whereby to get their livelihood.

They teach but a very few to write and read; but tradesmen especially learn both. It is not the custom there to learn the art of wrestling or music; for they think that by the exercise of daily wrestling, the youth improve in their strength but for a little time, and that with a great deal of hazard, but gain no advantage at all as to the health of their bodies. And as for music, they look upon it not only unprofitable, but that it also makes men soft and effeminate.

To prevent diseases, they make use of clysters and purging potions, abstinence, and vomits; and this they repeat sometimes for several days together, and other times, every third or fourth day. For in all manner of food, (they say), the greatest part of it is superfluous, which breeds diseases, and therefore the aforesaid method, whereby the root of the disease is plucked up, (they say), is a mighty help both to the preservation and recovery of health. For the physicians have a public stipend, and make use of receipts prescribed by the law, made up by the antient physicians; and if they cannot cure the patient by them, they are never blamed; but if they use other medicines, they are to suffer death, in as much as the law-maker appointed such receipts for cure, as were approved by the most learned doctors, such as by long experience had been found effectual.

The adoration and worshipping of beasts among the Egyptians, seems justly to many a most strange and unaccountable thing, and worthy of inquiry; for they worship some creatures even above measure, when they are dead, as well as when they are living; as cats, ichneumons, dogs, kites, the bird ibis, wolves, and crocodiles, and many other such like. The cause of which I shall endeavour to give, having first premised something briefly concerning them. And first of all, they dedicate a piece of land to every kind of creature they adore, assigning the profits for feeding and taking care of them. To some of these deities, the Egyptians give thanks for recovering their

children from sickness, as by shaving their heads, and weighing the hair, with the like weight of gold or silver; and then giving that money to them that have the care of the beasts. To the kites, while they are flying, they cry out with a loud voice, and throw pieces of flesh for them upon the ground, till such time as they take it. To the cats and ichneumons, they give bread soaked in milk, stroaking and making much of them; or feed them with pieces of fish, taken in the river Nile. In the same manner they provide for the other beasts food according to their several kinds. They are so far from not paying this homage to their creatures, or being ashamed of them, that on the contrary, they glory in them, as in the highest adoration of the gods, and carry about special marks and ensigns of honour for them through city and country; upon which account, those that have the care of the beasts, (being seen afar off), are honoured and worshipped by all by falling down upon their knees. When any one of them die, they wrap it in fine linen, and with howling, beat upon their breasts, and so carry it forth to be salted; and then, after having anointed it with the oil of cedar and other things, which both give the body a fragrant smell, and preserve it a long time from putrefaction, they bury it in a secret place. He that wilfully kills any of these beasts, is to suffer death; but if any kill a cat, or the bird ibis, whether wilfully, or otherwise, he is certainly dragged away to death by the multitude, and sometimes most cruelly, without any formal trial or judgment of law. For fear of this, if any by chance find any of these creatures dead, they stand aloof, and with lamentable cries and protestations, tell every body that they found it dead. And such is the religious veneration impressed upon the hearts of men towards these creatures, and so obstinately is every one bent to adore and worship them, that even at the time when the Romans were about making a league with Ptolemy, and all the people made it their great business to caress and shew all civility and kindness imaginable to them that came out of Italy, and through fear strove all they could that no occasion might in the least be given to disoblige them, or be the cause of a war; yet it so happened, that upon a cat being killed by a Roman, the people in a tumult ran to his lodging, and neither the princes sent by the king to dissuade them, nor the fear of the Romans, could deliver the person from the rage of the people, though he did it against his will; and this I relate not by hearsay, but was myself an eye-witness of it, at the time of my travels into Egypt. If these things seem incredible and like to fables, those that we shall hereafter relate, will look more strange. For it is reported, that at a time when there was a famine in Egypt, many were driven to that strait, that by turns they fed one upon another; but not a man was

accused to have in the least tasted of any of these sacred creatures. Nay, if a dog be found dead in a house, the whole family shave their bodies all over, and make great lamentation; and that which is most wonderful is, that if any wine, bread, or any other victuals be in the house, where any of these creatures die, it is a part of their superstition, not to make use of any of them for any purpose whatsoever. And when they have been abroad in the wars in foreign countries, they have with great lamentation brought with them dead cats, and kites into Egypt; when in the mean time, they have been ready to starve for want of provision. Moreover, what acts of religious worship they performed towards Apis in Memphis, Mnevis in Heliopolis, the goat in Mendes, the crocodile in the lake of Meris, and the lion kept in Leontopolis; and many other such like, is easy to describe, but very difficult to believe, except a man saw it. For these creatures are kept and fed in consecrated ground enclosed, and many great men provide food for them at great cost and charge; for they constantly give them fine wheat flour, frumenty, sweat-meats of all sorts, made up with honey, and geese, sometimes roasted, and sumetimes boiled; and for such as fed upon raw flesh, they provide birds. To say no more, they are excessive in their costs and charges in feeding of these creatures; and forbear not to wash them in hot baths, to anoint them with the most precious unguents, and perfume them with the sweetest odours. They provide likewise for them most rich beds to lie upon, with decent furniture; and are extraordinarily careful about their generating, and coition one with another, according to the laws of nature. They breed up for every one of the males, (according to their kinds), the most beautiful she mate, and call them their concubines or sweet-hearts, and are at great costs and charges in looking to them.

When any of them die, they are as much concerned as at the death of their own children, and lay out in burying them as much as all their goods are worth, and far more. For when Apis, through old age, died at Memphis, after the death of Alexander, and in the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, his keeper not only spent all that vast provision he had made, in burying of him, but borrowed of Ptolemy fifty talents of silver, for the same purpose. And in our time, some of the keepers of these creatures have lavished away no less than a hundred talents in the maintaining of them. To this may be further added, what is in use among them concerning the sacred ox, which they call Apis. After the splendid funeral of Apis is over, those priests that have the charge of the business, seek out another calf, as like the former as possibly they can find; and when they have found one, an end is put to all further mourning and lamentation;

and such priests as are appointed for that purpose, lead the young ox through the city of Nile, and feed him forty days. Then they put him into a barge, wherein is a golden cabin, and so transport him as a god to Memphis, and place him in Vulcan's grove. During the forty days before mentioned, none but women are admitted to see him, who being placed full in his view, pluck up their coats, and shew their privy parts. Afterwards, they are forbid to come into the sight of this new god. For the adoration of this ox, they give this reason. They say, that the soul of Osiris passed into an ox; and therefore, whenever the ox is dedicated, to this very day, the spirit of Osiris is infused into one ox after another, to posterity. But some say, that the members of Osiris, (who was killed by Typhon), were thrown by Isis into an ox made of wood, covered with ox-hides, and from thence the city Busiris was so called. Many other things they fabulously report of Apis, which would be too tedious particularly to relate. But in as much as all that relate to this adoration of beasts are wonderful, and indeed incredible, it is very difficult to find out the true causes and grounds of this superstition. We have before related, that the priests have a private and secret account of these things, in the history of the gods; but the common people give these three reasons for what they do. The first of which is altogether fabulous, and agrees with the old dotage: for they say, that the first gods were so very few, and men so many above them in number, and so wicked and impious, that they were too weak for them, and therefore transformed themselves into beasts, and by that means avoided their assaults and cruelty. But afterwards, they say, that the kings and princes of the earth, (in gratitude to them that were the first authors of their well-being, directed how carefully those creatures whose shapes they had assumed), should be fed while they were alive, and how they were to be buried when they were dead. Another reason they give is this: the antient Egyptians, they say, being often defeated by the neighbouring nations, by reason of the disorder and confusion that was among them in drawing up of their battalions, found out at last the way of carrying standards or ensigns before their several regiments; and therefore, they painted the images of these beasts, which now they adore, and fixed them at the head of a spear, which the officers carried before them, and by this means, every man perfectly knew the regiment he belonged unto; and being that by the observation of this good order and discipline, they were often victorious, they ascribed their deliverance to these creatures; and to make to them a grateful return, it was ordained for a law, that none of these creatures, whose representations were formerly thus carried, should be killed, but religiously and carefully adored, as is before related. The

third reason alledged by them, is the profit and advantage these creatures bring to the common support and maintenance of human life. For the cow is both serviceable to the plow, and for breeding others for the same use. The sheep yeans twice a-year, and yields wool for clothing and ornament, and of her milk and cream are made large and pleasant cheeses. The dog is useful both for the guard of the house, and the pleasure of hunting in the field, and therefore their god whom they call Anubis, they represent with a dog's head, signifying thereby, that a dog was the guard both to Osiris and Isis. Others say, that when they sought for Osiris, dogs guided Isis, and by their barking and yelling, (as kind and faithful associates with the inquisitors), drove away the wild beasts, and diverted others that were in their way; and therefore in celebrating the feast of Isis, dogs lead the way in the procession. Those that first instituted this custom, signifying thereby the antient kindness and good service of this creature. The cat likewise is very serviceable against the venemous stings of serpents, and the deadly bite of the asp. The ichneumon secretly watches where the crocodile lays her eggs, and breaks them in pieces, and that he does with a great deal of eagerness, by natural instinct, without any necessity for his own support; and if this creature were not thus serviceable, crocodiles would abound to that degree, that there would be no sailing in the Nile: yea, the crocodiles themselves are destroyed by this creature in a wonderful and incredible manner. For the ichneumon rolls himself in the mud, and then observing the crocodile sleeping upon the bank of the river with his mouth wide open, suddenly whips down through his throat into his very bowels, and presently gnaws his way through his belly, and so escapes himself, with the death of his enemy. Among the birds, the ibis is serviceable for the destroying of snakes, locusts, and the palmer worm. The kite is an enemy to the scorpions, horned serpents, and other little creatures, that both bite and sting men to death. Others say, that this bird is deified, because the augurs make use of the swift flight of these birds in their divinations. Others say, that in antient time, a book bound about with a scarlet thread (wherein were written all the rites and customs of worshipping of the gods), was carried by a kite, and brought to the priests at Thebes: for which reason the sacred scribes wore a red cap, with a kite's feather in it.

The Thebans worship the eagle, because she seems to be a royal bird, and to deserve the adoration due to Jupiter himself. They say, the goat was accounted amongst the number of the gods, for the sake of his genitals, as Priapus is honoured among the Greeians: for this creature is exceeding lustful, and therefore they say

that member, (the instrument of generation), is to be highly honoured, as that from which all living creatures derive their original. They say that these privy parts are not only accounted sacred among the Egyptians, but among many others are religiously adored in the time of their solemn rites of religious worship, as those parts that are the causes of generation. And the priests, who succeed in the office, descended to them from their fathers in Egypt, are first initiated into the service of this God. For this reason the Pans and Satyrs are greatly adored among them, and therefore they have images of them set up in their temples, with their privy parts erected like to the goat, which they say, is the most lustful creature in the world. By this representation they would signify their gratitude to the gods, for the populousness of their country.

The sacred bulls Apis and Mnevis, (they say), they honour as gods by the command of Osiris, both for their usefulness in husbandry, and likewise to keep up an honourable and lasting memory, of those that first found out bread-corn and other fruits of the earth.

But however, it is lawful to sacrifice red oxen, because Typhon seemed to be of that colour, who treacherously murdered Osiris, and was himself put to death by Isis, for the murder of her husband. They report likewise, that antiently men that had red hair, like Typhon, were sacrificed by the kings at the sepulchre of Osiris. And indeed, there are very few Egyptians that are red, but many that are strangers: and hence arose the fable of Busiris's cruelty towards strangers amongst the Greeks, not that there ever was any king called Busiris; but Osiris's sepulchre was so called in the Egyptian language. They say, they pay divine honour to wolves, because they come so near in their nature to dogs, for they are very little different, and mutually engender and bring forth whelps.

They give likewise another reason for their adoration, but most fabulous of all other; for they say, that when Isis and her son Orus were ready to join battle with Typhon, Osiris came up from the shades below in the form of a wolf, and assisted them; and therefore when Typhon was killed, the conquerors commanded that beast to be worshipped, because the day was won presently upon his appearing.

Some affirm, that at the time of the irruption of the Ethiopians into Egypt, a great number of wolves flocked together, and drove the invading enemy beyond the city Elephantina, and therefore that province is called Lycopolitana; and for these reasons came these beasts before mentioned, to be thus adored and worshipped.

CHAP. VII.

Why the Crocodile is worshipped. Some sorts of Herbs and Roots not eaten. Why other Creatures are worshipped. The manner of their Burials. The Law-makers in Egypt. Learned Men of Greece made Journies into Egypt, as Orpheus, Homer, Plato, Solon, Pythagoras, &c. Several Proofs of this, as their Religious Rites, Fables, &c. in Greece, of Egyptian Extraction. The exquisite Art of the Stone-carvers in Egypt.

NOW it remains, that we speak of the deifying the crocodile, of which many have inquired what might be the reason; being that these beasts devour men, and yet are adored as gods, who in the mean time are pernicious instruments of many cruel accidents. To this they answer, that their country is not only defended by the river, but much more by the crocodiles; and therefore the thieves out of Arabia and Africa, being afraid of the great number of these creatures, dare not pass over the river Nile, which protection they should be deprived of, if these beasts should be fallen upon and utterly destroyed by the hunters.

But there is another account given of these things: for one of the antient kings, called Menas, being set upon and pursued by his own dogs, was forced into the lake of Meris, where a crocodile, (a wonder to be told), took him up and carried him over to the other side, where, in gratitude to the beast, he built a city, and called it Crocodile; and commanded crocodiles to be adored as gods, and dedicated the lake to them for a place to feed and breed in. Where he built a sepulchre for himself with a four-square pyramid, and a labyrinth greatly admired by every body. In the same manner they relate stories of other things, which would be too tedious here to recite. For some conceive it to be very clear and evident, (by several of them not eating many of the fruits of the earth), that gain and profit by sparing has infected them with this superstition: for some never taste lentils, nor other beans; and some never eat either cheese, or onions, or such like food, although Egypt abounds with these things. Thereby signifying, that all should learn to be temperate; and whatsoever any feed upon, they should not give themselves to gluttony. But others give another reason; for they say that in the time of the antient kings, the people being prone to sedition, and plotting to rebel, one of their wise and prudent princes divided Egypt into several parts, and appointed the worship of some

beast or other in every part, or forbade some sort of food, that by that means every one adoring their own creature, and slighting that which was worshipped in another province, the Egyptians might never agree amongst themselves. And this is evident from the effects; for when one country despises and contemns the religious rites and customs of their neighbours, this always begets heart burnings among them. But some give this reason for deifying of these creatures: they say, that in the beginning, men that were of a fierce and beastly nature, herded together and devoured one another; and being in perpetual war and discord, the stronger always destroyed the weaker. In process of time, those that were too weak for the other, (taught at length by experience), got in bodies together, and had the representations of those beasts, (which were afterwards worshipped), in their standards, to which they ran together when they were in a fright, upon every occasion, and so made up a considerable force against them that attempted to assault them. This was imitated by the rest, and so the whole multitude got into a body; and hence it was that that creature, which every one supposed was the cause of his safety, was honoured as a god, as justly deserving that adoration. And therefore, at this day, the people of Egypt differ in their religion, every one worshipping that beast that their ancestors did in the beginning. To conclude, they say, that the Egyptians, of all other people, are the most grateful for favours done them, judging gratitude to be the safest guard of their lives, inasmuch as it is evident, that all are most ready to do good to them, with whom are laid up the treasures of a grateful mind to make a suitable return. And for these reasons, the Egyptians seem to honour and adore their kings, no less than as if they were very gods. For they hold that without a divine providence, they never could be advanced to the throne; and being they can confer the greatest rewards at their will and pleasure, they judge them partakers of the divine nature. Now, though we have said perhaps more than is needful of their sacred creatures, yet with this, we have set forth the laws of the Egyptians, which are very remarkable. But, when a man comes to understand their rites and ceremonies in burying their dead, he will be struck with much greater admiration.

For after the death of any of them, all the friends and kindred of the deceased throw dirt upon their heads, and run about through the city, mourning, and lamenting, till such time as the body be interred, and abstain from baths, wine, and all pleasant meats in the mean time, and forbear to clothe themselves with any rich attire. They have three sorts of funerals: the stately and magnificent, the moderate, and the meanest. In the first, they spend a talent of

silver; in the second, twenty minas; in the last, they are at very small charges. They that have the charge of wrapping up, and burying the body, are such as have been taught the art by their ancestors. These give in a writing to the family of every thing that is to be laid out in the funeral, and inquire of them after what manner they would have the body interred. When every thing is agreed upon, they take up the body, and deliver it to them whose office it is to take care of it. Then the chief among them, (who is called the scribe), having the body laid upon the ground, marks out how much of the left side towards the bowels is to be incised and opened, upon which the Paraschistes, (so by them called), with an Ethiopian stone, dissects so much of the flesh, as by the law is justifiable, and having done it, he forthwith runs away, might and main, and all there present pursue him with execrations, and pelt him with stones, as if he were guilty of some horrid offence, for they look upon him as an hateful person, who wounds and offers violence to the body in that kind, or does it any prejudice whatsoever. But as for those whom they call the Tarichevtæ, they highly honour them, for they are the priest's companions, and, as sacred persons, are admitted into the temple. As soon as they come to the dissected body, one of the Tarichevtæ thrusts up his hand through the wound, into the breast of the dead, and draws out all the intestins, but the reins and the heart. Another cleanses all the bowels, and washes them in Phœnician wine, mixed with diverse aromatic spices. Having at last washed the body, they first anoint it all over with the oil of cedar and other precious ointments for the space of forty days together; that done, they rub it well with myrrh, cinnamon, and such like things, not only apt and effectual for long preservation, but for sweet-scenting of the body also, and so deliver it to the kindred of the dead, with every member so whole and entire, that no part of the body seems to be altered, till it come to the very hairs of the eyelids, and the eye-brows, insomuch as the beauty and shape of the face seems just as it was before. By which means, many of the Egyptians laying up the bodies of their ancestors in stately monuments, perfectly see the true visage and countenance of those that were buried, many ages before they themselves were born. So that in viewing the proportion of every one of their bodies, and the lineaments of their faces, they take exceeding great delight, even as much as if they were still living among them. Moreover, the friends and nearest relations of the dead acquaint the judges and the rest of their friends with the time prefixed for the funeral of such a one by name, declaring, that such a day he is to pass the lake. At which time forty judges appear and sit together in a semicircle,

in a place beyond the lake; where a ship, (before provided by such as have the care of the business), is haled up to the shore, governed by a pilot, whom the Egyptians call Charon. And therefore they say, that Orpheus seeing this ceremony when he was in Egypt, invented the fable of hell, partly imitating them in Egypt, and partly adding something of his own; of which we shall speak particularly hereafter. The ship being now in the lake, every one is at liberty by the law, to accuse the dead before the coffin be put aboard; and if any accuser appears, and makes good his accusation, that he lived an ill life, then the judges give sentence, and the body is debarred from being buried after the usual manner; but if the informer be convicted of a scandalous and malicious accusation, he is very severely punished. If no informer appear, or that the information prove false, all the kindred of the deceased leave off mourning, and begin to set forth his praises; but say nothing of his birth, (as is the custom among the Greeks), because they account all in Egypt to be equally noble. But they recount how the deceased was educated from a child, his breeding till he came to man's estate, his piety towards the gods, and his justice towards men, his chastity and other virtues, wherein he excelled; and they pray and call upon the infernal deities to receive the deceased into the society of the just. The common people take it from the other, and approve of all that is said in his praise with a loud shout, and set forth likewise his virtues with the highest praises and strains of commendation, as he that is to live for ever with the just in the kingdom of Jove. Then they (that have tombs of their own) inter the corpse in places appointed for that purpose; they that have none of their own, build a small apartment in their own houses, and rear up the coffin to the sides of the strongest wall of the building. Such as are denied common burial, either because they are in debt, or convicted of some horrid crime, they bury in their own houses; and in after times it often happens, that some of their kindred growing rich, pay off the debts of the deceased, or get him absolved, and then bury their ancestor with state and splendour. For amongst the Egyptians, it is a sacred constitution, that they should at their greatest costs honour their parents and ancestors, who are translated to an eternal habitation. It is a custom likewise among them, to give the bodies of their parents in pawn to their creditors, and they that do not presently redeem them, fall under the greatest disgrace imaginable, and are denied burial after their deaths. One may justly wonder at the authors of this excellent constitution, who both by what we see practised among the living, and by the decent burial of the dead, did, (as much as possibly lay within the power of men), endeavour to promote ho-

nesty and faithful dealing one with another. For the Greeks, (as to what concerned the rewards of the just, and the punishment of the impious), had nothing amongst them but invented fables, and poetical fictions, which never wrought upon men for the amendment of their lives; but on the contrary, were despised and laughed at by the lewder sort. But among the Egyptians, the punishment of the bad, and the rewards of the good, being not told as idle tales, but every day seen with their own eyes, all sorts were warned of their duties, and by this means was wrought and continued a most exact reformation of manners and orderly conversation among them. For those certainly are the best laws that advance virtue and honesty, and instruct men in a prudent converse in the world, rather than those that tend only to the heaping up of wealth, and teach men to be rich.

And now it is necessary for us to speak of the legislators of Egypt, who established such laws as are both unusual elsewhere, and admirable in themselves. After the antient way of living in Egypt, which was, (according to their own stories), in the reigns of the gods and demigods; they say that Mneyis, a man of an heroic spirit, and famous in his generation for a commendable life, was the first that instituted written laws, feigning that he received them from Mercury, and that from them would accrue great benefit and advantage to the public. The same device Minos used among the Grecians in Crete, and Lycurgus among the Lacedæmonians: the first pretending he had them from Jupiter, and the other from Apollo. This contrivance, it is said, has been made use of amongst divers other nations, who have reaped much advantage by observing such laws. For it is reported, that among the Aramaspi, Zathraustes pretended he received his laws from a good genius; and that Zamolxis, amongst the people called the Getes, patronised his by Vesta; and among the Jews, that Moses alleged the god called Jao, to be the author of his. And this they did either because they judged such an invention (which brought about so much good to mankind) was wonderfully commendable, and of a divine stamp; or that they concluded the people would be more observant, out of a reverend regard to the majesty and authority of those who were said to be the law-makers. The second lawmaker of Egypt, they say, was Sasyches, a very wise and prudent prince, who added to the former, and made excellent laws also relating to the honour and worship of the gods. He is reported to have found out geometry, and to have taught the art of astronomy. The third whom they cry up, is Sesostris; who not only excelled all the kings of Egypt in his warlike achievements, but framed laws for military discipline among the Egyptians, and put every thing in due order relating to military affairs.

The fourth law-maker they say was king Bocchoris, a wise and prudent man; he established every thing that concerned the kings, and prescribed exact rules and laws for the making of contracts. He was so wise, and of so piercing a judgment in his decisions, that many of his sentences, for their excellency, are kept in memory to this very day. He was, they say, of a very weak constitution of body and extraordinarily covetous.

After him, king Amasis employed himself in the framing of laws, for the direction of the Nomarchi, in their several governments, which reduced all the provinces of Egypt into due order. It is said, he was a most wise, just, and good man, for which he was advanced to the throne by the Egyptians, though he was not of the blood-royal. It is reported, that when the Eleans were about to celebrate the olympic games, and sent their ambassadors to him to advise them how they might manage those sports most justly, he answered, "That the way to do that, was for none of the Eleans to be parties "in the contest."

Polycrates, the petty king of Samos, entered into a league of friendship with him: but when he heard how Polycrates oppressed his subjects, and injured strangers that came into his country, he sent ambassadors to him to advise to moderation; but not being able to persuade him, he at length sent a letter to him, to let him know he dissolved and renounced the league that was betwixt them; saying, "He was not willing forthwith to be involved in grief and sorrow, for "that he perfectly foresaw the miserable fall that would presently "overtake one who governed so tyrannically." He was greatly admired, they say, by the Grecians, both for his kind and gentle disposition, and for that which he said having shortly after befel Polycrates.

Darius, the father of Xerxes, is said to be the sixth who made laws for the government of the Egyptians. For, with hatred and abhorrence of the impiety of Cambyses his predecessor, for his profaning the temples in Egypt, he made it his business to approve his reverend regard towards the gods, and his kindness towards men; for he familiarly conversed with the Egyptian priests, and learned their theology, and acquainted himself with the things and transactions recorded in their sacred registers, whereby he came to understand the heroic spirit of the antient kings, and their kindness towards their subjects, which caused him to imitate them in the like; and upon that account he was so highly honoured amongst them, that, while he was alive, he gained the title of a god, which none of the other kings ever did; and when he was dead, the people allowed him all those antient honours due and accustomed to be done to the former kings of Egypt after their deaths. And these are the men, (they say), who

composed the laws of Egypt, that are so celebrated and cried up amongst other people. But in after times, (they say), many of their excellent laws were abrogated by the Macedonians, who came to be lords and kings of Egypt.

Having now given an account of these things, it remains we should declare how many wise and learned men among the Grecians journied into Egypt in antient times, to understand the laws and sciences of the country. For the Egyptian priests, out of their sacred records relate, that Orpheus, Musæus, Melampodes, Dædalus, Homer the poet, Lycurgus the Spartan, Solon the Athenian, Plato the philosopher, Pythagoras the Samian, Eudoxus the mathematician, Democritus the Abderite, and Œnopides the Chian, all came to them in Egypt, and they shew certain marks and signs of all these being there. Of some, by their pictures; and of others, by the names of places, or pieces of work that have been called after their names. And they bring arguments from every trade that is used, to prove that every thing wherein the Grecians excel, and for which they are admired, was brought over from Egypt into Greece. For they say, that Orpheus brought over most of the religious rites and ceremonies, both as to what concerns the celebration of the Orgia, and relating to his wandering up and down, and the whole entire fable of hell; for that the ceremonies and rites of Osiris agree in every thing with those of Bacchus, and that those of Isis and Ceres are one and the same, differing in nothing but the name. And whereas he introduces the wicked tormented in hell, the Elysian fields for the pious and just, and the fictitious appearances of ghosts, (commonly noised abroad), they say he has done nothing but imitated the Egyptian funerals. And that the feigning of Mercury to be the conductor of souls, was derived from the old Egyptian custom, that he who brought back the dead body of Apis, (when he came to the place), delivered it to him who represented Cerberus, which being communicated by Orpheus to the Greeks, Homer, in imitation of him, inserted it in his poem,

> Cyllenius leads to the infernal strand,
> The hero's ghost, arm'd with his golden wand.

And then he adds,

> They reach th' effluxes of the swelling seas,
> Then Leuca's rock; thence on their course they keep
> To the sun's portals, and the land of sleep;
> When straight they come into a flow'ry mead,
> Where, after death, departed souls reside.

The name, (they say), of Oceanus here mentioned, is attributed to the river Nile, for so the Egyptians in their own language call it; by the sun's portals is meant Heliopolis; the meadow feigned to be

the habitation of the dead, (they say), is the place bordering upon the lake called Acherusia, near to Memphis, surrounded with pleasant ponds and meadows, with woods and groves of lotus and sweet canes; and that therefore he feigned those places to be inhabited by the dead, because that many of the Egyptian funerals, and such as were the most considerable were there; the dead bodies being carried over the river and the lake Acherusia, and there interred. And that other fictions among the Grecians concerning hell agree with those things that are done in Egypt even at this day. For the ship which transports the dead bodies is called Baris, and that for the fare an halfpenny is paid to the ferryman, who is called in their own country language, Charon. They say likewise, that near to these places is the temple of black Hecates, and the gates of Cocytus and Lethe, made up with brazen bars; and besides these, there is another gate of truth, next to which stands the headless image of justice. There are many others of these Grecian fictions remaining still in Egypt, which both in name and practice continue there to this day. For in the city of Acanthus, beyond the Nile, towards Libya, about an hundred and twenty furlongs from Memphis, stands an hogshead full of holes, into which, (they say), three hundred priests every day pour in water carried out of the river Nile. The fable likewise of the ass is acted at a solemn festival not far from thence, where a man is twisting a long rope, and many that follow him are as fast undoing what he had before wrought.

The Egyptians further say, that Melampodes brought into Greece the rites and solemnities of Bacchus, and the fabulous story of Saturn and the Titans, and the entire history of the sufferings of the gods out of Egypt. And they say that Dædalus imitated the labyrinth there, which remains to this very day, built at first by Mendes, or, (as some report), by king Marus, many years before the reign of Minos. They affirm likewise, that the antient statues of Egypt are of the same size and proportion with those set up by Dædalus in Greece; and that the stately porch of Vulcan in Memphis, was the handy-work of Dædalus, and that he was in such high esteem among them, that they placed his statue of wood, (made by his own hands), in the temple; whom at length, for his ingenuity and excellent inventions, they honoured as a god; for in one of the islands belonging to Memphis, a temple dedicated to Dædalus is resorted unto by the inhabitants at this day.

That Homer came into Egypt, amongst other arguments, they endeavour to prove it especially by the potion Helen gave Telemachus, (in the story of Menelaus), to cause him to forget all his sorrows past. For the poet seems to have made an exact experiment of the potion

Nepenthes, which he says Helen received from Polymnestes, the wife of Thonus, and brought it from Thebes in Egypt; and indeed in that city, even at this day, the women use this medicine with good success: and they say, that in antient times, the medicine for the cure of anger and sorrow, was only to be found among the Diospolitans; Thebes and Diospolis being by them affirmed to be one and the same city. And that Venus, from an antient tradition, is called by the inhabitants, Golden Venus; and that there is a field so called, within the liberties of Memphis: and that Homer derived from Egypt his story of the embraces between Jupiter and Juno, and their travelling into Ethiopia; because the Egyptians every year carry Jupiter's tabernacle over the river into Africa, and a few days after bring it back again, as if the god had returned out of Ethiopia: and that the fiction of the nuptials of these two deities was taken from the solemnization of their festivals, at which time both their tabernacles, adorned with all sorts of flowers, are carried by the priests to the top of a mountain. To these they add, that Lycurgus, Solon, and Plato, borrowed from Egypt many of those laws which they established in their several commonwealths. And that Pythagoras learnt his mysterious and sacred expressions, the art of geometry, arithmetic, and transmigration of souls, in Egypt. They are of opinion likewise, that Democrates was five years in Egypt, and in that time much improved himself in the art of astrology. So they say, that Œnopides by his familiar converse with the priests and astrologers, amongst other advantages, gained especially the knowledge of the periodical motion of the sun; and came to know that his course is contrary to that of the stars: and that Eudoxus likewise, by studying astrology in Egypt, left many useful monuments of his art behind him in Greece, for which his name was famous. Lastly, they say, that the most famous statuaries of antient time lived amongst them for some time, as Telecles and Theodorus, the sons of Rhœcus, who made the statue of Apollo Pythius in Samos; for it is said, that one half of this statue was made by Telecles in Samos, and the other part was finished by Theodorus in Ephesus; and that there was such an exact symmetry of parts, that the whole seemed to be the work of one and the same hand: which art, (they say), the Grecians were not at all acquainted with, but that it was in frequent use among the Egyptians. For with them the exact cut of a statue is not judged of by the eye and fancy, (as it is by the Greeks), but after that they have cut out the stone, and wrought every part by itself, then they measure the exact proportion of the whole, from the least stone to the greatest. For they divide the whole body into twenty-one parts, and one-fourth, which makes up the symmetry and entire proportion. Upon which,

after the workmen have agreed among themselves as to the bigness of the statue, they go away, and every one of them carve their several parts so exactly, according to their just proportions, that the singular skill of these workmen is wonderful and amazing. And thus the statue in Samos, which, (according to the art and skill in Egypt), was cut in two from the head to the privities, exactly in the middle, yet notwithstanding was equally proportioned in every part. And they say, that it exactly resembles the statues in Egypt, having its hands stretched out, and its thighs in a walking posture. But we have now said enough of such things as are remarkable and worthy of memory in Egypt. In the next book, (according to what we purposed in the beginning of this), we shall give an account of things done elsewhere, and of other fables and stories, beginning with the actions of the Assyrians in Asia.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

BOOK II.

PREFACE.

THE former Book, (being the first of the whole), contains the affairs of Egypt; among which are related what is fabulously reported of the gods of Egypt, and what strange and wonderful accounts are given of the nature of the Nile, and other things concerning that river. We have spoken there likewise of the land of Egypt, their antient kings, and their several actions; and have added the building of the pyramids, reckoned amongst the seven wonders of the world. We have likewise set forth their laws and courts of justice, and the strange adoration of beasts in Egypt. Lastly, the manner of their burials, and the Greeks that were famous for learning, and travelled into Egypt, and brought over from thence many useful and profitable arts and sciences into Greece. In this next Book we shall describe the things done in Asia in antient times, beginning with the Assyrian empire.

CHAP. I.

Ninus the first King of Assyria; his acts; he invades Babylonia, Media, and overruns several other countries. Nineveh built by him; the description of it; marries Semiramis; her descent. Derceto, the Philistine's Dagon. His expedition against Bactria; he dies. Semiramis builds Babylon, and several strange works there; as a passage under water, Jupiter's temple, &c. Hanging gardens in Babylon. A vast stone cut out. The strange property of a morass. Her several expeditions. The wonderful lake in Ethiopia; their burials there. Semiramis's expedition into India. Her mock elephants. Her expedition proves fruitless. She surrenders her kingdom to Ninyas her son; her end.

ASIA was antiently governed by its own native kings, of whom there is no history extant, either as to any memorable actions they performed, or so much as to their names.

Ninus* is the first king of Assyria that is recorded in history; he performed many great and noble actions; of whom we have designed to set forth something particularly.

He was naturally of a warlike disposition, and very ambitious of honour and glory, and therefore caused the strongest of his young men to be trained up in martial discipline, and by long and continual exercise inured them readily to undergo all the toils and hazards of war.

Having therefore raised a gallant army, he made a league with Arieus king of Arabia, that was at that time full of strong and valiant men. For that nation are constant lovers of liberty, never upon any terms admitting of any foreign prince: and therefore neither the Persian, nor the Macedonian kings after them, (though they were most powerful in arms), were ever able to conquer them. For Arabia being partly desert, and partly parched up for want of water, (unless it be in some secret wells and pits known only to the inhabitants), cannot be subdued by any foreign force.

Ninus therefore, the Assyrian king, with the prince of Arabia, his assistant, with a numerous army, invaded the Babylonians then next bordering upon him: for the Babylon that is now, was not built at that time; but the province of Babylon had in it then many other considerable cities, whose inhabitants he easily subdued, (being rude and unexpert in matters of war), and imposed upon them a yearly tribute; but carried away the king with all his children prisoners, and soon after put them to death. Afterwards he entered Armenia with a great army, and having overthrown some cities, he struck terror into the rest, and thereupon their king Barzanes, seeing himself unable to deal with him, met him with many rich presents, and submitted himself; whom Ninus, out of his generous disposition, courteously received, and gave him the kingdom of Armenia, upon condition he should be his friend for the future, and supply him with men and provision for his wars, as he should have occasion.

Being thus strengthened, he invaded Media, whose king Pharnus coming out against him with a mighty army, was utterly routed, and lost most of his men, and was taken prisoner with his wife and seven children, and afterwards crucified.

Ninus being thus successful and prosperous, his ambition rose the higher, and his desire most ardent to conquer all in Asia, which lay between Tanais and the Nile; (so far does prosperity and success in getting much, inflame the desire to gain and compass more). In

* Ninus, Ann. Mun. 2737. Usher's Ann. Time of Deborah; but generally Chronologers make him far more antient, Ann. Mun. 2000, Ant. Chr. 1950, about the time of Abraham's birth.

order hereunto, he made one of his friends governor of the province of Media, and he himself in the mean time marched against the other provinces of Asia, and subdued them all in seventeen years time, except the Indians and Bactrians. But no writer has given any account of the several battles he fought, nor of the number of those nations he conquered; and therefore following Ctesias the Cnidian, we shall only briefly run over the most famous and considerable countries. He over-ran all the countries bordering upon the sea, together with the adjoining continent, as Egypt and Phœnicia, Cœlosyria, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, Phrygia, Mysia and Lydia; the province of Troas and Phrygia upon the Hellespont; together with Propontis, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and the barbarous nations adjoining upon Pontus, as far as to Tanais; he gained likewise the country of the Cadusians, Tarpyrians, Hyrcanians, Dacians, Derbians, Carmanians, Coroneans, Borchanians, and Parthians. He pierced likewise into Persia, the provinces of Susiana, and that called Caspiana, through those narrow straits, which, from thence are called the Caspian gates. He subdued likewise many other less considerable nations, which would be too tedious here to recount. After much toil and labour in vain, because of the difficulty of the passes, and the multitude of those warlike inhabitants, he was forced to put off his war against the Bactrians to another opportunity.

Having marched back with his army into Syria, he marked out a place for the building of a stately city: for, inasmuch as he had surpassed all his ancestors in the glory and success of his arms, he was resolved to build one of that state and grandeur, as should not only be the greatest then in the world, but such as none that ever should come after him, should be able easily to exceed.

The king of Arabia, he sent back with his army into his own country, with many rich spoils, and noble gifts. And he himself having got a great number of his forces together, and provided money and treasure, and other things necessary for the purpose, built a city near the river Euphrates, very famous for its walls and fortifications; of a long form; for on both sides it ran out in length above an hundred and fifty furlongs; but the two lesser angels were only ninety furlongs a-piece; so that the circumference of the whole was four hundred and fourscore furlongs. And the founder was not herein deceived, for none ever after built the like, either as to the largeness of its circumference, or the stateliness of its walls. For the wall was an hundred feet in height, and so broad as three chariots might be driven together upon it a-breast: there were fifteen hundred turrets upon the walls, each of them two hundred feet high. He appointed the city to be inhabited chiefly by the richest Assy-

rians, and gave liberty to people of any other nation, (to as many as would), to dwell there, and allowed to the citizens a large territory next adjoining to them, and called the city after his own name Ninus, or Nineveh.

When he had finished his work here, he marched with an army against the Bactrians, where he married Semiramis; who being so famous above any of her sex, (as in history it is related), we cannot but say something of her here in this place, being one advanced from so low a fortune, to such a state and degree of honour and worldly glory.

There is a city in Syria, called Ascalon, near which is a deep lake abounding with fish, where not far off stands a temple dedicated to a famous goddess called by the Syrians Derceto*. She represents a woman in her face, and a fish in all other parts of her body, upon the account following, as the most judicious among the inhabitants report; for they say, that Venus, being angry at this goddess, caused her to fall into a vehement pang of love with a beautiful young man, who was among others sacrificing to her, and was got with child by him, and brought to bed of a daughter; and being ashamed afterwards of what she had done, she killed the young man, and exposed the child among rocks in the desert, and, through sorrow and shame cast herself into the lake, and was afterwards transformed into a fish; whence it came to pass, that at this very day the Syrians eat no fish, but adore them as gods. They say that the infant that was exposed, was both preserved and nourished by a most wonderful providence, by the means of a great flock of pigeons that nestled near to the place where the child lay: for with their wings they cherished it, and kept it warm; and observing where the herdsmen and other shepherds left their milk in the neighbouring cottages, took it up in their bills, and as so many nurses thrust their beaks between the infant's lips, and so instilled the milk: and when the child was a year old, and stood in need of stronger nourishment, the pigeons fed it with pieces of cheese which they picked out from the rest: when the shepherds returned, and found their cheeses picked round, they wondered, (at first), at the thing; but observing afterwards, how it came to pass, they not only found out the cause, but likewise a very beautiful child, which they forthwith carried away to their cottages, and made a present of it to the king's superintendent of his flocks and herds, (whose name was Simma), who, (having no children of his own), carefully bred up the young lady as if she had been his own daughter, and called her Semiramis, a denomination in the Syrian language derived from pigeons, which

* This was the Philistine's Dagon.—Ovid. Met. lib. 4.

the Syrians ever after adored for goddesses. And these are the stories told of Semiramis.

Being now grown up, and exceeding all others of her sex for the charms of her beauty, one of the king's great officers called Menon, was sent to take an account of the king's herds and flocks: this man was lord president of the king's council, and chief governor of Syria, and lodging upon this occasion at Simma's house, at the sight of Semiramis, fell in love with her, and with much entreaty obtained her from Simma, and carried her away with him to Nineveh, where he married her, and had by her two sons, Hypates and Hydaspes: and being a woman of admirable parts as well as beauty, her husband was altogether at her devotion, and never would do any thing without her advice, which was ever successful.

About this time Ninus having finished his city, (called after his own name), prepared for his expedition against the Bactrians; and having had experience of the greatness of their forces, the valour of their soldiers, and the difficulties of passing into their country, he raised an army of the choicest men he could pick out from all parts of his dominions; for because he was baffled in his former expedition, he was resolved to invade Bactria with a far stronger army than he did before. Bringing therefore his whole army together at a general rendezvous, there were numbered, (as Ctesias writes), seventeen hundred thousand foot, above two hundred and ten thousand horse, and no fewer than ten thousand and six hundred hooked chariots. This number at the first view seems to be very incredible; but to such as seriously consider the largeness and populousness of Asia, it cannot be judged impossible. For if any, (not to say any thing of the eight hundred thousand men that Darius had with him in his expedition against the Scythians, and the innumerable army Xerxes brought over with him into Greece), will but take notice of things done lately, even as of yesterday, he will more easily credit what we now say. For in Sicily, Dionysius led only out of that one city of Syracuse, an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse; and launched out of one port, a navy of four hundred sail, of which some were of three tiers of oars, and others of five: and the Romans, a little before the times of Hannibal, raised in Italy, of their own citizens and confederates, an army little less than a million of fighting men; and yet all Italy is not to be compared with one province of Asia for number of men. But this may sufficiently convince them who compute the antient populousness of the countries by the present depopulations of the cities at this day.

Ninus therefore marching with these forces against the Bactrians, divided his army into two bodies, because of the straitness and diffi-

culty of the passages. There are in Bactria many large and populous cities, but one is more especially famous, called Bactria, in which the king's palace, for greatness and magnificence, and the citadel for strength, far excel all the rest.

Oxyartes reigned there at this time, who caused all that were able, to bear arms, and mustered an army of four hundred thousand men. With these he met the enemy at the straits entering into his country, where he suffered Ninus to enter with part of his army. When he saw a competent number entered, he fell upon them in the open plain, and fought them with that resolution, that the Bactrians put the Assyrians to flight, and pursuing them to the next mountains, killed a hundred thousand of their enemies; but after the whole army entered, the Bactrians were overpowered by numbers, and were broken, and all fled to their several cities, in order to defend every one his own country. Ninus easily subdued all the rest of the forts and castles; but Bactria itself was so strong and well provided, that he could not force it; which occasioned a long and tedious siege, so that the husband of Semiramis, (who was there in the king's camp), being love-sick, impatient of being any longer without his wife, sent for her, who being both discreet aed courageous, and endowed with other noble qualifications, readily embraced the opportunity of shewing to the world her own natural valour and resolution; and that she might with more safety perform so long a journey, she put on such a garment as whereby she could not be discerned whether she were a man or a woman; and so made, that by it she both preserved her beauty from being scorched by the heat in her journey, and likewise was thereby more nimble and ready for any business she pleased to undertake, being of herself a youthful and sprightly lady; and this sort of garment was in so high esteem, that the Medes afterwards, when they came to be lords of Asia, wore Semiramis's gown, and the Persians likewise after them.

As soon as she came to Bactria, and observed the manner of the siege, how assaults were made only in open and plain places most likely to be entered, and that none dared to approach the citadel, because of its natural strength and fortification, and that they within took more care to defend the lower and weaker parts of the walls, than the castle, where they neglected their guards, she took some with her that were skilful in climbing up the rocks, and with them, with much toil, passed over a deep trench, and possessed herself of part of the castle; whereupon she gave a signal to them that were assaulting the wall upon the plain. Then they that were within the city, being suddenly struck with a panic fear at the taking of the castle, in desperation of making any further defence, forsook the walls,

The city being taken in this manner, the king greatly admired the valour of the woman, and bountifully rewarded her, and was presently so passionately affected at the sight of her beauty, that he used all the arguments imaginable to persuade her husband to bestow his wife upon him, promising him as a reward of his kindness, to give him his daughter Sosana in marriage: but he absolutely refused; upon which the king threatened him, that if he would not consent, he would pluck out his eyes.

Menon hereupon out of fear of the king's threats, and overpowered with the love of his wife, fell into a distracted rage and madness, and forthwith hanged himself. And this was the occasion of the advancement of Semiramis to the regal state and dignity.

Ninus having now possessed himself of all the treasures of Bactria, (where was abundance of gold and silver), and settled his affairs throughout the whole province of Bactria, returned with his army to his own country.

Afterwards he had a son by Semiramis, called Ninyas, and died, leaving his wife queen regent. She buried her husband Ninus in the royal palace, and raised over him a mount of earth of a wonderful bigness, being nine furlongs in height, and ten in breadth, as Ctesias says: so that the city standing in a plain near to the river Euphrates, the mount (many furlongs off) looks like a stately citadel. And it is said, that it continues to this day, though Nineveh was destroyed by the Medes when they ruined the Assyrian empire.

Semiramis* was naturally of an high aspiring spirit, ambitious to excel all her predecessors in glorious actions, and therefore employed all her thoughts about the building of a city in the province of Babylon; and to this end having provided architects, artists, and all other necessaries for the work, she got together two millions of men out of all parts of the empire, to be employed in the building of the city. It was so built as that the river Euphrates ran through the middle of it; and she compassed it round with a wall of three hundred and sixty furlongs in circuit, and adorned with many stately turrets; and such was the state and grandeur of the work, that the walls were of that breadth, as that six chariots abreast might be driven together upon them. Their height was such as exceeded all men's belief that heard of it, (as Ctesias the Cnidian relates). But Clitarchus, and those who afterwards went over with Alexander into Asia, have written, that the walls were in circuit three hundred and sixty-five furlongs; the queen making them of that compass, to the end that the furlongs should be as many in number as the days of

* Semiramis reigned, Ann. Mund. 2006, Ant. Chr. 2944. Petavius says, Abraham was born in the 24th year of her reign, lib. 1, c. 2.

the year: they were of brick cemented with brimstone; in height, as Ctesias says, fifty orgyas; but as some of the later writers report, but fifty cubits only, and that the breadth was but a little more than what would allow two chariots to be driven in front. There were two hundred and fifty turrets, in height and thickness proportionable to the largeness of the wall. It is not to be wondered at, that there were so few towers upon a wall of so great a circuit, being that in many places round the city, there were deep morasses; so that it was judged to no purpose to raise turrets there, where they were so naturally fortified: between the wall and the houses, there was a space left around the city of two hundred feet.

That the work might be the more speedily despatched, to each of her friends was allotted a furlong, with an allowance of all expenses necessary for their several parts, and commanded all should be finished in a year's time; which being diligently perfected with the queen's approbation, she then made a bridge over the narrowest part of the river, five furlongs in length, laying the supports and pillars of the arches with great art and skill at the bottom of the water, twelve feet distance from each other. That the stones might be the more firmly joined, they were bound together with hooks of iron, and the joints filled up with melted lead. And before the pillars she made and placed defences, with sharp pointed angles, to receive the water before it beat upon the flat sides of the pillars, which caused the course of the water to run round by degrees gently and moderately, as far as to the broad sides of the pillars, so that the sharp points of the angles cut the stream, and gave a check to its violence, and the roundness of them by little and little giving way, abated the force of the current. This bridge was floored with great joists and planks of cedar, cypress, and palm trees, and was thirty feet in breadth, and for art and curiosity, yielded to none of the works of Semiramis. On either side of the river she raised a bank, as broad as the wall, and with great cost drew it out in length an hundred furlongs. She built likewise two palaces at each end of the bridge upon the bank of the river, whence she might have a prospect over the whole city, and make her passage as by keys to the most convenient places in it, as she had occasion. And whereas the Euphrates runs through the middle of Babylon, making its course to the south, the palaces lie the one on the east, and the other on the west side of the river; both built at exceeding costs and expense. For that on the west had an high and stately wall, made of well burnt bricks, sixty furlongs in compass; within this was drawn another of a round circumference, upon which were pourtrayed in the bricks before they were burnt, all sorts of living creatures, as if it were to the life, laid

with great art in curious colours. This wall was in circuit forty furlongs, three hundred bricks thick, and in height (as Ctesias says) a hundred yards, upon which were turrets a hundred and forty yards high. The third and most inward wall, immediately surrounded the palace, thirty furlongs in compass, and far surmounted the middle wall, both in height and thickness; and on this wall and the towers were represented the shapes of all sorts of living creatures, artificially expressed in most lively colours. Especially was represented a general hunting of all sorts of wild beasts, each four cubits high and upwards; amongst these was to be seen Semiramis on horseback, striking a leopard through with a dart, and next to her, her husband Ninus in close fight with a lion, piercing him with his lance. To this palace she built likewise three gates, under which were apartments of brass for entertainments, into which passages were opened by a certain engine. This palace far excelled that on the other side of the river, both in greatness and adornments. For the outermost wall of that (made of well burnt brick) was but thirty furlongs in compass. Instead of the curious portraiture of beasts, there were the brazen statues of Ninus and Semiramis, the great officers, and of Jupiter, whom the Babylonians call Belus; and likewise armies drawn up in battalia, and divers sorts of hunting were there represented, to the great diversion and pleasure of the beholders. After all these in a low ground in Babylon, she sunk a place for a pond, four-square, every square being three hundred furlongs in length, lined with brick, and cemented with brimstone, and the whole five-and-thirty feet in depth: into this having first turned the river, she then made a passage in form of a vault, from one palace to another, whose arches were built of firm and strong brick, and plaistered all over on both sides with bitumen, four cubits thick. The walls of this vault were twenty bricks in thickness, and twelve feet high, beside and above the arches; and the breadth was fifteen feet. This piece of work being finished in two hundred and sixty days, the river was turned into its antient channel again, so that the river flowing over the whole work, Semiramis could go from one palace to the other, without passing over the river. She made likewise two brazen gates at either end of the vault, which continued to the time of the Persian empire. In the middle of the city, she built a temple to Jupiter, whom the Babylonians call Belus, (as we have before said), of which since writers differ amongst themselves, and the work is now wholly decayed through length of time, there is nothing that can with certainty be related concerning it: yet it is apparent, it was of an exceeding great height, and that by the advantage of it, the Chaldean astrologers exactly observed the setting and rising of the stars. The whole was

built of brick, cemented with brimstone, with great art and cost. Upon the top she placed three statues of beaten gold of Jupiter, Juno, and Rhea. That of Jupiter stood upright in the posture as if he were walking; he was forty feet in height, and weighed a thousand Babylonish talents. The statue of Rhea was of the same weight, sitting on a golden throne, having two lions standing on either side, one at her knees; and near to them two exceeding great serpents of silver, weighing thirty talents each. Here likewise the image of Juno stood upright, and weighed eight hundred talents, grasping a serpent by the head in her right hand, and holding a sceptre adorned with precious stones in her left. For all these deities there was placed a common table made of beaten gold, forty feet long, and fifteen broad, weighing five hundred talents; upon which stood two cups, weighing thirty talents, and near to them as many censers, weighing three hundred talents: there were there likewise placed three drinking bowls of gold, one of which, dedicated to Jupiter, weighed twelve hundred Babylonish talents, but the other two six hundred each; but all those the Persian kings sacrilegiously carried away. And length of time has either altogether consumed, or much defaced the palaces and the other structures; so that at this day but a small part of this Babylon is inhabited, and the greatest part which lay within the walls, is turned into tillage and pasture.

There was likewise an hanging garden (as it is called) near the citadel, not built by Semiramis, but by a later prince, called Cyrus, for the sake of a courtesan, who being a Persian (as they say) by birth, and coveting meadows on mountain tops, desired the king by an artificial plantation to imitate the lands in Persia. This garden was four hundred feet square, and the ascent up to it was as to the top of a mountain, and had buildings and apartments out of one into another, like unto a theatre. Under the steps to the ascent, were built arches one above another, rising gently by degrees, which supported the whole plantation. The highest arch upon which the platform of the garden was laid, was fifty cubits high, and the garden itself was surrounded with battlements and bulwarks. The walls were made very strong, built at no small charge and expense, being two-and-twenty feet thick, and every sally-port ten feet wide: over the several stories of this fabric, were laid beams and summers of huge massy stones, each sixteen feet long, and four broad. The roof over all these was first covered with reeds, daubed with abundance of brimstone; then upon them was laid double tiles pargeted together with a hard and durable mortar, and over them after all, was a covering with sheets of lead, that the wet which drenched through the earth, might not rot the foundation. Upon all these was laid earth of a

convenient depth, sufficient for the growth of the greatest trees. When the soil was laid even and smooth, it was planted with all sorts of trees, which both for greatness and beauty, might delight the spectators. The arches (which stood one above another, and by that means darted light sufficient one into another) had in them many stately rooms of all kinds, and for all purposes. But there was one that had in it certain engines, whereby it drew plenty of water out of the river through certain conduits and conveyances from the platform of the garden, and nobody without was the wiser, or knew what was done. This garden (as we said before) was built in later ages.

But Semiramis built likewise other cities upon the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, where she established marts for the vending of merchandise brought from Media and Paretacenes, and other neighbouring countries. For next to the Nile and Ganges, the Euphrates and Tigris are the noblest rivers of all Asia, and have their spring-heads in the mountains of Arabia, and are distant one from another fifteen hundred furlongs. They run through Media and Paretacena into Mesopotamia, which from its lying in the middle between these two rivers, has gained from them that name; thence passing through the province of Babylon, they empty themselves into the Red sea. These being very large rivers, and passing through divers countries, greatly enrich the merchants that traffic in those parts; so that the neighbouring places are full of wealthy mart towns, and greatly advanced the glory and majesty of Babylon.

Semiramis likewise caused a great stone to be cut out of the mountains of Armenia, an hundred and twenty-five feet in length, and five in breadth and thickness; this she conveyed to the river by the help of many yokes of oxen and asses, and there put it on board a ship, and brought it safe by water to Babylon, and set it up in the most remarkable highway as a wonderful spectacle to all beholders. From its shape it is called an obelisk, and is accounted one of the seven wonders of the world. There are indeed many remarkable and wonderful things to be seen in Babylon; but amongst these, the great quantity of brimstone that there flows out of the ground, is not to be the least admired, which is so much that it not only supplied all their occasions in building such great and mighty works, but the common people profusely gather it, and when it is dry, burn it instead of fuel; and though it be drawn out by an innumerable company of people, as from a great fountain, yet it is as plentiful as ever it was before. Near this fountain there is a spring not big, but very fierce and violent, for it casts forth a sulphurous and gross vapour, which suddenly kills every living creature that comes near to it; for the

breath being stopped a long time, and all power of respiration taken away by the force of the exhalation, the body presently swells so, that the parts about the lungs are all in a flame.

Beyond the river there is a morass, about which is a crusty earth; if any unacquainted with the place get into it, at first he floats upon the top, when he comes into the middle he is violently hauled away, and striving to help himself, seems to be held so fast by something or other, that all his labour to get loose is in vain. And first his feet, then his legs and thighs to his loins are benumbed; at length his whole body is stupified, and then down he sinks to the bottom, and presently after is cast up dead to the surface. And thus much for the wonders of Babylon.

When Semiramis had finished all her works, she marched with a great army into Media, and encamped near to a mountain called Bagistan; there she made a garden twelve furlongs in compass: it was in a plain champaign country, and had a great fountain in it, which watered the whole garden. Mount Bagistan is dedicated to Jupiter, and towards one side of the garden has steep rocks seventeen furlongs from the top to the bottom. She cut out a piece of the lower part of the rock, and caused her own image to be carved upon it, and a hundred of her guard that were lanceteers standing round about her. She wrote likewise in Syriac letters upon the rock—*That Semiramis ascended from the plain to the top of the mountain by laying the packs and fardels of the beasts that followed her one upon another.*

Marching away from hence, she came to Chaone, a city of Media, where she encamped upon a rising ground, from whence she took notice of an exceeding great and high rock, where she made another very great garden in the middle of the rock, and built upon it stately houses of pleasure, whence she might both have a delightful prospect into the garden, and view the army as they lay encamped below in the plain; being much delighted with this place she staid here a considerable time, giving up herself to all kinds of pleasures and delights, for she forbore marrying lest she should then be deposed from the government, and in the mean time she made choice of the handsomest commanders to be her gallants; but after they had lain with her she cut off their heads.

From hence she marched towards Ecbatana, and arrived at the mountain Zarcheum, which being many furlongs in extent, and full of steep precipices and craggy rocks, there was no passing but by long and tedious windings and turnings. To leave therefore behind her an eternal monument of her name, and to make a short cut for her passage, she caused the rocks to be hewn down, and the valleys

to be filled up with earth, and so in a short time, at a vast expense, laid the way open and plain, which to this day is called Semiramis's Way.

When she came to Ecbatana, which is situated in a low and even plain, she built there a stately palace, and bestowed more of her care and pains here than she had done at any other place. For the city wanting water (there being no spring near) she plentifully supplied it with good and wholesome water, brought hither with a great deal of toil and expense, after this manner: there is a mountain called Orontes, twelve furlongs distant from the city, exceeding high and steep for the space of five-and-twenty furlongs up to the top; on the other side of this mount there is a great mere which empties itself into the river. At the foot of this mountain she dug a canal fifteen feet in breadth and forty in depth, through which she conveyed water in great abundance into the city. And these are the things which she did in Media.

Afterwards she made a progress through Persia and all the rest of her dominions in Asia, and all along as she went she plained all the way before her, levelling both rocks and mountains. On the other hand, in champaign countries she would raise eminences, on which she would sometimes build sepulchres for her officers and commanders, and at other times towns and cities. Throughout her whole expeditions she always used to raise an ascent, upon which she pitched her own pavilion, that from thence she might have a view of her whole army. Many things which she performed in Asia remain to this day, and are called Semiramis's Works.

Afterwards she passed through all Egypt, and having conquered the greatest part of Libya, she went to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and there inquired of the oracle how long she should live; which returned her this answer, *That she should leave this world, and afterwards be for ever honoured by some nations in Asia, when Ninyas her son should be plotting against her.*

When she had performed these things, she marched into Ethiopia, and having subdued many places in it, she had an opportunity to see what was there very remarkable and wonderful. For they say, there is a four-square lake, an hundred and sixty feet in circuit, the water of which is in colour like unto vermilion, and of an extraordinary sweet flavour, much like unto old wine; yet of such wonderful operation, that whosoever drinks of it goes presently mad, and confesses all the faults that ever he had been before guily of; but some will scarce believe this relation.

The Ethiopians have a peculiar way of burying their dead; for, after they have embalmed the body, they pour round about it melted

glass, and then place it upon a pillar, so that the corpse may be plainly seen through the glass, as Herodotus has reported the thing. But Ctesias of Cnidus affirms that he tells a winter-tale, and says, that it is true, indeed, that the body is embalmed, but that glass is not poured upon the naked body, for the bodies thereby would be so scorched and defaced that they could not possibly retain any likeness to the dead: and that therefore they make an hollow statue of gold, and put the body within it, and then pour the melted glass round upon this statue, which they set upon some high place, and so the statue which resembles the dead is seen through the glass, and thus he says they used to bury those of the richer sort; but those of meaner fortunes they put into statues of silver; and for the poor they make statues of potter's clay, every one having glass enough, for there is abundance to be got in Ethiopia, and ready at hand for all the inhabitants. But we shall speak more fully of the customs and laws of the Ethiopians, and the product of the land, and other things worthy of remark, presently, when we come to relate their antiquities and old fables and stories.

Semiramis having settled her affairs in Egypt and Ethiopia, returned with her army into Asia to Bactria; and now having a great army, and enjoying a long peace, she had a longing desire to perform some notable exploit by her arms. Hearing, therefore, that the Indians were the greatest nation in the whole world, and had the largest and richest tract of land of all others, she resolved to make war upon them. Stabrobates was at that time king, who had innumerable forces, and many elephants bravely accoutred and fitted to strike terror into the hearts of his enemies. For India, for the pleasantness of the country, excelled all others, being watered in every place with many rivers, so that the land yielded every year a double crop; and by that means was so rich and so abounded with plenty of all things necessary for the sustenance of man's life, that it supplied the inhabitants continually with such things as made them excessively rich, insomuch as it was never known that there was ever any famine amongst them, the climate being so happy and favourable; and upon that account, likewise, there is an incredible number of elephants, which for courage and strength of body far excel those in Africa. Moreover this country abounds in gold, silver, brass, iron, and precious stones of all sorts, both for profit and pleasure. All which being noised abroad, so stirred up the spirit of Semiramis, that (though she had no provocation given her) yet she was resolved upon the war against the Indians. But knowing that she had need of great forces, she sent despatches to all the provinces, with command to the governors to list the choicest young men they could find, ordering the pro-

portion of soldiers every province and country should send forth, according to the largeness of it; and commanded that all should furnish themselves with new arms and armour, and all appear in three years time at a general rendezvous in Bactria, bravely armed and accoutred in all points. And having sent for shipwrights out of Phœnicia, Syria, Cyprus, and other places bordering upon the sea-coasts, she prepared timber for them fit for the purpose, and ordered them to build vessels that might be taken asunder and conveyed from place to place wherever she pleased. For the river Indus bordering upon that kingdom, being the greatest in those parts, she stood in need of many river-boats to pass it, in order to repress the Indians. But being there was no timber near that river, she was necessitated to convey the boats thither by land from Bactria. She further considered, that she was much inferior to the Indians in elephants, (which were absolutely necessary for her to make use of), she therefore contrived to have beasts that should resemble them, hoping by this means to strike a terror into the Indians, who believed there were no elephants in any place but in India.

To this end she provided three hundred thousand black oxen, and distributed the flesh amongst a company of ordinary mechanics and such fellows as she had to play the coblers for her, and ordered them, by stitching the skins together, and stuffing them with straw, to imitate the shape of an elephant, and in every one of them she put a man to govern them, and a camel to carry them, so that at a distance they appeared to all that saw them, as if they were really such beasts.

They that were employed in this work wrought at it night and day in a place which was walled round for the purpose, and guards set at every gate, that none might be admitted either to go in or out, to the end that none might see what they were doing, lest it should be noised abroad, and come to the ears of the Indians.

Having therefore provided shipping and elephants in the space of two years, in the third she rendezvoused all her forces in Bactria. Her army consisted (as Ctesias says) of three millions of foot, two hundred thousand horse, a hundred thousand chariots, and a hundred thousand men mounted upon camels with swords four cubits long. The boats that might be taken asunder were two thousand; which the camels carried by land as they did the mock-elephants, as we have before declared. The soldiers made their horses familiar with these feigned beasts, by bringing them often to them, lest they should be terrified at the sight of them; which Perseus imitated many ages after when he was to fight with the Romans, who had elephants in their army out of Africa. However, this contrivance proved to be

of no advantage either to him or her, as will appear in the issue herein a little after related.

When Stabrobates the Indian king heard of these great armies, and the mighty preparations made against him, he did all he could to excel Semiramis in every thing. And first he built of great canes four thousand river-boats: for abundance of these canes grow in India about the rivers and fens, so thick as a man can scarce fathom: and vessels made of these reeds (they say) are exceeding useful, because they will never rot or be worm-eaten.

He was very diligent, likewise, in preparing of arms, and going from place to place throughout all India, and so raised a far greater army than that of Semiramis. To his former number of elephants he added more, which he took by hunting, and furnished them all with every thing that might make them look terrible in the face of their enemies; so that by their multitude, and the completeness of their armour in all points, it seemed above the strength and power of man to bear up against the violent shock of these creatures.

Having therefore made all these preparations, he sent ambassadors to Semiramis (as she was on her march towards him) to complain and upbraid her for beginning a war without any provocation or injury offered her; and by his private letters taxed her with her whorish course of life, and vowed (calling the gods to witness) that if he conquered her he would nail her to the cross. When she read the letter, she smiled, and said, the Indian should presently have a trial of her valour by her actions. When she came up with her army to the river Indus, she found the enemy's fleet drawn up in a line of battle; whereupon she forthwith drew up her own, and having manned it with the stoutest soldiers, joined battle, yet so ordering the matter as to have her land-forces ready upon the shore, to be assisting as there should be occasion. After a long and sharp fight, with marks of valour on both sides, Semiramis was at length victorious, and sunk a thousand of the enemy's vessels, and took a great number of prisoners. Puffed up with this success, she took, in the cities and islands that lay in the river, and carried away, an hundred thousand captives. After this, the Indian king drew off his army, (as if he fled for fear), but in truth to decoy his enemies to pass the river.

Semiramis therefore (seeing things fall out according to her wish) laid a broad bridge of boats (at a vast charge) over the river, and thereby passed over all her forces, leaving only threescore thousand to guard the bridge, and with the rest of her army pursued the Indians. She placed the mock-elephants in the front, that the enemy's scouts might presently inform the king what multitudes of elephants she had in her army: and she was not deceived in her hopes; for

when the spies gave an account to the Indians what a great multitude of these creatures were advancing towards them, they were all in amaze, inquiring among themselves, whence the Assyrians should be supplied with such a vast number of elephants: but the cheat could not be long concealed, for some of Semiramis's soldiers being laid by the heels for their carelessness upon the guard, (through fear of further punishment), made their escape and fled to the enemy, and undeceived them as to the elephants; upon which the Indian king was mightily encouraged, and caused notice of the delusion to be spread through the whole army, and then forthwith marched with all his force against the Assyrians; Semiramis, on the other hand, doing the like. When they approached near one to another, Stabrobates the Indian king placed his horse and chariots in the van-guard, at a good distance before the main body of his army. The queen having placed her mock-elephants at the like distance from her main body, valiantly received her enemy's charge; but the Indian horse were most strangely terrified; for in regard the phantasms at a distance seemed to be real elephants, the horses of the Indians (being inured to those creatures) pressed boldly and undauntedly forward; but when they came near and saw another sort of beast than usual, and the smell and every thing else almost being strange and new to them, they broke in with great terror and confusion, one upon another, so that they cast some of their riders headlong to the ground, and ran away with others (as the lot happened) into the midst of their enemies: whereupon Semiramis, readily making use of her advantage, with a body of choice men fell in upon them, and routed them, forcing them back to their main body: and though Stabrobates was something astonished at this unexpected defeat, yet he brought up his foot against the enemy, with his elephants in the front: he himself was in the right wing, mounted upon a stately elephant, and made a fierce charge upon the queen herself, who happened then to be opposite to him in the left. And though the mock-elephants in Semiramis's army did the like, yet they stood the violent shock of the other but a little while; for the Indian beasts being both exceeding strong and stout, easily bore down and destroyed all that opposed them, so that there was a great slaughter; for some they trampled under foot, others they rent in pieces with their teeth, and tossed up others with their trunks into the air. The ground therefore being covered with heaps of dead carcases, and nothing but death and destruction to be seen on every hand, so that all were full of horror and amazement, none durst keep their order or ranks any longer. Upon which the whole Assyrian army fled outright, and the Indian king encountered with Semiramis, and first wounded her with an arrow in

the arm, and afterwards with a dart (in wheeling about) in the shoulder; whereupon the queen (her wounds not being mortal) fled, and by the swiftness of her horse (which far exceeded the other that pursued her) she got off. But all making one way to the bridge of boats, and such a vast multitude of men thronging together in one strait and narrow passage, the queen's soldiers miserably perished by treading down one another under foot, and (which was strange and unusual) horse and foot lay tumbling promiscuously one over another. When they came at length to the bridge, and the Indians at their heels, the consternation was so great, that many on both sides the bridge were tumbled over into the river. But when the greatest part of those that remained had got over, Semiramis caused the cords and tenons of the bridge to be cut, which done, the boats (which were before joined together, and upon which was a great number of Indians not in the pursuit) being now divided into many parts, and carried here and there by the force of the current, multitudes of the Indians were drowned, and Semiramis was now safe and secure, having such a barrier as the river betwixt her and her enemies. Whereupon the Indian king, being forewarned by prodigies from heaven, and the opinions of the soothsayers, forbore all further pursuit. And Semiramis, making exchange of prisoners in Bactria, returned with scarce a third part of her army.

A little time after, Semiramis being assaulted by an eunuch through the treacherous contrivance of her son, remembered the former answer given her by the oracle at the temple of Ammon, and therefore passed the business over without punishing of him who was chiefly concerned in the plot: but surrendering the crown to him, commanded all to obey him as their lawful king, and forthwith disappeared, as if she had been translated to the gods, according to the words of the oracle. There are some which fabulously say she was metamorphosed into a pigeon, and that she flew away with a flock of those birds that lighted upon her palace: and hence it is that the Assyrians adore a dove, believing that Semiramis was enthroned amongst the gods. And this was the end of Semiramis, queen of all Asia, except India, after she had lived sixty-two years, and reigned forty-two. And these are the things which Ctesias the Cnidian reports of her in his history.

Athenæus, and some other writers, affirm, that she was a most beautiful strumpet, and upon that account the king of Assyria fell in love with her, and at first was taken into his favour; and at length becoming his lawful wife, she prevailed with her husband to grant her the sole and absolute authority of the regal government for the space of five days. Taking therefore upon her the sceptre and royal

mantle of the kingdom, the first day she made a sumptuous banquet, and magnificent entertainments, to which she invited the generals of the army, and all the nobility, in order to be observant to all her commands. The next day, having both great and small at her back, she committed her husband to the goal: and in regard she was of a bold and daring spirit, apt and ready to undertake any great matters, she easily gained the kingdom, which she held to the time of her old age, and became famous for her many great and wonderful acts: and these are the things which historians variously relate concerning her.

CHAP. II.

Ninyas succeeds Semiramis. His close and slothful manner of life. The reign of Sardanapalus. His luxury and effeminacy. His epitaph. Deposed by Arbaces the Mede; and the Assyrian empire overturned. Nineveh razed.

AFTER her death, Ninyas, the son of Ninus and Semiramis, succeeded, and reigned peaceably, nothing at all like his mother for valour and martial affairs. For he spent all his time shut up in his palace, insomuch as he was never seen of any but of his concubines and eunuchs; for being given up wholly to his pleasures, he shook off all cares, and every thing that might be irksome and troublesome, placing all the happiness of a king in a sordid indulgence of all sorts of voluptuousness. But that he might reign the more securely, and be feared of all his subjects, every year he raised out of every province a certain number of soldiers, under their several generals; and having brought them into the city, over every country appointed such governors as he could most confide in, and were most at his devotion. At the end of the year he raised many as more out of the provinces, and sent the former home, taking first of them an oath of fidelity. And this he did, that his subjects, observing how he always had a great army ready in the field, those of them that were inclined to be refractory or rebel (out of fear of punishment) might continue firm in their due obedience. And a further reason likewise for this yearly change was, that the officers and soldiers might be from time to time disbanded before they could have time to be well acquainted one with another. For length of time in martial employments so improves the skill, and advances the courage and resolution of the commanders,

that many times they conspire against their princes, and wholly fall off from their allegiance.

His living thus close and unseen, was a covert to the voluptuous course of his life, and in the mean time (as if he had been a god) none durst in the least mutter any thing against him. And in this manner (creating commanders of his army, constituting of governors in the provinces, appointing the chamberlains and officers of his household, placing of judges in their several countries, and ordering and disposing of all other matters as he thought fit most for his own advantage) he spent his days in Nineveh.

After the same manner almost lived all the rest of the kings for the space of thirty generations, in a continued line of succession from father to son, to the very reign of Sardanapalus*; in whose time the empire of the Assyrians devolved upon the Medes, after it had continued above thirteen hundred and sixty years, as Ctesias the Cnidian says in his second book. But it is needless to recite their names, or how long each of them reigned, in regard none of them did any thing worth remembering, save only that it may deserve an account how the Assyrians assisted the Trojans, by sending them some forces under the command of Memnon the son of Tithon.

For when Teutamus reigned in Asia, who was the twentieth from Ninyas the son of Semiramis, it is said the Grecians, under their general Agamemnon, made war upon the Trojans, at which time the Assyrians had been lords of Asia above a thousand years. For Priam the king of Troy, (being a prince under the Assyrian empire, when war was made upon him), sent ambassadors to crave aid of Teutamus, who sent him ten thousand Ethiopians, and as many out of the province of Susiana, with two hundred chariots, under the conduct of Memnon the son of Tithon. For this Tithon at that time was governor of Persia, and in special favour with the king above all the rest of the princes: and Memnon was in the flower of his age, strong and courageous, and had built a palace in the citadel of Susa, which retained the name of Memnonia to the time of the Persian empire. He paved also there a common highway, which is called Memnon's way to this day. But the Ethiopians of Egypt question this, and say, that Memnon was their countryman, and shew

* Sardanapalus.—The Assyrian empire, down to Sardanapalus, continued 1360 years. This is Justin's account, and agrees best with the holy scriptures: so Velleius Paterculus agrees; and the reign of Belus or Nimrod, fifty-five years. The beginning of his reign falls in Ann. Mun. 1718. And Sardanapalus's fall was in Ann. Mun. 3078, in the 19th of Jehu, 543 years before the taking of Babylon by Alexander the Great, Ant. Chr. 872. Vid. Helvicus's Chron.

several antient palaces which (they say) retain his name at this day, being called Memnon's palaces.

Notwithstanding, however it be as to this matter, yet it has been generally and constantly held for a certain truth, that Memnon led to Troy twenty thousand foot, and two hundred chariots, and signalised his valour with great honour and reputation, with the death and destruction of many of the Greeks, till at length he was slain by an ambuscade laid for him by the Thessalians. But the Ethiopians recovered his body, and burnt it, and brought back his bones to Tithon. And these things the barbarians say are recorded of Memnon in the histories of their kings.

Sardanapalus, the thirtieth from Ninus, and the last king of the Assyrians, exceeded all his predecessors in sloth and luxury; for besides that he was seen of none out of his family, he led a most effeminate life: for, wallowing in pleasure and wanton dalliances, he clothed himself in women's attire, and spun fine wool and purple amongst the throngs of his whores and concubines. He painted likewise his face, and decked his whole body with other allurements like a strumpet, and was more lascivious than the most wanton courtesan. He imitated, likewise, a woman's voice, and not only daily inured himself to such meat and drink as might incite and stir up his lascivious lusts, but gratified them by filthy Catamites, as well as whores and strumpets, and without any sense of modesty, abusing both sexes, slighted shame, the concomitant of filthy and impure actions, and proceeded to such a degree of voluptuousness and sordid uncleanness, that he composed verses for his epitaph, with a command to his successors to have them inscribed upon his tomb after his death, which were thus translated by a Grecian, out of the barbarian language—

Hæc habeo quæ edi, quæque exsaturata libido.
Hausit, at illa jacent multa ac præclara relicta.

What once I gorg'd I now enjoy,
And wanton lusts me still employ.
All other things by mortals priz'd,
Are left as dirt by me despis'd.

Being thus corrupt in his morals, he not only came to a miserable end himself, but utterly overturned the Assyrian monarchy, which had continued longer than any we read of.

For Arbaces a Mede, a valiant and prudent man, and general of the forces which were sent every year out of Media to Nineveh, was stirred up by the governor of Babylon (his fellow soldier, and with

whom he had contracted an intimate familiarity) to overthrow the Assyrian empire. This captain's name was Belesis, a most famous Babylonian priest, one of those called Chaldeans, expert in astrology and divination; of great reputation upon the account of foretelling future events, which happened accordingly. Amongst others, he told his friend, the Median general, that he should depose Sardanapalus, and be lord of all his dominions. Arbaces hereupon hearkening to what he said, promised him, that if he succeeded in his attempt, Belesis should be chief governor of the province of Babylon. Being therefore fully persuaded of the truth of what was foretold, as if he had received it from an oracle, he entered into an association with the governors of the rest of the provinces, and by feasting and caressing of them, gained all their hearts and affections. He made it likewise his great business to get a sight of the king, that he might observe the course and manner of his life; to this end he bestowed a cup of gold upon an eunuch, by whom being introduced into the king's presence, he perfectly came to understand his lasciviousness and effeminate course of life. Upon sight of him, he contemned and despised him as a vile and worthless wretch, and thereupon was much more earnest to accomplish what the Chaldean had before declared to him. At length he conspired with Belesis so far, as that he himself persuaded the Medes and Persians to a defection, and the other brought the Babylonians into the confederacy. He imparted likewise his design to the king of Arabia, who was at this time his special friend.

And now the year's attendance of the army being at an end, new troops succeeded, and came into their place, and the former were sent every one here and there, into their several countries. Hereupon Arbaces prevailed with the Medes to invade the Assyrian empire, and drew in the Persian in hopes of liberty, to join in the confederacy. Belesis in like manner persuaded the Babylonians to stand up for their liberties. He sent messengers also into Arabia, and gained that prince (who was both his friend, and had been his guest) for a confederate.

When, therefore, the yearly course was run out, all these (with a great number of forces) flocked together to Nineveh, in shew to serve their turn, according to custom, but in truth to overturn the Assyrian empire. The whole number of soldiers now got together out of those four provinces, amounted to four hundred thousand men. All these (being now in one camp) called a council of war, in order to consult what was to be done.

Sardanapalus being informed of the revolt, led forth the forces of

the rest of the provinces against them; whereupon a battle being fought, the rebels were totally routed, and with a great slaughter were forced to the mountains seventy furlongs from Nineveh.

Being drawn up a second time in battalia, to try their fortune in the field, and now faced by the enemy, Sardanapalus caused a proclamation to be made by the heralds, that whosoever killed Arbaces the Mede, should receive as a reward, two hundred talents of gold, and double the sum to him (together with the government of Media) who should take him alive. The like sum he promised to such as should kill Belesis, or take him alive. But none being wrought upon by these promises, he fought them again, and destroyed many of the rebels, and forced the rest to fly to their camp upon the hills. Arbaces being disheartened with these misfortunes, called a council of war, to consider what was fit further to be done: the greater part were for returning into their own countries, and possess themselves of the strongest places, in order to fit and furnish themselves with all things further necessary for the war. But when Belesis the Babylonian assured them that the gods promised, that after many toils and labours they should have good success, and all should end well, and had used several other arguments, (such as he thought best), he prevailed with them to resolve to run through all the hazards of the war.

Another battle therefore was fought, wherein the king gained a third victory, and pursued the revolters as far as to the mountains of Babylon. In this fight Arbaces himself was wounded, though he fought stoutly, and slew many of the Assyrians with his own hand.

After so many defeats and misfortunes, one upon the neck of another, the conspirators altogether despaired of victory, and therefore the commanders resolved every one to return to their own country. But Belesis, who lay all that night star-gazing in the open field, prognosticated to them the next day, that if they would but continue together five days, unexpected help would come, and they would see a mighty change, and that affairs would have a contrary aspect to what they then had; for he affirmed, that through his knowledge in astrology, he understood that the gods portended so much by the stars; therefore he entreated them to stay so many days, and make trial of his art, and wait so long to have an experiment of the goodness of the gods.

All being thus brought back, and waiting till the time appointed, news on a sudden was brought that mighty forces were at hand, sent to the king out of Bactria. Hereupon Arbaces resolved with the stoutest and swiftest soldiers of the army, forthwith to make out

against the captains that were advancing, and either by fair words to persuade them to a defection, or by blows to force them to join with them in their design. But liberty being sweet to every one of them, first the captains and commanders were easily wrought upon, and presently after the whole army joined, and made up one entire camp together. It happened at that time, that the king of Assyria not knowing any thing of the revolt of the Bactrians, and puffed up by his former successes, was indulging his sloth and idleness, and preparing beasts for sacrifice, plenty of wine, and other things necessary in order to feast and entertain his soldiers.

While his whole army was now feasting and revelling, Arbaces (receiving intelligence by some deserters of the security and intemperance of the enemy) fell in upon them suddenly in the night; and being in due order and discipline, and setting upon such as were in confusion, he being before prepared, and the other altogether unprovided, they easily broke into their camp, and made a great slaughter of some, forcing the rest into the city.

Hereupon Sardanapalus committed the charge of the whole army to Salemenus, his wife's brother, and took upon himself the defence of the city. But the rebels twice defeated the king's forces, once in the open field, and the second time before the walls of the city; in which last engagement Salemenus was killed, and almost all his army lost, some being cut off in the pursuit, and the rest (save a very few, being intercepted, and prevented from entering into the city, were driven headlong into the river Euphrates; and the number of the slain was so great, that the river was dyed with blood, and retained that colour for a great distance, and a long course together.

The king being afterwards besieged, many of the nations (through desire of liberty) revolted to the confederates; so that Sardanapalus, now perceiving that the kingdom was like to be lost, sent away his three sons and two daughters, with a great deal of treasure, into Paphlagonia, to Cotta, the governor there, his most entire friend; and sent posts into all the provinces of the kingdom, in order to raise soldiers, and make all other preparations necessary to endure a siege. And he was the more encouraged to this, for that he was acquainted with an antient prophecy, *That Nineveh could never be taken by force, till the river became the city's enemy;* which the more encouraged him to hold out, because he conceived that was never likely to be; therefore he resolved to endure the siege till the aids which he expected out of the provinces came up to him.

The enemy on the other hand, grown more courageous by their successes, eagerly urged on the siege, but made little impression on the besieged, by reason of the strength of the walls; for ballistes to

cast stones, testudos to cast up mounts, and battering rams, were not known in those ages. And besides (to say truth) the king had been very careful (as to what concerned the defence of the place) plentifully to furnish the inhabitants with every thing necessary. The siege continued two years, during which time nothing was done to any purpose, save that the walls were sometimes assaulted, and the besieged penned up in the city. The third year it happened that the Euphrates, overflowing with continual rains, came up into a part of the city, and tore down the wall twenty furlongs in length. The king hereupon conceiving that the oracle was accomplished, in that the river was an apparent enemy to the city, utterly despaired; and therefore, that he might not fall into the hands of his enemies, he caused a huge pile of wood to be made in his palace court, and heaped together upon it all his gold, silver, and royal apparel, and enclosing his eunuchs and concubines in an apartment within the pile, caused it to be set on fire, and burnt himself and them together; which when the revolters came to understand, they entered through the breach of the walls, and took the city, and clothed Arbaces with a royal robe, and committed to him the sole authority, proclaiming him king. When he had rewarded his followers, every one according to his merit, and appointed governors over the several provinces, Belesis the Babylonian, who had foretold his advancement to the throne, put him in mind of his services, and demanded the government of Babylon, which he had before promised him. He told him likewise of a vow that he himself had made to Belus, in the heat of the war, that when Sardanapalus was conquered, and the palace consumed, he would carry the ashes to Babylon, and there raise a mount near to his temple, which should be an eternal monument to all that sailed through the Euphrates, in memory of him that overturned the Assyrian empire. But that which in truth induced him to make this request was, that he had been informed of the gold and silver by an eunuch (that was a deserter) whom he had hid and concealed: Arbaces, therefore, being ignorant of the contrivance (because all the rest besides this eunuch were consumed by the king) granted to him liberty both to carry away the ashes, and likewise the absolute government of Babylon without paying any tribute. Whereupon Belesis forthwith prepared shipping, and together with the ashes carried away most of the gold and silver to Babylon. But when the king came plainly to understand the cheat, he committed the examination and decision of this theft to the other captains who were his assistants in the deposing of Sardanapalus. Belesis upon his trial confessed the fact, and thereupon they condemned him to lose his head.

But the king being a man of a noble and generous spirit, and willing to adorn the beginning of his reign with marks of his grace and mercy, not only pardoned him, but freely gave him all the gold and silver which had been carried away; neither did he deprive him of the government of Babylon, which at the first he conferred upon him, saying, *That his former good services overbalanced the injuries afterwards.* This gracious disposition of the king being noised abroad, he thereby not only gained the hearts of his people, but was highly honoured, and his name famous among all the provinces, and all judged him worthy of the kingdom who was so compassionate and gracious to offenders.

The like clemency he shewed to the inhabitants of Nineveh; for though he dispersed them into several country villages, yet he restored to every one of them their estates, but razed the city to the ground.

The rest of the silver and gold that could be found in the pile (of which there were many talents) he conveyed to Ecbatana, the seat royal of Media.

And thus was the Assyrian empire overturned by the Medes*, after it had continued thirty generations†; from Ninus, above fourteen hundred years.

CHAP. III.

Of the antient Chaldeans, and their philosophy. The planets, and their course. The empire of the Medes, and their kings. A description of India: the antient manners and customs of the people. Their laws, and tribes. A description of Scythia. Of the Amazons. Of the Hyperboreans.

HERE it will not be amiss to say something of the Chaldeans (as the Babylonians call them) and of their antiquity, that nothing worth remark may be omitted.

They being the most antient Babylonians, hold the same station and dignity in the commonwealth as the Egyptian priests do in Egypt;

* Ann. Mund. 3080. Before Christ 868.

† Herodotus says, lib. i. c. 95, but 520 years from Ninus, which Usher follows; so that Ninus falls in with the times of Deborah, as is before observed, against the stream of almost all chronologers.

for, being deputed to divine offices, they spend all their time in the study of philosophy, and are especially famous for the art of astrology. They are mightily given to divination, and foretel future events, and employ themselves either by purifications, sacrifices, or other enchantments to avert evils, or procure good fortune and success. They are skilful, likewise, in the art of divination by the flying of birds, and interpreting of dreams and prodigies; and are reputed as true oracles (in declaring what will come to pass) by their exact and diligent viewing the entrails of the sacrifices. But they attain not to this knowledge in the same manner as the Grecians do: for the Chaldeans learn it by tradition from their ancestors, the son from the father, who are all in the mean-time free from all other public offices and attendances; and because their parents are their tutors, they both learn every thing without envy, and rely with more confidence upon the truth of what is taught them; and being trained up in this learning from their very childhood, they become most famous philosophers (that age being most capable of learning wherein they spend much of their time). But the Grecians for the most part come raw to this study, unfitted and unprepared, and are long before they attain to the knowledge of this philosophy: and after they have spent some small time in this study, they are many times called off and forced to leave it, in order to get a livelihood and subsistence. And although some few do industriously apply themselves to philosophy, yet, for the sake of gain, these very men are opiniative, and ever and anon starting new and high points, and never fix in the steps of their ancestors. But the barbarians, keeping constantly close to the same thing, attain to a perfect and distinct knowledge in every particular.

But the Grecians cunningly catching at all opportunities of gain, make new sects and parties, and by their contrary opinions wrangling and quarreling concerning the chiefest points, lead their scholars into a maze; and being uncertain and doubtful what to pitch upon for certain truth, their minds are fluctuating and in suspense all the days of their lives, and unable to give a certain assent unto any thing. For if any man will but examine the most eminent sects of the philosophers, he shall find them much differing among themselves, and even opposing one another in the most weighty parts of their philosophy. But to return to the Chaldeans, they hold that the world is eternal, which had neither any certain beginning, nor shall have any end; but all agree, that all things are ordered, and this beautiful fabric is supported by a divine providence, and that the motions of the heavens are not performed by chance, and of their own accord, but by a certain and determinate will and appointment of the gods.

Therefore, from a long observation of the stars, and an exact knowledge of the motions and influences of every one of them, wherein they excel all others, they foretel many things that are to come to pass.

They say that the five stars which some call planets, but which they call Interpreters, are most worthy of consideration, both for their motions and their remarkable influences, especially that which the Grecians call Saturn. The brightest of them all, and which often portends many and great events, they call Sol; the other four they name Mars, Venus, Mercury, and Jupiter, with our own country astrologers. They give the name of Interpreters to these stars, because these only, by a peculiar motion, portend things to come; and, instead of interpreters, do declare to men beforehand the good will of the gods; whereas the other stars (not being of the number of the planets) have a constant ordinary motion. Future events (they say) are pointed at sometimes by their rising, and sometimes by their setting, and at other times by their colour, as may be experienced by those that will diligently observe it; sometimes foreshowing hurricanes, at other times tempestuous rains, and then again exceeding droughts. By these, they say, are often portended the appearance of comets, eclipses of the sun and moon, earthquakes, and all other the various changes and remarkable effects in the air, boding good and bad, not only to nations in general, but to kings and private persons in particular. Under the course of these planets, they say, are thirty stars, which they call counselling gods, half of whom observe what is done under the earth, and the other half take notice of the actions of men upon the earth, and what is transacted in the heavens. Once every ten days space (they say) one of the highest order of these stars descends to them that are of the lowest, like a messenger sent from them above; and then again another ascends from those below to them above, and that this is their constant natural motion to continue for ever. The chief of these gods, they say, are twelve in number, to each of which they attribute a month, and one sign of the twelve in the zodiac.

Through these twelve signs the sun, moon, and the other five planets run their course. The sun in a year's time, and the moon in the space of a month.

To every of the planets they assign their own proper courses, where are performed variously in lesser or shorter time according as their several motions are quicker or slower. These stars, they say, have a great influence both as to good and bad, in men's nativities; and from the consideration of their several natures, may be foreknown what will befal men afterwards. As they foretold things to come to

other kings formerly, so they did to Alexander, who conquered Darius, and to his successors Antigonus and Seleucus Nicanor; and accordingly things fell out as they declared, which we shall relate particularly hereafter, in a more convenient time. They tell likewise private men their fortunes, so certainly, that those who have found the thing true by experience, have esteemed it a miracle, and above the reach of man to perform. Out of the circle of the zodiac they describe four-and-twenty stars, twelve towards the north pole, and as many to the south.

Those which we see, they assign to the living; and the other, that do not appear, they conceive are constellations for the dead; and they term them judges of all things. The moon, they say, is in the lowest orb; and being therefore next to the earth (because she is so small) she finishes her course in a little time, not through the swiftness of her motion, but the shortness of her sphere. In that which they affirm, that she has but a borrowed light, and that when she is eclipsed, it is caused by the interposition of the shadow of the earth, they agree with the Grecians.

Their rules and notions concerning the eclipses of the sun are but weak and mean, which they dare not positively foretel, nor fix a certain time for them. They have likewise opinions concerning the earth, peculiar to themselves, affirming it to resemble a boat, and to be hollow; to prove which, and other things relating to the frame of the world, they abound in arguments: but to give a particular account of them, we conceive would be a thing foreign to our history. But this any man may justly and truly say, that the Chaldeans far exceed all other men in the knowledge of astrology, and have studied it most of any other art or science. But the number of years during which the Chaldeans say those of their profession have given themselves to the study of this natural philosophy, is incredible; for when Alexander was in Asia, they reckoned up four hundred and seventy thousand years since they first began to observe the motions of the stars. But lest we should make too long a digression from our intended design, let this which we have said concerning the Chaldeans suffice.

Having now therefore spoken of the Assyrian empire, and its translation to the Medes, we shall return to that part of our history from whence we broke off.

Whereas remarkable authors have differed among themselves about the large empire of the Medes, we conceive we shall not stray from the duty of true and faithful historians, if we compare the different relations of writers one with another.

Herodotus indeed, who lived in the time of Xerxes, says that the

Assyrians were conquered by the Medes after they had held the empire of Asia for the space of five hundred years: that thence, for many ages after, there was no one king that had the sole and absolute authority of the empire, but that the cities in every place enjoyed their own laws in a democratical government. At length, after the course of many years, he says one Cyaxares, renowned for his justice, was advanced to the throne; and that he was the first that subdued the neighbouring nations to the Medes, and gave beginning to that empire; whose posterity afterwards brought under the bordering countries, and enlarged their dominions, and continued their empire to the time of Astyages, (who was conquered by Cyrus and the Persians), of whom we shall now only give a touch in short, and shall treat more distinctly and particularly hereafter, when we come to the times more proper for this purpose. For in the second year of the seventeenth Olympiad (as Herodotus says) Cyaxares was elected king by the Medes. But Ctesias the Cnidian, who was later than Herodotus, and lived about the time of Cyrus's expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, (for being then taken prisoner, for his skill in physic, he was taken into the king's favour, and continued with him in great honour and esteem for the space of seventeen years). Out of the public records (in which the Persians, by force of some law made for that purpose, had in order of time noted and registered the antient affairs and things done in the kingdom) he industriously picked out every thing that was remarkable, and methodically composed them into an history, and brought them over into Greece.

In this history he declares, that after the overthrow of the Assyrian empire, all Asia was under the power of the Medes, and that Arbaces, who overcame Sardanapalus, (as is before related), was sole monarch: and that after he had reigned eight-and-twenty years, his son Mandauces succeeded him, who reigned over all Asia fifty years. After him reigned Sesarmus thirty years; then Artius fifty; after whom succeeded Arbianes two-and-twenty years; and then followed Arsæus, who reigned forty years. In his time, it is said, a great war broke out between the Medes and the Cadusians, upon the occasions following. One Parsodes, a Persian, for his valour, prudence, and other virtues, was a man highly honoured, and dearly beloved of the king, and one of the greatest statesmen in the king's council.

This man, taking some offence at a sentence pronounced against him by the king, fled with three thousand foot and a thousand horse to the Cadusians, where he married the sister of the most potent man amongst them: and not only rebelled himself, but persuaded the whole nation of the Cadusians to a general revolt, and to stand up

for their liberties: whereupon he was presently (upon the account of his noted valour) made general of the war. And now hearing that mighty forces were preparing against him, he raised no less than two hundred thousand men out of the country of the Cadusians, and pitched his camp upon the borders of the province; and though king Arsæus came against him with eight hundred thousand men, yet Parsodes routed him, and killed above fifty thousand, and drove the rest out of the country. Upon this victory he was so honoured and admired, that the inhabitants forthwith made him their king; after which he vexed and tired out Media, with continual incursions, and wasted and destroyed all places round about him. His name therefore being grown famous, and now waxing old, and drawing near to the end of his days, he enjoined his successor (with the denunciation of most dreadful execrations) never to make peace with the Medes, and if they did, he wished that both the whole nation of the Cadusians, and his own posterity, might be rooted out and perish together. And for this reason the Cadusians were ever after enemies to the Medes, never subject to their kings, till Cyrus transferred the empire to the Persians.

After the death of Artæus, Artynes was king of the Medes, and reigned two-and-twenty years; after him Artibarnas fourteen years, in whose reign the Parthians revolted and delivered up both their city and country into the hands of the Sacæ; whereupon arose a war between the Sacæ and the Medes, which continued many years, and after many battles fought, and great slaughter on both sides, at length peace was made upon these conditions—That the Parthians should return to their antient subjection, and that both sides should quietly enjoy whatever they did before, and should ever after be friends and confederates. Zamara at that time was queen of the Sacæ, a woman of a warlike spirit, far exceeding any of her sex among the Sacæ for courage and activity in martial affairs. For this nation is remarkable for brave-spirited women that use to go out to the wars as fellow-soldiers with the men; and they say that this Virago was extraordinarily beautiful, and admirable for courage and council in all her affairs. For she conquered the neighbouring princes who had proudly oppressed the Sacæ, and civilized the most part of the country, and built many cities, and every way improved and enriched her people; and therefore the citizens, after her death, in gratitude for the many advantages they enjoyed by her, and to preserve the memory of her virtues, built for her a sepulchre far higher than any of the rest. For they reared up for her a pyramid triangular, from the foundation three furlongs broad on every side, spring up in a sharp point at the top a furlong in height. They placed likewise upon her tomb a Colossus

in gold representing her, and adored her as a demi-goddess, and performed all other things with more state and grandeur than to any of her predecessors.

After the death of Astibara, king of the Medes, who died old in Ecbatana, his son Apandas (whom the Grecians call Astyages) succeeded, who being conquered by Cyrus the Persian, the empire devolved upon the Persians. Of which we shall write distinctly in its proper place.

Having therefore said enough (as we conceive) of the empire of the Assyrians and Medes, and the differences among writers concerning them, we shall pass over to India, and give a particular account of things said to be done there.

India is of a quadrangular form, one side lying towards the east, and the other to the south, environed and washed by the great ocean; that side on the north is divided by the mountain Hemodus from Scythia, where the Sacæ inhabit: the fourth part towards the west, is bounded with the river Indus, the greatest of all others next to the river Nile.

The whole extent of India, from east to west, is eight-and-twenty thousand furlongs; and from north to south two and thirty thousand furlongs. The extent of India being thus very large, it seems most of any other part of the world to lie under the tropic of Capricorn. And in many remote parts of India, the sun casts no shadow, neither is the north pole seen there in the night, nor any of the constellation called Arcturus in the utmost parts; and for this reason, they say, the shadows bend towards the south.

The mountains of India abound with all sorts of fruit trees, and the fields every where clothed with fruits of the earth, full of pleasant plains, watered with many rivers; so that the country bears two crops in the year. It breeds likewise divers sorts of creatures, both volatile and terrestrial, for strength and largeness remarkable above others. It affords plentiful pastures for multitudes of mighty elephants, in so much as those kind of beasts which are bred there, are far stronger than those in Africa. And therefore many of them being taken in hunting, and inured to martial exercises, are of great use and advantage to them for the obtaining of victories. And such is the plenty there of all sorts of fruits, that the men are taller and bigger than any elsewhere; and the air is so pure, and the water so clear and wholesome, that by the help of these natural advantages, the inhabitants are very quick and ingenious in any art or profession. As the earth is fruitful in the producing plenty of pleasant fruits, so in the bowels of it are to be found all sorts of metals: for it abounds in mines of gold and silver, brass, iron, and tin, and richly affords all

other things useful both as to pleasure and profit, and likewise for service in times of war. Besides corn, abundance of millet grows there, being richly watered by the overflowing of the rivers: there is likewise great store of all sorts of pulse and rice, and that which they call Bosphorus, and many other fruits for the sustaining of man's life. To all these may be added many other fruits useful for food, and likewise as many fit for the feeding of cattle, of which it would be too tedious to write particularly. And for this reason it is said, that there is never any famine in India, or want of victuals; for being that the land there bears two crops every year, once in the winter, about the time of wheat seeding among other nations, and the other about the time of the summer solstice, when rice, bosphorus, sesamus, and millet are used to be sown; at both these times the Indians reap very plentiful harvests. And if one harvest happens to miss, the other is sure to make amends for it. Besides there are many fruits which grow naturally of themselves, and the marshes afford for men's food, abundance of roots of a most sweet and delicious taste. For all the fields almost of the whole country are watered in summer time with the sweet waters of the overflowing rivers, and with the rains from heaven, which fall constantly at certain times every year, in the summer; and the roots in the marshes (especially of the canes) are perfectly boiled by the heat of the sun. There are laws, likewise, in India, which conduce much to the preventing of famine among them. Amongst other people, by devastations in time of war the land lies untilled; but amongst the Indians, husbandmen (as sacred) are never touched, so that though the armies fight and engage even under their very noses, yet they are never in the least prejudiced. For though the armies on both sides slaughter one another, yet they never hurt the husbandman, as one who is a servant for the common good and advantage of them all; neither do they burn their enemy's country, or cut down their trees or plants.

Moreover, in India are many great navigable rivers which descend into the plains from the mountains in the northern parts, (where they have their spring-heads) and at length all meet together and fall into the river Ganges, which is thirty furlongs in breadth, and takes its course from the north to the south, and so empties itself into the main ocean, passing by in its course the nation of the Gandarides lying on the east, where are bred multitudes of most monstrous elephants. No foreign king hitherto ever conquered that part of the country, all strangers dreading the number and strength of those creatures. Even Alexander himself, who conquered all Asia besides, left only the Gandarides untouched. For when he came with his whole army as far as to the river Ganges, and had subdued all the

Indians behind him, as soon as he understood that the Gandarides had four thousand elephants fitted and completely furnished for war, he wholly desisted the further prosecution of his design against them. Much like to the river Ganges is that called Indus, which runs with a swift course likewise from the north, and falls into the ocean, and divides India from the rest of Asia; and in its course through wide and spacious plains takes in many navigable rivers, amongst which the most famous are Hipanis, Hydaspes, and Arcesines. There are many other rivers also which pass through several parts of India which enrich the country with pleasant gardens, and all sorts of fruits.

The philosophers and naturalists of this country give this reason why there are so many rivers, and such plenty of water in India. They say that the adjacent countries, the Scythians, Bactrians, and Arianians, lie higher than India, whence (from good reason) they conclude that the rains flowing down by degrees into the lower countries, so water them that they make many large rivers: but above all the other rivers of India, that they call Silla (which springs from a fountain of the same name) has a peculiar property: for this only of all the others, will not admit any thing thrown into it to swim, but in a wonderful manner swallows up every thing, and forceably draws it to the bottom.

Moreover India being of the largest extent of all others, by far, is inhabited by many different nations (of whom none are foreigners, but all natural inhabitants): and they say that no strangers ever planted amongst them, nor they themselves ever sent forth any colonies into other countries; and they tell stories that antiently the inhabitants fed only upon herbs and roots that grow in the fields, and clothed themselves with wild beast's skins, as the Grecians did; and that arts and other things conducing to the well-being of man's life were found out by degrees, necessity pressing upon a creature that was rational and ingenious, and had likewise the further helps and advantages of hands, speech, and quickness of invention to find out ways to relieve himself.

Some of the most learned of the Indians have given an account of the antiquity of their country, of which it is our part here to say something in short.

They say, that in antient time, when men lived scattered and dispersed here and there, Bacchus, with a great army from the west, overran all India, which at that time had no considerable city in it able to make any resistance; and that a plague (through the violent and parching heat) destroying many of his soldiers, they say, that prudent general drew his army out of the plains to the tops of the

mountains, where (by means of the cool blasts of the refreshing air, and drinking of the spring-waters there at hand) they were restored to their former health; and that the place where his army was thus recovered, was called the Thigh; hence the Grecians frame a story of this god to this day, that Bacchus was bred in the Thigh. Afterwards (they say) he diligently employed himself in sowing and planting divers fruit-trees, and imparted the art to the Indians, and found out the use of wine, and other things conducing to the comfort of man's life. He built likewise stately cities, and removed the villages to more commodious situations; and instituted the manner of divine worship, and made laws, and set up courts of justice; and at last, for the many excellent inventions imparted to the Indians, he was esteeemed as a god, and obtained immortal honours. They report that he had a regiment of women in his army, and that in the heat of battle he made use of timbrels and cymbals, the trumpet being not at that time found out: and that after he had reigned over all India for the space of two-and-fifty years, he died of extreme old age, leaving the kingdom to his sons, who enjoyed it, and their posterity after them, successively, till many ages after the regal authority was abrogated, and the cities were governed by a democracy. These are the things related of Bacchus and his posterity by the inhabitants of the mountainous parts of India.

They say, moreover, that Hercules was born amongst them, and, like the Greeks, furnish him with a club and a lion's skin; and for strength and courage that he excelled all other men, and cleared both sea and land of monsters and wild beasts: that of many wives he begat many sons, but only one daughter. Amongst these sons, when they were grown up, he divided India into equal parts, and appointed each to be king over their several shares, allotting likewise one part of the kingdom to his daughter, whom he carefully brought up under his own eye. It is said that he built many cities, the most famous of which is called Palibothra, in which he built a stately palace, and planted it with a great number of inhabitants, and fortified it round with deep trenches, filled with water from the river. And at length after his death he was honoured as a god. His posterity reigned for many ages together, and performed many noble actions; but never made any foreign expeditions, or sent forth any colonies into other parts; and though that after the course of many years most of the cities reduced themselves under the power of a democratical government, yet there were some of the Indians that flourished under a monarchy, till the very time that Alexander invaded that country.

Although the Indians have laws peculiar to themselves, differing

from all other people, yet one especially is most remarkable, instituted by their antient philosophers, which is this:

It is an established law—That none amongst them should be a servant; but that every one being free, all should be honoured with equal respect: for they that know that they are neither to be superior nor inferior to any, are ready to undergo all the shocks of fortune with courage and resolution. For it is a foolish thing to make laws for an equality amongst all, and yet at the same time to order inequality of estates.

All the people of India are divided into seven ranks; the first is philosophers, who are least in number, but chiefest in esteem: for they are free from all public offices; and are neither subject themselves to any, nor any subject to them. Yet they are made use of by their friends to offer sacrifice for them while they are alive, and to perform the solemn exequies at their funerals when they are dead, as persons who are greatly beloved of the gods, and skilful in matters relating to the affairs of the dead in the shades below; for which piece of service they are highly honoured, and presented with many rich gifts: especially they much advantage the Indians in general, at such times as being admitted into the public assemblies, at the beginning of every year they foretel droughts, rains, winds, and diseases, and other things convenient and useful for the auditors to be informed of; for so, both king and people being forewarned of things to come, provide against them, and always prepare something or other that may be of advantage to them in such cases.

And if any of the philosophers prove afterwards to be mistaken in his prognostication, he undergoes no other punishment, save only that he is evil spoken of, and is to be silent ever after while he lives.

The second rank or tribe is of the husbandmen; these are more in number than any of the rest: these likewise are free from the militia, and all public offices, and spend all their time and care about tilling and improving the lands.

No enemy ever does them any prejudice; but out of a due regard to the common good, forbear to injure them in the least degree; and therefore, the land being never spoiled nor wasted, yields its fruits in great abundance, and furnishes the inhabitants with plenty of victuals and all other provision. The husbandmen live in the fields with their wives and children, and never meddle with the concerns of the cities. They pay the king his tribute out of the fruits of the ground: for all the land of India belongs to the king, and no private man has any land of his own. Besides the tribute, the fourth part of the fruits are paid to the king.

The third tribe comprehended the herdsmen and shepherds, and all sorts of feeders of cattle; and these neither lived in the cities nor villages, but in tents, and by hunting cleared the land both of wild beasts and hurtful birds; and by this exercise all India was freed from ravenous creatures which abounded in the country, both birds and wild beasts of all sorts, that eat up and devoured the seed and fruits of the husbandman.

The fourth class and order of men amongst them was made up of the mechanics, some of whom were employed in making of arms, and others of tools for tillage and husbandry, and other serviceable utensils. This order is not only free from all taxes and impositions, but is allowed a yearly proportion of corn out of the king's granaries.

The fifth is the militia (the second for number) who in times of peace live idle lives, and give themselves up wholly to their pleasures. All the soldiers, with the war-horses and elephants, are kept and maintained out of the king's treasury.

The sixth tribe are the *ephori*, who are the inquisitors, and have a diligent and observant eye upon every thing that is done throughout all India, and upon any discovery inform the king of what they know; and when there is no king, the princes and principal ministers of state.

In the seventh rank are reckoned the senators, such as have place in the great and general councils: these are the fewest in number, but of greatest dignity for their birth, and highest esteem for their wisdom and prudence. Out of these are chosen the king's privy-council, governors of provinces, judges, generals of armies in times of war, and other principal officers.

These are the parts into which almost all India is divided.

It is not lawful for any to marry out of the tribe to which he belongs, nor to exercise any other trade or calling than that wherein he has been bred up, as for a soldier to employ himself in husbandry, or for an artificer to turn philosopher.

India breeds the largest, most courageous, and strongest elephants of any other place. This creature does not couple with the female in any strange or unusual manner (as some say) but as horses and all other four-footed beasts. They go with young at the least sixteen months, at the most eighteen. They bring forth, for the most part (like mares) but one at a time, which the dam suckles till it be six years old.

Most of the inhabitants live very long; the oldest attain to two hundred years.

In India there are magistrates appointed to take care of strangers,

to see that no injury be offered them; and if any of them be sick, these magistrates provide physicians, and in all other respects are very careful of them; and if they die, they bury them; and whatever goods or monies they leave behind, they give it to their kindred.

Their judges are very diligent in deciding suits brought before them; and severely punish offenders. But this short account shall suffice concerning India and its antiquities. And now we shall say something particularly of the Scythians, which border upon the other.

The Scythians antiently enjoyed but a small tract of ground but (through their valour) growing stronger by degrees, they enlarged their dominion far and near, and attained at last to a vast and glorious empire.

At the first a very few of them, and those very despicable for their mean original, seated themselves near to the river Araxes. Afterwards one of their antient kings, who was a warlike prince, and skilful in arms, gained to their country, all the mountainous parts as far as to mount Caucasus, and all the champaign country, to the ocean, and the lake Mæotis, and all the rest of the plain to the river Tanais. Then they tell a story, that a virgin was born among them of the earth, of the shape of a woman from the middle upwards, and of a viper downwards: and that Jupiter begot of her a son called Scythes; they say, that from this prince (being more eminent than any of his ancestors) the people were called Scythians: there were two brothers that descended from this king, that were remarkable for valour, the one called Palus and the other Napas. These two brothers, after many glorious actions done by them, divided the country between them, and from their own names called one part of the inhabitants Palians, and the other Napians.

Some time afterwards their posterity becoming famous and eminent for valour and martial affairs, subdued many territories beyond Tanais.

Then turning their arms the other way, they led their forces as far as to the river Nile, in Egypt, and having subdued many nations lying between, they enlarged the empire of the Scythians as far as to the eastern ocean one way, and to the Caspian sea and the lake of Mæotis another.

This nation prospered still more and more, and had kings that were very famous; from whom the Sacans, the Massageties, and the Arimaspanis, and many others called by other names derive their origin. Amongst others, there were two remarkable colonies that were drawn out of the conquered nations by those kings; the one they brought out of Assyria, and settled in the country lying between

Paphlagonia and Pontus; the other out of Media, which they placed near the river Tanais, which people are called Sauromatians, who many years after, increasing in number and power, wasting the greatest part of Scythia, and rooting out all that they conquered, totally ruinated the whole nation. Afterwards, the royal line failing, they say, women remarkable for courage and strength of body, reigned instead of kings. For in these nations, women, like men, are trained up for the wars, being nothing inferior to men for courage.

Henceforward many and great things were done by famous women, not only in Scythia, but in the neighbouring nations. For when Cyrus king of Persia, the most powerful prince in his age, led a mighty army into Scythia, the queen of Scythia routed the Persian army, and taking Cyrus himself in the battle prisoner, afterwards crucified him. And such was the valour of the Amazons, after they had thus strengthened themselves, that they not only overran their neighbours, but conquered a great part both of Europe and Asia. But since now we have begun to speak of the Amazons, we conceive it not impertinent if we here relate cursorily, those things concerning them, which for the strangeness of the matter may seem to resemble romantic fables.

There was heretofore a potent nation seated upon the river Thermodon, governed always by women, as their queens; in which the women, like men, managed all their martial affairs. Amongst these female princes they say there was one that excelled all the rest for strength and valour, who got together an army of women, and having trained them up in martial discipline, first subdued some of her neighbouring nations; afterwards, by her valour growing more famed and renowned, she led her army against the rest, and fortune favouring her arms, she was so puffed up, that she called herself the daughter of Mars, and ordered the men to spin wool, and do the women's work within doors.

She made laws also, whereby she enjoined the women to go forth to the wars, and the men to be as slaves, and do all the servile work at home. Therefore, when any male child was born, they broke their thighs and arms, to render them useless and unfit for war: and as to the females, they seared off the right breast, lest it should be a hinderance to them in fight: and hence they were called Amazons. At length, grown eminent for policy and skill in military affairs, she built a large city called Themiscyra, at the mouth of the river Thermodon, and beautified it with a stately palace. She was very exact in martial discipline, and keeping good order: she first conquered all the neighbouring nations, as far as to the river Tanais; and having

performed all these noble exploits, (they say), in a battle she afterwards fought, (having first signalized her valour), she ended her days like an hero. Upon her death her daughter succeeded her in the kingdom, who, imitating her mother's valour, in some exploits excelled her: for she caused the girls from their very infancy, to be exercised in hunting, and daily trained up in martial discipline. Then she instituted solemn festivals and sacrifices to be offered to Mars and Diana, called Tauropoli. She advanced her arms beyond Tanais, and brought under all the nations as far as to Thrace. Then, returning to her own country with a rich booty, she erected stately temples to those deities before mentioned, and gained the hearts of her subjects by her easy and gentle government. Afterwards she undertook an expedition against them that lay on the other side of the river, and added a great part of Asia to her dominion, and extended her arms as far as to Syria.

After her death, the crown descended still to the next of kin, and every one in their time governed with great commendation, and advanced the honour and renown of the kingdom of the Amazons.

Many ages after (the fame and renown of the Amazons being spread abroad all the world over) they say, that Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, was enjoined by Eurystheus to fight Hippolyte, the Amazon queen, and to strip her of her belt. Upon which he made war upon the Amazons, and in a great battle routed them, and took Hippolyte, and her belt together, which so weakened them, that the neighbouring barbarians, knowing their low condition, despised them; and remembering what ruin and destruction they had formerly made amongst them, so wasted them with continual war, that not so much as the name of Amazons is now to be found any where in the world. For a few years after Hercules's time, the Trojan war broke forth, at which time Penthesilea, queen of those Amazons that were left, and daughter of Mars, having committed a cruel murder among her own people, for the horridness of the fact fled, and after the death of Hector, brought aid to the Trojans; and though she bravely behaved herself, and killed many of the Greeks, yet at last she was slain by Achilles, and so in heroic actions ended her days. This, they say, was the last queen of the Amazons, a brave-spirited woman, after whom the nation (growing by degrees weaker and weaker) was at length wholly extinct: so that these later ages look upon all those old stories concerning the valiant acts of the Amazons, to be but mere fictions and fables. Now, since we have thus far spoken of the northern parts of Asia, it is convenient to observe something relating to the antiquity of the Hyperboreans.

Amongst them that have written old stories much like fables,

Hecateus and some others say, that there is an island in the ocean over against Gaul, (as big as Sicily) under the arctic pole, where the Hyperboreans inhabit; so called, because they lie beyond the breezes of the north wind. That the soil here is very rich, and very fruitful; and the climate temperate, insomuch as there are two crops in the year.

They say that Latona was born here, and therefore, that they worship Apollo above all other gods; and because they are daily singing songs in praise of this god, and ascribing to him the highest honours, they say that these inhabitants demean themselves, as if they were Apollo's priests, who has there a stately grove and renowned temple, of a round form, beautified with many rich gifts. That there is a city likewise consecrated to this god, whose citizens are most of them harpers, who, playing on the harp, chant sacred hymns to Apollo in the temple, setting forth his glorious acts. The Hyperboreans use their own natural language; but of long and antient time have had a special kindness for the Grecians, and more especially for the Athenians and them of Delos. And that some of the Grecians passed over to the Hyperboreans, and left behind them divers presents, inscribed with Greek characters; and that Abaris formerly travelled thence into Greece, and renewed the antient league of friendship with the Delians.

They say, moreover, that the moon in this island seems as if it were near to the earth, and represents in the face of it excrescences like spots in the earth. And that Apollo once in nineteen years comes into the island; in which space of time the stars perform their courses, and return to the same point; and therefore the Greeks call the revolution of nineteen years the Great Year. At this time of his appearance (they say) that he plays upon the harps, and sings and dances all the night, from the vernal equinox to the rising of the Pleiades, solacing himself with the praises of his own successful adventures. The sovereignty of this city, and the care of the temple (they say) belongs to the Boreades, the posterity of Boreas, who hold the principality by descent in a direct line from that ancestor.

CHAP. IV.

A description of Arabia the Desert, Happy, &c. Metals, precious stones, beasts, &c. A description of Taprobane in the Southern Ocean, now called Ceylon, or Zeilan. The strange things there. How discovered by Iambulus.

HAVING now finished these foregoing relations, we shall bend our discourse to the other parts of Asia not yet spoken of, and chiefly to Arabia.

This country is situated between Syria and Egypt, and is divided into several nations. On the east, the Arabians called the Nabatheans inhabit a tract partly desert, and in other parts without water, and there is very little of it that bears any fruit; and therefore the inhabitants live by robbing and stealing; and, for that end roving up and down the countries far and near, they vex the inhabitants with their continual incursions and robberies, it being a very difficult matter to subdue them. For in the dry country they have wells dug in convenient places, unknown to strangers, whither they fly for refuge, and are safe: for, knowing where the waters lie hid and private, upon opening of the wells they are largely supplied; but strangers who pursue them (unacquainted with those fountains) either perish for thirst, or, falling into many other disasters, and quite tired out, scarcely ever return home: and therefore these Arabians (being that they are not to be conquered) are never enslaved, nor ever admit any foreign prince over them, but preserve themselves continually in perfect liberty; and therefore neither the Assyrians antiently, nor the Medes and Persians, nor the very Macedonians themselves, were ever able to conquer them; who, though they often marched with great armies against them, yet they ever failed in their designs.

In the country of the Nabatheans, there is a rock strongly fortified, to which there is an ascent but one way, through which a few only at a time mount up to cast down their fardels. There is likewise a large mere which produces brimstone, from whence they raise no small revenue: it is five hundred furlongs in length, and sixty in breadth: the water, for smell, stinks, and is bitter in taste, so that neither fish, nor any other living thing using the water, can live there. There are, indeed, great rivers whose waters are exceeding sweet, which empty themselves into the lake, and yet it stinks notwithstanding. Every year the brimstone rises up out of the middle of the mere, some pieces two, and others three plethras square in quantity

The greater pieces the inhabitants call bulls, and the lesser calfs. When the brimstone swims upon the water, it represents at a distance the form of an island. There are apparent signs of casting up of the brimstone twenty days before; for, every where round the lake, for many furlongs distant, a steam arises, with a stinking smell, and all gold, silver, or brass near those places, change their natural colour; but return to their former when all the brimstone is exhaled. And inasmuch as all places near adjoining are corrupted with a fire and stinking stench, it infects men's bodies with diseases, and shortens their days. However, this region abounds with palm-trees, because it is watered with wholesome rivers and springs. In a valley thereabouts grows that which they call balsam: whence they gain a plentiful revenue, in regard this plant grows in no other parts of the world; which affords likewise excellent medicines for the use of the physician.

The other Arabia, adjoining to this barren and dry country Arabia, so far excels it, that for its fruitfulness and plenty of all other good things, it is called *Arabia the Happy*. It plentifully produces calamus and mastick, and other aromatic plants, and breathes out all sorts of fragrant smells from the trees, and abounds with divers kinds of sweet gums, which distil from them. The farthest parts likewise of Arabia produce myrrh and frankincense, (so grateful to the gods), which is carried all the world over.

Upon the mountains grow in abundance not only firs and pine-trees, but tall cedars, junipers, and the tree called Agyreus; and many other fruitful plants, which yield not only a pleasant taste, but a most sweet and delicious smell to those that come near them. The very nature of the soil itself is odoriferous and useful for sweet perfumes; and therefore in some places of Arabia, in digging of the ground, they find sweet-scented veins of stone metal, which furnish the inhabitants with large quarries, who build houses of the stone cut out of these delphs; and when the rain falls upon them, the metal in the stone melts, and runs within the joints of the building, and so binds all together, that the wall seems to be all of one piece. In Arabia are found mines of pure gold, called gold without fire; for it is not extracted out of the little pieces of drossy metal by melting in the fire, as in other places, but it is pure and refined at the first digging it out of the earth, every piece about the bigness of a chesnut, and of so bright and glorious a colour, that this gold adds an exceeding beauty and lustre to the most precious stones that are set in it.

Arabia is so rich in all sorts of cattle, that many provinces (employing themselves only as herdsmen and shepherds) live fully and

contentedly without the use of corn. That part joining upon Asia breeds vast multitudes of exceeding great wild beasts; for the lions and leopards here are far more numerous, and larger and stronger than any in Africa; to which may be added those they call the Babylonian tigers. It produces, likewise, beasts of a double nature and mixed shape; amongst whom are those that are called Struthocameli, who have the shape both of a camel and an ostrich. For in the bulk of their bodies they are as big as a camel newly foaled, having upon their heads small hairs and great and black eyes; in shape and colour they are like to camels, having long necks, and very short beaks turning inwards, and sharp at the point; they have wings also of soft and hairy feathers; they are supported with two strong thighs, and are cloven hoofed, so that this creature seems to be both terrestrial and volatile, a land-beast and a bird: but being not able to fly, by reason of the bulk of her body, she runs upon the ground as swift as if she flew in the air; and when she is pursued by horsemen, with her feet she hurls the stones that are under her with that force as if they were sent out of a sling, and many times kills the pursuers with the blows and strokes they receive. When she is near being taken, she thrusts her head under a shrub or some such like cover; not (as some suppose) through folly and blockishness, as if she would not see any pursuers, or be seen of them, but because her head is the tenderest part of her body, she seeks to secure that part all manner of ways she can; for nature teaches all creatures to seek not only to preserve themselves, but their kind; through a natural instinct and love of life prompting them to perpetuate their species by a constant propagation.

Those creatures called Cameleopards partake of both kinds, as is denoted by their name. They are, indeed, less than camels, and lower crested; but in their heads and eyes like unto leopards: in the bunch upon their backs they resemble camels; but in colour, hair, and in the length of their tails, they are in nature leopards.

There are likewise bred tragelaphi and buffels, and many other creatures of a double shape, partaking of several natures; which would require a long discourse to describe every one of them particularly. For it is very reasonable to conceive that by the vivifying heat of the sun in the southern parts of the world, many sorts of wonderful creatures are there bred. And upon this account it is, that there are crocodiles and river-horses in Egypt; and great numbers and divers sorts of elephants, serpents, and other beasts, and (amongst the rest) dragons of an unusual bigness and fierceness in Ethiopia and the deserts of Africa; and for the same reason it is, that there are elephants in India more than elsewhere for their number, and excel-

ling all others in strength and the bulk of their bodies. In these parts also are produced, by the influence of the sun, not only several kinds of living creatures, but divers sorts of precious stones, commendable both for the variety of their colours, and their sparkling lustre and beauty.

Crystal (they say) is produced of the purest water, congealed and hardened, not by cold, but by the power of the sun; so that it continues for ever, and receives many shapes and colours, according as the spirits are exhaled.

The smaragdine and beryl, (as they are called), which are found in the copper-mines, are said to have their colour from their mixture with sulphur: and that the chrysolite, produced by the heat of the sun, receives its tincture from a hot and fiery exhalation. And therefore it is said that those stones called pseudocrists are made of crystal calcined by the goldsmith's fire. By the heat of the sun, likewise, are produced rubies, which differ one from another as there is more or less light enclosed in them in the concretion. And for the same reason the feathers of birds differ in colour, so that some are all over of a purple dye, others only spotted here and there. For some things seem red, others yellow, some green, and many of a golden colour, according to their position to the light. To conclude, innumerable sorts of colours (very difficult to be reckoned up) are occasioned by this means; which we see is done by the reflection of the sun's beams upon the rainbow. Whence the naturalists agree, that even the various colours of things above proceed from their diversity of heat, the lively operation of the sun causing their several forms and shapes; and that the various colours of flowers, and even of the earth itself, proceed from the efficacy of the sun, whose natural operations the arts of men (as nature's scholars) imitate, framing variety of colours in painting and embroidery: and that, as colours are formed by light, so smells of fruits, variety of tastes, greatness of living creatures, and the natural constitution of every thing, and the several properties of the earth, are caused by the heat of the sun, which makes both the earth and water fruitful with its cherishing heat, and is the parent of every creature; and therefore neither the marble of Paros, nor any other stone, (though ever so admirable), are comparable to the stones in Arabia, which exceed all others for lustre, weight, and delicacy. This singular property (as I have said) every thing is clothed with by the power of the sun in this region: for, by its heat it concretes, by exhalation hardens, and by its light beautifies.

Hence it is that birds are of a hot nature, swift of flight, and decked

most with variety of colours in those regions that are directly under the scorching heat of the sun.

For in the province of Babylon are bred many peacocks, beautified with various colours; and in the farthest parts of Syria, parrots, porphyrios, meleagrides, and many strange birds of various natures and colours. The like may be said of other parts of the world, where the climate is the same; as of India, the parts about the Red Sea, of Ethiopia, and some parts of Africa. But the eastern parts being richer and more fruitful, breed larger and more noble creatures.

Those creatures that are bred in other countries have natures agreeable to the goodness of the soil. So as to the trees, the palm-trees of Africa bear but small and indigested fruit: but in Cœlosyria the dates, which they call Cariots, excel all others for pleasant juice, sweetness, and largeness. Yet in Arabia, and in the province of Babylon grow far larger than those, in quantity six fingers round, some of a yellow, some scarlet, and others of a purple dye, delightful both to the eye and grateful to the taste. The palm-trees are very tall, straight, and smooth to the top. The branches grow near to the head, but not all in the like manner. For some have their branches growing round them on every side here and there, and between them, the fruit bursting out in clusters through the bark. Others represent a burning lamp, their spiring branches surrounding only one part near the top. Others, whose boughs clasp on every part round the tree, and guarded on both sides with a double row of tender sprouts, represent something painted or inscribed.

That part of Arabia lying to the south is called Arabia the Happy; the Arabians that inhabit the inner parts live pastoral lives, and in tents. They have great herds of cattle, and are continually in vast and large pastures. That region which lies between them and Arabia the Happy, is desert, without water, as we have before observed. The places towards the west are sandy deserts, so that all that travel there direct their course (as mariners at sea) by the Bear star. The other part of Arabia stretching towards Syria is full of husbandmen and divers sorts of merchants. These, by their traffic and merchandize, by importing and exporting, plentifully furnish all other parts round about with what things they want. That part bordering upon the ocean lies about Arabia the Happy, and there (by many rivers falling down together) are made many large ponds and lakes up and down in the country: and because large tracts of ground are watered by the rivers and the rains that fall in the summer time, they have a double harvest. This place breeds troops of elephants and other beasts of vast proportion, and likewise of double shapes and strange

kinds; and also abundance of tame cattle, especially oxen and sheep, which have very great and thick tails. There are there bred in like manner a sort of camels far beyond all others (both bare and rough) and the bunch upon their backs twice as big as any others, and therefore they are called dityles. Some of these bring in great profit both by their milk and their flesh. Others, accustomed to burthens, will carry twenty bushels of corn upon their backs; which being of smaller bodies, but swifter than the rest, are used to running, and despatch a vast tract of ground, especially in the dry and desert country.

These beasts are useful in times of war; for in battles they carry two archers sitting back to back, the one to oppose them that attack them in the front, and the other to repulse such as fall upon them in the rear.

Although this discourse of Arabia and the things there bred and produced may perhaps seem to be too tedious, yet the observing reader may find in it many things worthy to be known.

And now we purpose to say something briefly of a certain island* lying in the southern ocean, and of the wonders there, giving first an exact account by what means it came to be discovered.

There was one Iambulus, from his youth studious and learned. After the death of his father (who was a merchant) he applied himself likewise to that calling; but as he travelled through Arabia to that part of the country where spices most abounded, he and all his company fell into the hands of thieves.

And first he was made a shepherd, together with another of his fellow-captives. Afterwards he was again taken by Ethiopian skulkers, and carried away into the maritime parts of Ethiopia. And they were thus stolen and carried away, that (being strangers) by them they might purge and expiate the land. For the Ethiopian inhabitants there had a custom antiently used among them, and appointed by the oracles of the gods twenty generations before, that is, six hundred years, (every generation comprehending thirty years), that the land should be purged by two men that were strangers. They prepared, therefore, a little ship, yet sufficient to endure the storms at sea, and easily to be governed by two men. Upon this ship they put the men on board, with six month's provision, that (according to the direction of the oracle) they might sail away in a direct course towards the south, in order to arrive at a fortunate island, where they might find people that were gentle and kind, with whom they might live happy lives. And that if they arrived safe at the is-

* Taprobane, now Ceylon or Zeilan, in scripture called Ophir, as Bochart proves.

land (they told them) their own nation, from whence they came, should enjoy peace and prosperity for six hundred years to come.

But if they were affrighted with the length of the voyage, and should return again, they told them, that, like impious wretches, and destructive to the nation, they should undergo most severe punishments. Then, they say, the Ethiopians kept a festival upon the sea-shore, and, after splendid sacrifices, crowned the purgators with garlands, and sent them away, and so perfected the purgation of the nation. These two men (they say) being tossed for four months together, having passed over a vast ocean (after many storms and hardships at sea) at last arrived at the island designed in the fourth month.

The island is of a round form, five thousand furlongs in compass. When the men drew near to shore, some of the inhabitants came to meet them, and brought the ship into harbour: whereupon many more flocked in, and thronged about the strangers, wondering how ever they got hither; however, they courteously received them, and entertained them with what their country could afford.

The inhabitants are much unlike to us in these parts of the world, both as to their bodies, and their way of living; but among themselves, they are for form and shape like one to another, and in stature above four cubits high. They can bend and turn their bones somewhat like unto nerves; and as the nervous parts, after motion ended, return to their former state and position, so do their bones. Their bodies are very tender, but their nerves far stronger than ours, for whatever they grasp in their hands, none are able to wrest out of their fingers. They have not the least hair on any part of their bodies, but upon their heads, eye-brows, eye-lids, and chins; all other parts are so smooth, that not the least down appears any where. They are very comely and well shaped, but the holes of their ears are much wider than our's, and have something like little tongues growing out of them. Their tongues have something in them singular and remarkable, the effect both of nature and art; for they have partly a double tongue, naturally a little divided, but cut further inwards by art, so that it seems two, as far as to the very root, and therefore there is great variety of speech among them, and they not only imitate man's voice in articulate speaking, but the various chatterings of birds, and even all sorts of notes as they please; and that which is more wonderful than all is, that they can speak perfectly to two men at once, both in answering to what is said, and aptly carrying on a continued discourse relating to the subject matter in hand; so that, with one part of their tongue they speak to one, and with the other part to the other.

This island is under a most excellent and moderate climate (lying under the equator) neither scorched with heat, nor pinched with cold; there they have ripe fruit all the year long, as the poet says,

> Apples and pears always both ripe and green,
> With grapes and figs may ever there be seen.

The days and nights are there always of an equal length; neither is there any shadow at noon-day, because the sun is directly in the zenith over head. They live divided into tribes, according to their kindred, and into distinct societies; yet so as that there are not above four hundred admitted into any one tribe or society. They live in meadows, where they are plentifully supplied with all things necessary for food, by what the earth produces: for the fertility of the soil, and the temperature of the air is such, that corn (more than enough) grows there of itself. Plenty of calamus likewise is produced there, whose fruit has the appearance of white vetches. When they have gathered it, they steep it in hot water, till it puffs up to the bigness of a pigeon's egg; then bruising it, and rubbing it skilfully in their hands, they knead it into dough, and then bake it and eat it, being exceeding sweet and delicious bread to the taste. There are both hot and cold large baths, as well for the curing as preventing distempers, being exceeding sweet and pleasant. They are learned in all sorts of sciences, especially in astrology. They use eight-and-twenty particular letters for their alphabet, and seven characters, every one of which are formed four different ways. They live long generally, without ever being sick, to an hundred and fifty years of age.

Those that are lame, or have any other weakness or infirmity of body (according to the severe law of their country) they put to death. They write not cross over the sheet as we do, but begin at the top of the leaf, and go on in one direct line down to the bottom. They have a law that they may live to such a certain number of years, and when those are run up, they despatch themselves by a strange kind of death; for there is an herb of a double nature, that grows among them, upon which, if any one lies down, he silently passes away and dies, without any sense of pain, as if he were in a sweet sleep. They never marry, but make use of women promiscuously, and breed up the children so begotten (as common to them all) with equal care and affection to one as well as to another. The children, while they are tender infants, are often changed by the nurses, that they cannot be known by their mothers; and therefore, by that means, there being no ambition among them, they live in great concord and amity, without any sedition or tumults. There are beasts among

them very small, but of an admirable property as to their flesh, and the excellent virtue that is in their blood. Their bodies are round, and something like to a tortoise, divided by too streaks which run down the back; at each end of every streak they have an eye and a mouth; so that they have four eyes to see with, and four mouths to feed with: but the meat they eat, is conveyed through one throat, and hence into the belly, the common receptacle of all: and so in like manner they have but one gut, nor but one of every other of the inner parts: they have many feet placed round their bodies, and make use of them to go on what side they will. There is a marvelous virtue in the blood of this little creature, for it presently in an instant closes all cuts and gaping wounds in every body that has still life in it; and if a hand, or any other member of that kind (that is not vital) be cut off, by the application of this blood (while the wound continues green) it heals up again.

Each society of these inhabitants keep many great birds of a singular nature, by which they try the courage of their children; for they place them upon the bird's backs, and as many of them as sit fast when the birds take their flight, they bring up; but those that faint and are terrified, they throw away, as such as can never endure hardship any long time, nor have any generous spirit in them.

In every tribe or society, the eldest governs the rest as king, and all yield him perfect obedience. If the first put himself to death (according to the law) after he has lived an hundred and fifty years, the next to him in age succeeds in the chief command and authority.

The sea that surrounds this island is very rough, and causes very great and high tides, but the water is fresh and sweet. The Bear Star, and many others visible with us, are never seen here.

These islands are seven in number, equal in bigness one to another, and of the same distance one from another, and the same laws and customs are used in all of them: and though these islands afford plenty of provision out of the natural growth of the country to all the inhabitants, yet they use them not luxuriously, but are frugal, and gather only so much as will serve their turns. They do indeed cook for themselves flesh-meat, and all other sorts of victuals both roasted and boiled, but as for sauces, and other delicate inventions of that kind by cooks, and the various tastes and savours contrived for curious palates, they are altogether ignorant of them.

For gods they worship especially the whole frame of heaven, because it comprehends all things; and next to that the sun, and then all the celestial bodies. By various ways of fishing and fowling, they catch fish and fowl of all sorts. There are among them a-

bundance of fruit-trees, and vines, and olive-trees, whence they draw great quantities of oil and wine.

Here are exceeding great serpents, which yet do no harm to any; nay, their flesh is good meat and very sweet. They make their garments of a soft and fine cotton, contained in certain reeds and canes, This cotton they dye with the shell-fishes called Ostreses, made up in balls, and mixed and wrought amongst the wool, and so with great pains make themselves garments of a purple colour.

It produces living creatures of different natures from all others, and even incredible because they are unusual.

Their way of feeding is according to a prescribed rule; for they do not eat all sorts of meats together at one and the same time, nor the same always; but upon some certain days fish, other fowl, sometimes the flesh of land-cattle, at other times olives; and on other days, very low and mean diet. They help one another in their callings and employments by turns: some employ themselves in fishing, others in manufactures, and others in other things useful and profitable to the commonwealth. Some at certain times do exercise public offices, except those who are grown old. Upon their festival days, and times of invocation upon their gods, they celebrate their praises both in acclamations and songs; especially the sun, to whom they devote themselves and their islands.

Their dead they carry to the sea-shore at the fall of the tide, covering them with a little sand, that at the time of full sea heaps of sand may be raised higher upon them.

Those canes whence they gather fruit to eat, are the compass of a crown in thickness; they say that towards the full of the moon they increase, and towards the new moon they proportionably decrease.

The water of their hot springs is sweet and wholesome, and ever continues warm, never growing cold, unless it be mixt with wine or cold water.

After Iambulus with his companion had continued in this island seven years, they were (as wicked and vile fellows) ejected. Having therefore their ship fitted out, and furnished with provision, they set sail, and after they had continued their voyage for above four months together, they fell at length upon the sandy shallows of India, where Iambulus's companion was drowned, and he himself afterwards cast upon a certain village, and forthwith carried away by the inhabitants of the place to the king, then at a city called Polybothia, many days journey from the sea; where he was kindly received by the king, who had a great love for the Grecians, and was very stu-

dious in the liberal sciences. At length (having obtained provision from the king) he first sailed into Persia, and thence safely arrived in Greece. This Iambulus committed all these adventures to writing, and gave an account of many things relating to the affairs of India, before unknown to strangers. But having now performed what we promised in the beginning of this book, we shall here make an end.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

BOOK III.

PREFACE.

THE first of the two Books preceding, contains the acts of the antient kings of Egypt, and the fabulous history of the Egyptian gods; of those things reported of the river Nile; of their fruits, divers kinds of beasts, the situation of the country, and of their laws and courts of justice. In the second are comprehended the affairs of Asia, the acts of the Assyrians in antient times, and amongst them the birth and advancement of Semiramis; how she built the city of Babylon, and many other cities, and invaded the Indians with a mighty army. We have treated there likewise of the Chaldeans, and their art in astronomy; of Arabia, and the wonderful things there; of the Amazons; and lastly, of the Hyperboreans, and the island of Taprobane. In the ensuing book, pursuing such things as are coherent with those that went before, we shall treat of the Ethiopians and Africans, and of the Atlantic islands.

CHAP. I.

Of the Ethiopians; their letters, laws, arms, religion, and funerals. Description of several parts of the country. Manner of making gold. The Ichthyophages, their several sorts, and way of living.

THE Ethiopians say, that they were the first men that ever were in the world; and that, to prove this, they have clear demonstrations. For they say, they are natives of the country, and not strangers that came to settle there; and are therefore, by general consent, almost of all men, called Autochthones; and that, in every man's opinion, it is most probable, that those who inhabit the south, were the first living men that sprang out of the earth. For being that the heat of the

sun at first exhaled the moisture of the earth, and, in the first production of all things, influenced it with a quickening virtue, they say, it is very rational to conclude, that those places nearest to the sun should have been the first parents of all living creatures.

It is affirmed among them, that they were the first that instituted religious worship and pompous sacrifices, with solemn assemblies, and other things used in the service and to the honour of the gods: and they hold, that the sacrifices of the Ethiopians are the most acceptable to the gods of any other; and in testimony hereof, they produce the most antient poet, and of the greatest authority amongst the Grecians, who in his Iliad introduces Jupiter, with the rest of the gods travelling in Ethiopia to the anniversary sacrifice and solemn festival prepared for them by the Ethiopians.

> For Jove and all the gods are gone to feast
> With pious Ethiopians in the west.

And they say, it is very evident that the gods reward them for their piety, for that they were never brought into subjection by any foreign prince, but always remained a free people, and at perfect peace among themselves. And though many, and those most potent princes likewise, have invaded, yet none have succeeded in their attempts. For Cambyses, making in upon them with mighty forces, was in danger both to have lost his life and his whole army. And Semiramis, who was so famous both for her skill and success in arms, having entered but a little way into Ethiopia, presently saw it was to no purpose to think of conquering that nation.

Hercules, likewise, and Bacchus, who ran through the whole world, forbore only the Ethiopians, being awed by the piety of that people, and discouraged with the difficulty of the attempt.

The Ethiopians likewise say, that the Egyptians are a colony drawn out from them by Osiris; and that Egypt was formerly no part of the continent, but a sea, at the beginning of the world; but that, afterwards, it was by degrees made land by the river Nile, which brought down slime and mud out of Ethiopia. And that that country was made dry land, by heaps of earth forced down by the river, they say, is apparent by evident signs, about the mouths of the Nile. For always, every year, may be seen fresh heaps of mud cast up at the mouths of the river by the working of the sea, and the land increased by it. Moreover, they affirm, that most of the Egyptian laws are the same with those in Ethiopia, the colony still observing the customs of their ancestors; and that they learnt from the Ethiopians the custom of deifying their kings, and their care and costs in their burials, and such like things used amongst them; besides the making of statues, and the characters of their letters. For whereas the Egyptians have com-

mon and ordinary characters used promiscuously by all the inhabitants, and likewise those they call sacred, known only by the priests, privately taught them by their parents; yet the Ethiopians use both those sorts without any difference or distinction. The several colleges of the priests (they say) observe one and the same order and discipline in both the nations. For as many as are so consecrated for divine service, are wholly devoted to purity and religion, and in both countries are shaven alike, and are clothed with the like stoles and attire, and carry a sceptre like unto a plow-share, such as their kings likewise bear, with high crowned caps tufted at the top, wreathed round with serpents called asps; by which is seemed to be signified, that those who contrive any thing against the life of the king are as sure to die, as if they were stung with the deadly bite of the asp. Many other things they report of their antiquity, and of a colony of them heretofore carried away into Egypt, of which it is necessary further to write.

But lest we should omit things that are antient and remarkable, it is fit something should be said of the Ethiopic characters, and of those which the Egyptians call hieroglyphics.

The Ethiopic letters represent the shapes of divers beasts, parts and members of men's bodies, and artificers' tools and instruments. For by their writing they do not express any thing by composition of syllables, but by the signification of images and representations, the meaning of them being engraven and fixed in the memory by use and exercise. For sometimes they draw the shape of a kite, crocodile, or serpent, sometimes the members of a man's body, as the eye, the hand, the face, and such like. The kite signifies all things that are quickly despatched; because this bird flies the swiftest almost of any other. For reason presently applies it by a suitable interpretation to every thing that is sudden and quick, or of such nature, as perfectly as if they had been spoken. The crocodile is the emblem of malice: the eye the preserver of justice, and the guard of the body. Amongst the members of the body, the right hand, with open fingers, signifies plenty, the left, with the fingers close, preservation and custody of men's goods and estates.

The same way of reasoning extends to all other parts of the body, and the forms of tools and all other things; for being that they diligently pry into the hidden signification of every thing, and have their minds and memories daily employed with continual exercise, they exactly read and understand every thing couched within the hieroglyphics.

A great part of the Ethiopian laws differ very much from other nations, especially those which concern the election of their kings:

for they pick out the best of their priests out of every rank and order, and whomsoever of those so chosen, their revelling god (which they carry about according to custom) does first lay hold of, the people make king, and forthwith fall down upon their knees, and worship as a god, and render him other honours, as he to whom the authority of the chief magistrate is committed by divine providence.

Being so elected, he orders the course of his life according as the law has prescribed; and, governing in all other respects according to the customs of the country, he neither confers rewards, nor inflicts punishments upon any, but according to the antient laws ratified and approved by his ancestors from the beginning.

It is a law among them—That no subject shall be put to death, nor condemned to die, though he be ever so guilty: but one of the lictors is sent to the criminal, bearing before him the badge or sign of death; upon sight of which, the party goes home and kills himself. It is not lawful to change his punishment by wilful banishment, and flying into other countries, as it is the custom of the Greeks. And therefore they report, that one once preparing to fly out of Ethiopia, after the sign of death was sent to him by the king, that his mother discerning his design, fastened her garter about his neck, and he never in the least lifted up his hands to hinder her, but underwent all till he was strangled to death, lest he should leave behind him a blot and stain upon his kindred and family. And above all, that custom is most strange which relates to the death of the kings; for those priests that are employed in the service of the gods at Meroe, who are here of greatest authority, whensoever they please, they send a messenger to the king, commanding him to put himself to death; for that such is the pleasure of the gods, and that it is not lawful for any to despise the commands of the gods; adding also other reasons, which a plain and honest mind, inured to an antient and constant custom, (and not being furnished with sufficient arguments to evince the unreasonableness of the commands), is easily induced to believe.

And so in former ages, the kings, without force or compulsion of arms, but merely bewitched by a fond superstition, observed the custom; till Ergamenes, a king of Ethiopia, who reigned in the time of Ptolemy the Second, (bred up in the Grecian discipline and philosophy), was the first that was so bold as to reject and despise such commands. For this prince, assuming the spirit and courage becoming a king, marched with a considerable body of men to the place (very difficult of access) where stood the golden temple of the Ethiopians, and there cut the throats of all the priests; and having abolished that antient barbarous custom, reformed what appertained to the service

of the gods in such manner as he thought fit. There is, moreover, a strange and wonderful law amongst the great officers of the king's household, which continues, they say, to this very day. For it is a custom amongst the Ethiopians, that if the king be maimed or debilitated upon any occasion in any member of his body, all his household servants do the same thing to themselves: for they hold it a base and unworthy thing, that if the king be lame, for his servants to attend upon him with whole and sound limbs, and not all to be lame as well as he. And that it is a thing most unworthy of true and firm friendship, not to sympathize and bear a share both in prosperity and adversity, in sorrow and sadness, and in the pains and deficiencies of the body. They say, moreover, that it is a custom for the king's domestic servants to put themselves to death when their kings die, and such death they account honourable, and as a testimony of their sincere love to their prince; and therefore it is no easy matter for the Ethiopians to assassinate any of the king's friends, being that both they and the king are careful and solicitous for the mutual preservation of each other.

These are the laws of those Ethiopians that inhabit the capital city and the island Meroe, and those tracts that lie next unto Egypt. But there are many other Ethiopian nations, whereof some dwell on both sides the river Nile, and in the islands in the river; others border upon Arabia, and some are seated in the heart of Africa. The greatest part of these, especially those in and about the river, are blacks, flat faced, have curled hair, exceeding fierce and cruel, and in their manners like beasts, not so much in their natural temper as in their studied and contrived pieces of wickedness. Their whole bodies are filthy and nasty, and their nails long like wild beasts, and cruel one towards another. They have a shrill voice, and in regard they are never taught by any how to lead a more civilized course of life, (in that way of education as others are), they mightily differ from us in all their manners.

Some of them carry shields made of the raw hide of an ox, and short lances; others, darts with forked points: sometimes they use bows of wood four cubits long, and discharge their arrows, by forcing the bow with the help of their foot, and when their shafts are spent, they fall on with clubs. They arm likewise their women, till they attain to such an age; many of whom use to hang a brass ring at their lips. Some of them never wear any clothes, but go naked all their lives long, and shelter themselves from the scorching heat of the sun only with such helps and defences as in their way they can meet withal. Some of them cut off sheep's tails, and bind them about their loins to cover their privities: others make use of beast's

skins for this purpose. Some there are that are clothed round their loins with breeches made of the hair of their heads; for the nature of the ground is such that the sheep carry no fleeces.

Their meat is a certain fruit that grows about the pools and marshes: some pluck off the tender branches of small trees, and with them cover themselves from the heat of the southern sun. Some sow Sesamus and Lotus: and others live upon certain tender roots of canes. And many of them that are good archers maintain themselves with abundance of fowl they kill. But most of them live upon flesh, milk, and cheese. Those that inhabit the parts above Meroe have two opinions concerning the gods.

Some of them say they are eternal and incorruptible: amongst which they reckon the sun, moon, and the entire universe. Others they conceive were at first mortal men, but for their virtue and their benefits procured to mankind, purchased immortal honour. They especially worship Isis, Pan, Hercules, and Jupiter, whom they account to be the greatest benefactors to mankind. But some few of the Ethiopians are of opinion that there are no gods at all: and these fly to the marshes from the sun when it rises, as from an implacable enemy.

They have laws, likewise, different from all other nations, about their funerals. Some throw their dead into the river, as looking upon that to be the best sort of burial. Others, by pouring upon them melted glass, keep them in their houses; because they think it not convenient or decent that their countenances should not be known by their kindred, or that they should be forgotten by their posterity. Some bury them in earthen coffins, about their temples; and to swear by their names is counted the most sacred oath. Those that are most beautiful some of them choose to be their king, judging that regal power and beauty are always the gifts of fortune. Others intrust the royal power in the hands of the most industrious shepherds, as such as would make it their business to take most care for the good of their subjects. Others bestow the kingdom upon those that are richest, judging such only most able, by their riches, to supply the wants of their people.

There are others that are for the advancing them to the throne, who are most approved for their valour; because they judge those that are conquerors to be most worthy of honour.

That part of the country in Libya that borders upon the Nile, is the most pleasant and richest for all manner of provision; for the morasses afford the most advantageous shelters against the parching heat of the sun, and therefore the Ethiopians and Africans quarrel, and are at continual wars one with another for the possession of that

place. Herds likewise of elephants out of the higher Libya, (as some write), come down into those parts, because of the abundance of pasture, and the sweetness of it. For there are wonderful morasses, abounding in all sorts of food, all along the banks of the river, and here they are held by the mouth, when they taste the sweetness of those reeds and canes that grow here, and so eat up the food of the inhabitants; and therefore the people are forced to resort to these places for relief, (being shepherds, and living in tents), making that their country where they can find the most plenty.

The herds of elephants of which we before hinted, leave the upper parts for want of pasture, which is presently burnt up there by the heat of the sun. For, by reason of the scorching heat, and want both of spring and river water, the grass is parched up, and none to be had.

Some write, that in the deserts and other wild places, (as they are called), are bred a world of serpents of a wonderful bigness. These, (they say), with great fury and violence, set upon the elephants at the brink of the waters, clasping themselves in many circles round their thighs, and sticking fast there so long, as that at length the beasts (tired out by their great and weighty bulk) fall down in a foaming sweat to the ground; upon which, others in multitudes coming in, they presently devour them, and that with ease, the poor creatures being so unwieldy, as scarce able to move themselves. If for some reason or other, they succeed not in their attempt, (out of eagerness to their natural food), they pursue not the elephants to the river's bank before mentioned: for they say these vast serpents avoid all they can the open fields, and abide about the feet and hollows of the mountains, in deep holes and caves. And hence it is, that they leave not those places so fit for their shelter and defence, nature teaching every creature to make use of that which is most helpful to it, and to avoid what is hurtful.

And thus much we have thought fit to say of the Ethiopians and their country: and now something is to be said of the historians: for many have written such things concerning Egypt and Ethiopia as deserve not the least credit, inasmuch as the authors were either too easy to believe lies, or else in sport and for diversion invented them themselves.

But Agatharchides of Cnidus, in his second book of the affairs of Asia; Artemidorus the Ephesian, in his eighth book of geography; and some others that were natural Egyptians, who have written histories of the things hereinbefore by us related, have in their writings nearly pursued the truth. And I myself, in the time of my travelling and sojourning in Egypt, associated with many of the priests, and

conferred with many ambassadors and others sent out of Ethiopia, whence, having exactly come to the knowledge of every thing, and having likewise examined the several relations of the historians, have framed and moulded my history so as to suit with those things wherein all of them agreed and consented.

But this shall suffice to be said of the western Ethiopians.

We shall now speak a little of those inhabiting the southern parts, and towards the Red sea. But it is fit first that we say something of the making of gold in these parts.

In the confines of Egypt, and the neighbouring countries of Arabia and Ethiopia, there is a place full of rich gold mines, out of which, with much cost and pains of many labourers, gold is dug. The soil here naturally is black, but in the body of the earth run many white veins, shining with white marble, and glistering with all sorts of other bright metals; out of which laborious mines those appointed overseers cause the gold to be dug up by the labour of a vast multitude of people. For the kings of Egypt condemn to these mines notorious criminals, captives taken in war, persons sometimes falsely accused, or such against whom the king is incensed; and that not only they themselves, but sometimes all their kindred and relations together with them, are sent to work here, both to punish them, and by their labour to advance the profit and gain of the king. There are infinite numbers upon these accounts thrust down into these mines, all bound in fetters, where they work continually, without being admitted any rest night or day, and so strictly guarded, that there is no possibility or way left to make an escape. For they set over them barbarians, soldiers of various and strange languages, so that it is not possible to corrupt any of the guard, by discoursing one with another, or by the gaining insinuations of a familiar converse.

The earth which is hardest and full of gold they soften by putting fire under it, and then work it out with their hands: the rocks thus softened, and made more pliant and yielding, several thousands of profligate wretches break it in pieces with hammers and pickaxes. There is one artist that is the overseer of the whole work, who marks out the stone, and shews the labourers the way and manner how he would have it done. Those that are the strongest amongst them that are appointed to this slavery, provided with sharp iron pickaxes, cleave the marble-shining rock by mere force and strength, and not by art or slight of hand. They undermine not the rock in a direct line, but follow the bright shining vein of the mine.

They carry lamps fastened to their foreheads to give them light, being otherways in perfect darkness in the various windings and

turnings wrought in the mine; and having their bodies appearing sometimes of one colour and sometimes of another (according to the nature of the mine where they work) they throw the lumps and pieces of the stone cut out of the rock upon the floor. And thus they are employed continually, without intermission, at the very nod of the overseer or tax-master, who lashes them severely besides. And there are little boys that attend upon the labourers in the mine, and with great labour and toil gather up the lumps and pieces hewed out of the rock as they are cast upon the ground, and carry them forth and lay them upon the bank. Those that are about thirty years of age take a piece of the rock of such a certain quantity, and pound it in a stone mortar with iron pestles till it be as small as a vetch, then those little stones so pounded are taken from them by women and older men, who cast them into mills that stand together there near at hand in a long row, and, two or three of them being employed at one mill, they grind it so long till it be as small as fine meal, according to the pattern given them. No care at all is taken of the bodies of these poor creatures, so that they have not a rag so much as to cover their nakedness, and no man that sees them can choose but must commiserate their sad and deplorable condition. For though they are sick, maimed, or lame, no rest, no intermission in the least, is allowed them: neither the weakness of old age, nor women's infirmities, are any plea to excuse them; but all are driven to their work with blows and cudgelling, till at length, overborn with the intollerable weight of their misery, they drop down dead in the midst of their insufferable labours; so that these miserable creatures always expect worse to come than that which they then at present endure, and therefore long for death, as far more desirable than life.

At length the masters of the work take the stone thus ground to powder, and carry it away in order to the perfecting of it. They spread the mineral so ground upon a broad board, somewhat hollow and lying shelving, and, pouring water upon it, rub it and cleanse it, and so all the earthy and drossy part being separated from the rest by the water, it runs off the board, and the gold, by reason of its weight, remains behind. Then washing it several times again, they first rub it lightly with their hands; afterwards they draw up the earthy and drossy matter with slender spunges gently applied to the powdered dust, till it be clean pure gold. At last other workmen take it away by weight and measure, and these put it into earthen urns, and, according to the quantity of the gold in every urn, they mix with it some lead, grains of salt, a little tin, and barley bran. Then covering every pot close, and carefully daubing them over with clay, they put them in a furnace, where they abide five days and nights toge-

ther; then, after they have stood to cool a convenient time, nothing of the other matter is to be found in the pots, but only pure refined gold, some little thing diminished in the weight.

And thus is gold prepared in the borders of Egypt, and perfected and completed with so many and so great toils and vexations. And therefore I cannot but conclude that nature itself teaches us, that as gold is got with labour and toil, so it is kept with difficulty, creates every where the greatest cares, and the use of it mixed both with pleasure and sorrow.

Yet the invention of those metals is very antient, being found out and made use of by the antient kings.

Now we shall treat of those nations that lie scattered along the coasts of the Red sea, and through Troglodyta and the southern parts of Ethiopia.

And first we shall speak of the Ichthyophages, who inhabit the sea-coasts all along as far as from Carmania and Gedrosia, to the uttermost point of the Red sea, which runs up into the land an incredible long way, and at the entrance into it lies bounded on one side with Arabia the Happy, and with the country of the Troglodytes on the other.

Some of the barbarians go stark naked, and their wives and children are as common among them as their flocks and herds. They know nothing either of pleasure or sorrow but what is natural, like brute beasts, and have no apprehension either of good or evil. They inhabit not far from the very brink of the sea shore, where there are not only deep caves, but craggy cliffs, and strait and narrow vallies, divided naturally into many crooked windings and turnings; which being of their own nature useful to the inhabitants, they make up the passages both in and out with heaps of great stones, and make use of those places instead of nets to catch their fish. For when the tide comes in and overflows the coasts (as it does twice every day about the third and ninth hour) and the sea covers the strand up to the brinks of the banks, together with the tide it brings in a vast number of all sorts of fish within the land, which at the first are kept within those parts next to the sea, but afterwards for food disperse themselves about those hollow caverns; but when the tide ebbs, and the water by degrees leaves the hollows, and reflows through those heaps of stones, the fish within those caverns are left destitute of water. Upon which all the barbarians, (as if they were roused up by one general shout), with their wives and children, flock to the place. Yet they divide themselves into several companies, and each run with an hideous shout to their several places, as if a prey were suddenly and unexpectedly presented to them. Then the women and children

gather the little fish next to the shore, and throw them upon the dry land as fast as they can gather them; and the men and more able people busy themselves in catching the great and strong fish; for the sea not only casts up the huge lobsters, lampreys, and dog-fish, but also the sea calves, and many such like, both of strange names and shape. They master not these creatures with arms made by the artist, but strike them through with the sharp goat's horns, and wound and cut them with rough stones broken off from the rock. For necessity in every thing instructs nature what to do, and readily complies with that which seems most useful and advantageous in the present exigency.

After they have got their number in heaps together, they carry away their booty, and put all they have caught into stone pots turned towards the south: the fish being, as it were even by fire, fried by the heat of the sun; after a small time they turn them upon the other side, then they take them by the tails and shake them, and the flesh thus scalded and softened by the sun, falls of; but the bones they heap together in one place, and keep them for their use, as shall be hereafter related. Then they boil their flesh in a little stone pot for a certain time, mixing with them the seed of a fruit called Paliurus. By working of this together, it becomes a lump of one and the same colour, and this seems as if it were a sauce to their meat. At last, this that is thus brought into a body they spread upon long tiles, and lay it forth to dry in the sun; which, after it has been dried a little, (lying down together) they merrily feed upon, and eat not according to weight and measure, but as every one thinks fit, making their natural appetite the measure of their repast. For they have always enough of this store to resort unto, as if Neptune performed the office of Ceres. Yet sometimes the sea rises so high, that all the shores are overflowed for many days together, so that none dare attempt to come near; in the mean time, therefore, (wanting food) they first gather shell-fish of such a vast magnitude, as that some of them weigh four minas. These they break in pieces with huge great stones, and eagerly guttle up the raw fish in them, which are in taste much like oysters.

If by storms and winds the sea continues long in a high tide, and that they are hindered by tempestuous weather from taking of fish, they first (as is said before) betake themseves to the shell-fish; and when these fail, they run to the heaps of bones, and from among them pick out those that are fresh and moist, and divide them one joint from another, and some they presently gnaw in pieces with their teeth, and others that are more hard they bruise with stones, and feed upon them like so many beasts in their dens. And thus they

provide dry food for themselves: and as to that which is moist and juicy, their use of it is wonderful and past belief: for they fish continually for four days successively, in the mean time eating merrily together in great flocks and companies, congratulating one another with harsh and discordant songs without any melodious harmony; then they fall promiscuously, as every man's lot chances, to company with their women, for procreation sake; minding no business, nor taking any care for any thing, having so much plenty ready at hand. But the fifth day, they go in droves to get drink, to those tracts lying under the feet of the mountains, where are many springs of sweet water, whither, likewise, the shepherds drive their flocks for the same purpose. Neither do they differ much from herds of cattle, as they go making a horrid noise, without any articulate voice. In this procession the mothers carry their sucking children continually in their arms, and the fathers after they are weaned; but, after they are five years old, they run before their parents very jocund and playful, as if they were going to some delightful and pleasant recreation. For, not being of a froward and discontented temper, they place their chiefest good in having sufficient to supply their necessities, never seeking any further addition to their happiness in gaining more. When they come to the shepherds' watering places, they gorge themselves with water to that degree, that when they return they can scarce walk, they are so heavy and unwieldy.

All that day they eat nothing, but every one lies groveling upon the ground like a drunken man, with their bellies almost burst, and scarce able to breath. And the next day they fall a feeding upon their fish; and this course and round they run in this manner of feeding all the days of their lives. But those people who live thus within the strait narrow caves near to the sea-shore, by reason of the plainness and meanness of their diet, though they are scarce ever sick, yet are far shorter-lived than our own countrymen.

As for those other that live farther beyond the gulf, their way of living is much more strange, who naturally never covet any drink, nor are affected with any passion: for their lot falling to be in the deserts, in places unfit for human habitation, they feed plentifully, by catching of fish, but matter not any other food; and in regard they eat their fish slaby, and almost raw, they are so far from coveting drink, that they know not what it is to drink. They are therefore contented with what Providence has provided for them, accounting themselves happy in this respect, that they are not affected with that troublesome passion, the sense of want. And that which is most to be admired is, that they so far exceed all other men in freedom from boisterous passions, that what we shall now relate is scarce credible.

But many Egyptian merchants, who in their voyage through the Red sea have arrived at the country of the Ichthyophages, have avowed it to me to be a certain truth, that they are not in the least moved with any thing. And Ptolemy the Third, who had a great desire to hunt the elephants that were bred in that country, sent Simia, one of his friends, to view the place; who, being furnished with sufficient provision for his journey, exactly and diligently observed the manner of those nations lying along the sea-shore, as Agatharchides of Cnidus the historian relates. Amongst other things he says, that the Ethiopians in those parts are not affected with any disturbing passion; that they never drink, nor have the least appetite or inclination thereunto, for the reasons before mentioned. He affirms, moreover, that they have no converse or discourse with any stranger, nor are moved or concerned at the sight of any, but, fixing their eyes upon them, are no more moved nor affected than as if no person at all were near them. Nay, if they be assaulted (he says) with drawn swords, they will not stir; and though they are hurt and wounded, yet they are not in the least provoked. Neither are the common people at all concerned when any of the rest are hurt or injured; but many times when their wives and children are killed before their eyes, they stand insensible, as if nothing of prejudice were done to them, shewing no sign either of anger or compassion; and therefore they say, they speak not a word, but, upon such an occasion, only act a part with a mimic gesture of their hands. And that which is most of all to be admired, the sea-calves (which are very familiar with them) like men, help them to catch fish. These different and distinct people are yet exceeding faithful to one another, in securing one another's children from harm and prejudice, and preserving their several habitations from force and encroachment; and though they are of different stocks, yet they peaceably and affectionately converse one with another, without offering the least injury on either side.

And though this way of living together be somewhat strange, yet through long custom, and constant use and practice, or because they find it necessary and conducing to their mutual advantage, it is still continued among them to this day.

These nations inhabit not after the manner of the other Ichthyophages, but have divers sorts of dwellings, according as their several circumstances happen to be; some live in caves lying most commonly to the north, by which they have the advantage of being refreshed not only by the depth of the covert, but by the cooling breezes of the northern air. For those towards the south scorch like a fiery furnace, and, by reason of the violent heat, no man can endure them.

Others that cannot otherwise furnish themselves with caves that lie northward, gather the ribs of whales (which the sea casts up in abundance) and then bending them, tie them together at both ends, and cover them with sea-grass, and so rest under those, guarded from the parching heat of the sun, as by the cover of a shady arch; which art and contrivance they are taught by their own necessities.

A third sort of lodgings these Ichthyophages have are these: about those places grow abundance of fir-trees, which are watered by the sea, and bear very thick leaves, and fruit like unto chesnuts: the boughs and leaves of these trees they interlace one within another, and so make for themselves a thick and close shade, and live merry and jocund lives, under this their new canopy, both in land and in water at one and the same time, being hereby guarded from the sun by the shade of the trees, and the natural heat of the place being mitigated by the continual fluctuations of the sea, and their bodies refreshed with the cooling air of some winds that blow at certain seasons. But to proceed, as to the fourth sort of dwellings:—

In this place there has been, from the beginning of time, a vast heap of moss, like a mountain, cast up by the sea, which is so firm by the constant heat of the sun, that it is become solid and cemented together with sand. In this they dig caves of a man's height, that part over head they leave for a roof, but below they make long passages or galleries to go in or out, one over against another. Here they abide with ease, protected from the heat of the sun; and about the time the tide comes in, out they start, and then for that time employ themselves in fishing; and at the ebbing of the tide, after they have fed deliciously together upon the fish they have caught, they fly again to their several caves. They bury their dead only at low water; and at that time they cast their carcases upon the shore, and there let them lie uncovered, to be carried away by the next tide. And so after all, having spent all their days in a strange and unusual course and way of living, they themselves at last in their burials become food for the fishes.

But there is one nation of the Ichthyophages whose habitations are so strange, that inquisitive men are very much puzzled about them. For some of them dwell upon steep and dangerous hollows, which, time out of mind, have been unaccessible to mankind, as far as appears: for over their heads are exceeding high rocks, rugged and steep every way; and on both sides they are blocked up with impassable precipices; and before, the sea is a guard and boundary to them, so that the best footman cannot come at them. Neither have they any use, or so much as knowledge, of boats or ships, as we have. Hence (the thing being so intricate and doubtful) we may justly con-

clude that they are Aborigines, and were ever in this place, without any certain time of their first generation; which some naturalists doubt not to affirm of all other works of nature whatsoever. But, forasmuch as the perfect knowledge of things of this nature is far above our comprehension, we may easily conclude, that those know but little, who are the most inquisitive, and soaring so high as to know all; who may perhaps tickle men's ears with a probable fancy, but never really attain to the knowledge of the truth.

CHAP. II.

Chelonophages: the manner of taking sea-tortoises. The Cetivores, or Whale-eaters. The sea-coasts over against Babylon; their manner of taking of fish. The Rizophages, or Root-eaters. Those called Spermatophages and Hylophages, Hylogones, or Hunters; their taking of wild beasts: the Elephant-fighters; how they are taken: the Simoes, Struthophages, Acridophages, or Locust-eaters; their miserable deaths. Cynomolges: the country of the Troglodytes. Wild beasts: the terrible wild bull. Serpents: that great one brought alive to Alexandria.

SOMETHING likewise is to be spoken of the Chelonophages, to shew the whole course and manner of their way of living.

There are a vast number of islands in the ocean near to the continent, very small and of a low situation, barren both as to tillage and the natural fruits of the earth. Amongst these islands (because they are so near one to another) there are no storms or tempests: for the force of the waves are broke by the promontories of these islands that shoot out into the sea, and therefore abundance of sea-tortoises lie in and about these places, seeking relief under the covert of this calm and quiet shelter. In the night they lie at the bottom of the water feeding, but in the day time appear above water, in that part of the sea that flows through the midst of the islands, and lie sleeping with their shells erect, exposed to the sun, and seem to resemble a little skiff turned with the keel upwards; for they are of a wonderful bigness, no less than a small fishing boat.

The barbarians that inhabit these islands, taking the opportunity, quietly and silently swim to these sea-tortoises, and, assailing them on both sides, some they thrust forward to the shore, others they lift

up till they have turned them upon their backs; then they that are on each side guide and direct the creature to land like a ship by the stem, lest the tortoise should turn itself again, and so by its natural strength in swimming escape from them into the sea: and while they are thus employed, one of the company swims to shore before with a long rope tied at one end to the fish, and then draws him to land, those that assisted at the taking of him following close after. When he is brought into the island, they fry the fish a little while in the sun, and then feed upon it merrily together. The shells being in shape like to boats, are very useful to the inhabitants; for they use them both to sail in to the continent to get fresh water, and likewise for roofs to cover their cottages, turning the hollow parts downwards. So that nature's bounty has provided for them by one gift many useful advantages, as food, vessels, shipping, and habitations.

Not far from these, upon the sea-shore in the continent, dwell other barbarians, far different in their way of living, called Cetivores, who feed upon whales cast up by chance by the sea. Sometimes they have plenty of food, by reason of the vast proportion of these creatures; but at other times, for want of them, they are almost starved, and are forced, through want of food, to gnaw pieces of old stinking bones, and to suck the ends of the rotten ribs.

So many are the nations of the Ethiopians who feed upon fish; and this is their manner of living, concluding this account in a brief and summary way.

But the sea-coasts over against the province of Babylon border upon a fruitful country, abounding in all sorts of fruit-trees, where there is such plenty of fish, that they are more than the inhabitants can consume: for, upon the sea-shore they set such a number of canes, and so interwoven one within another, that they are like to a net spread all along by the sea-side. In every of which works, there are many little portals wrought and interlaced with reeds, and are tossed this way and that way with an easy motion. These open by the tide, when the sea flows in upon the land, and when it returns into the channel, they shut again. So that through these portals, with the efflux of the sea, the fish slip every day, and when it ebbs, they are left behind, because they cannot pass with the water through those canes thus knit and wrought together: and therefore near to the sea-side sometimes may be seen heaps of fish panting for want of water, which those that have the care and oversight of this business gather and carry away. Hence they have both plenty of food, and raise a large revenue besides. Some of the inhabitants, when the shore is dry, and the country lies flat, draw broad sluices from the sea many furlongs to their cottages, at the ends of which they place

wears made of twigs, which open when the tide comes in, and shut again when the sea goes out; and then, the water flowing through the narrow mouths of the portals, the fish remain behind in the sluices, and there they take out every time as many as they have occasion to use.

Having gone through all those people bordering upon the sea-coasts as far as from the province of Babylon to the Red sea, we shall now proceed to give an account of the other nations.

In Ethiopia above Egypt, near to the river Asa, inhabit a people called Rizophages, who get up the roots of the canes that grow in the marshes, and first wash them very clean, then they bruise and pound them with stones till they are soft and pliant; afterwards they lay a handful of them in the sun till they are broiled; and this is the food they live upon all their days. But though they live in plenty, and are at constant peace with one another, yet they are miserably infested, and often fallen upon, by the lions that abound in those parts: for the air being scorching hot, they come out of the deserts into the country of the Rizophages, both for shelter from the heat, and to hunt the lesser beasts for prey; so that when the Ethiopians come out of the marshes, they are torn in pieces by these creatures; for, being unarmed, they are unable to withstand the strength of the lions: and the whole nation would certainly be utterly destroyed, if Providence had not provided a remedy in this case; for, about the beginning of the dog-days, when there is not the least wind, there comes in such a multitude of gnats (larger than those that are commonly seen) that the inhabitants are forced to fly into the marshes, and so avoid them: and the lions, partly tormented by their biting and stinging of them, and partly terrified with their humming and buzzing, run far away out of the country.

Next to these are those nations called Hylophages and Spermatophages. The last of these gather in great plenty fruits which fall from the trees in the summer-time, and so feed on them without taking any further pains. The rest of the year they feed upon a certain sweet herb which grows in the shady valleys; which being a solid plant, and having a stalk like to a turnip, it sufficiently supplies the want of other necessary food.

But the Hylophages, together with their wives and children, go into the fields and climb the trees, and feed upon the buds and tender branches; and by constant usage and practice are so nimble in getting up to the top of the highest branch, that it seems almost incredible. They skip from tree to tree like so many birds, and mount up upon the slenderest branches without the least hazard. For, being very slender and light-bodied people, if their feet fail, they

catch hold with their hands; nay, if they fall down from the very top, they are so light they get no harm. They easily chew every juicy twig of the tree, and as easily concoct them. They always go naked, and make use of their wives promiscuously, and therefore all their children they look upon to be common amongst them. They sometimes quarrel one with another for places of habitation; their arms are clubs, with which they both defend themselves, and pound in pieces their conquered enemy. Many of them are often famished to death when they grow blind, being deprived of so necessary a member for the procuring of sustenance.

The next adjoining country is inhabited by the Ethiopian Hylogones, called Hunters, who are indeed but few, but live after a peculiar and strange manner, answerable to their name; for the land being infested with multitudes of wild beasts, is very terrible to live in, and very little running water is to be found; therefore, for fear of the beasts, the inhabitants sleep all night in trees; and in the morning they go to the pools of water with their arms, where they hide themselves among the boughs, and spy in the mean time out of the trees: then, when the sun grows hot, the wild bulls and leopards, and a great number of other wild beasts, come running to the waters, (being scorched with heat and thirst) and do so gorge themselves with drinking, that they are ready to burst, upon which the Ethiopians leap out of the trees, and set upon the beasts (that can scarcely stir or move) with clubs burnt at the end, stones, and darts, and kill them with ease: thus, dividing themselves into companies, they finish their pursuit, and feed together upon the prey they have caught: very rarely it is that any of them are killed, even by the fiercest or strongest of them, but by slight they overcome might. If they miss of their prey, they wash the skins of those they have formerly taken, and lay them upon a fire made for the purpose, and scorching off the hair under the ashes, and dividing the skin amongst themselves, with this hard fare they satisfy their hunger. They teach the boys to cast darts exactly to hit a mark, and if they miss, they suffer them not to eat. And by this means (through pinching hunger) they become excellent archers.

Not far from these, towards the west, inhabit the Ethiopians that are called Elephantophages. They dwell in large and woody forests, where, from the tops of the highest trees, they diligently observe the motions and walks of the elephants. But they set not upon the entire troops at once, (for that were to little purpose), but with wonderful courage single them out as they come near to them. For when the beast approaches to the right side of the tree, where he that watches for him lies hid, just as the elephant passes by, he catches

hold of his tail with his hands, and clasps his feet close to his left thigh: then with his right hand he lays hold of a sharp axe, (bound upon his shoulder, and manageable by one hand), and with that gives him one wound after another, whereby he cuts the nerves and sinews of the elephant's right ham, guiding and governing his body in the mean time by his right hand. This feat is performed with that admirable quickness and activity, as if the combat had been designed to be ended no otherwise than by the loss of one of their lives. For, what could be expected (since the nature of the thing cannot admit of any other conjecture) but either the man must die, or the beast be overcome? The beast, being thus ham-strung, not able to turn himself round, by reason of the slowness of his motion, sinks sometimes on that side where he is wounded, and falls down, and together with himself kills the Ethiopian. Sometimes the elephant dashes the man against a tree or a stone, and with his weight presses upon him till he has killed him. Some of the elephants, overmastered, (through the smart and torment of their wounds), never regard him that wounds them, but run so long up and down the plain, till the Ethiopian behind, by his continual hacking and cutting in one and the same place, cuts his sinews in pieces, and at length altogether disables him, and brings him down: whereupon the Ethiopians run in flocking, and, cutting off collops of his flesh while he is yet alive, feed and feast themselves merrily together.

Some of the neighbouring Ethiopians take the elephants without any danger of their lives at all, overcoming force by slight. For this creature, when he is full, after feeding, differs from all other four-footed beasts in disposing of himself to sleep. For he cannot bend his knees and lie down, but sleeps leaning his body to the side of a tree; so that the tree, by his frequent resort to it, and pressing upon it, withers and rots; there being, therefore, many signs and footsteps of the elephant's walks, by which the hunters of this prey discover where he rests himself; they having found out the tree, saw it a little above the ground till it be almost ready to fall, then rubbing out the marks of their feet, they go away before the elephant comes there, who afterwards, in the evening, being full fed, makes to his usual resting-place; and as soon as he leans with the weight of his whole body to the tree, down it falls, and the beast along with it, and there lies all night with his heels upward, for he cannot possibly rise. As soon as it is day, they that sawed the tree come to the place, and there kill the poor creature without any hazard, and build themselves huts, where they stay till they have eaten him up.

Next to these nations upon the west inhabit those Ethiopians called Simoes: to the south lie the nation of the Struthophages; for among

them is a sort of bird of a mixed nature, partly a fowl and partly a beast, and thence it has its name. She is little less than the greatest hart: nature has formed her with a long neck, a round body with wings, but a tender and small head, yet she has strong thighs and legs, and her feathers are forked; and she is so heavy and unwieldy, that she cannot fly above the earth, but she runs along with that swiftness that she scarce touches the ground. With a brisk gale of wind she mounts up her wings, and makes forward as swift as a ship with her sails spread under sail. Against the pursuer she defends herself with flinging of stones, which she throws with that violence out of her feet as out of a sling; but when the wind is low, her wings flag, and so, being deprived of that natural help, she is easily taken. There are a great number of those birds; and by divers arts and devices the barbarians easily take multitudes of them, and feed upon their flesh, and make use of their skins both for vestments and coverlets for beds.

But when these Struthophages are set upon by the Ethiopians called Simoes, for arms they use the horns of the Oryxes*, with which they repel the assaults of their enemies. For they are very great, and sharp at the ends; and these sort of beasts do there so abound, that their horns are found scattered up and down, and so they become of special use to the inhabitants.

A little distant from these are the Acridophages, bordering upon the deserts; they are smaller than other men, of lean and meager bodies, and exceeding black. In these parts in the time of the spring the south winds rise high, and drive an infinite number of locusts out of the desert, of an extraordinary bigness, furnished with most dirty and nasty-coloured wings; and these are plentiful food and provision for them all their days. They have a strange and peculiar way of catching them; for in their country there is a large and deep vale, extending far in length for many furlongs together: all over this they lay heaps of wood and other combustible matter, of which they have plenty in every place, and when the swarms of locusts are driven thither by the force of the winds, then some of the inhabitants go to one part of the valley, and some to another, and set the grass and other combustible matter on fire, which was before thrown among the piles; whereupon arises a great and suffocating smoke, which so stifles the locusts as they fly over the vale, that they go not much farther before they fall down dead to the ground. This destruction of them is continued for many days together, so that they lie in great heaps: the country being full of salt, they gather

* The Oryx is a beast as big as a roe-buck, and has a horn so hard and sharp that it will pierce brass.

these heaps together, and season them sufficiently with this salt, which gives them an excellent relish, and preserves them a long time sweet without the least putrefaction, so that they have food ever ready at hand from these insects during all the rest of the year: for they neither concern themselves with flesh or fish, (being far remote from the sea), nor have any other provision for their support and sustenance. They are a little sort of people, very swift of foot, but exceeding short-lived, for they that live the longest never exceed forty: and as the manner of their death is strange and wonderful, so it is sad and most miserable: for, when they grow old, winged lice breed in their flesh, not only of divers sorts, but of horrid and ugly shapes. This plague begins first at the belly and breast, and in a little time eats and consumes the whole body. He that is seized with this distemper, first begins to itch a little, as if he had the scab, pleasure and trouble being mixed together. But afterwards, when the lice begin to break out at the skin, abundance of putrid matter (accompanied with intollerable sharp pain) issues out with them. Hereupon the sick person so tears himself in pieces with his own nails, that he sighs and groans most lamentably, and while he is thus scratching of himself, the lice come pouring out in such abundance one after another, as out of a vessel full of holes, and thus they miserably close and end their days. Whether this proceeds from the nature of their food, or the temper of the air, is uncertain.

Upon this nation there borders a large country, rich in fair pastures, but desert and uninhabited; not that there never were any people there, but that formerly, when it was inhabited, an immoderate rain happened, which bred a vast company of spiders and scorpions: and (as they write) these creatures did so increase, that though at the first the whole nation attempled to destroy these implacable enemies of their country, yet they were not able to master them, (for whosoever was bit or stung with them, immediately fell down dead), so that not kowing where to abide, or how to get food, they were forced to fly to some other place for relief. And this is not at all incredible, for we are assured by very good and substantial historians, that far more strange and wonderful things than those have happened in the world. For in Italy field-mice bred in such vast numbers, that they forced the inhabitants out of the country. In Media great flocks of sparrows ate up all the standing corn, so as the people were forced to remove elsewhere. The people called Autariats were forced, by frogs bred in the clouds, which poured down upon them instead of rain, to forsake their country, and fly to these parts where they are now settled. And who is there that is not well acquainted by antient histories, how among those many labours Her-

cules undertook to eternize his name, his driving those devouring birds out of the marshes of Stymphalides was one? And some cities of Libya were altogether depopulated by lions breaking in upon them. And these instances we have given to convince those that are apt to question whatsoever historians relate that seem strange and unusual. But to return to the orderly course of our history.

The southern border is inhabited by men whom the Grecians call Cynomones, or Cynomolges; but by the neighbouring barbarians they are called, in their own country language, wild Ethiopians. They wear long beards, and keep up numbers of fierce dogs to get them food: for, from the beginning of the summer solstice to the middle of winter, an innumerable number of Indian oxen come into their country. The reason of this is unknown; for it is uncertain whether they fly from cruel wild beasts, which in troops set upon them, or that they do it from want of pasture, or upon some other account, (the effect of nature, the parent of all wonders), which man's reason cannot comprehend. These oxen are so numerous, that the inhabitants are not able to master them; therefore they set loose their dogs upon them, and, by hunting them, take many, of which they eat some fresh, and others they salt up.

Many other beasts they kill with these large dogs, and by this means live upon flesh. The nations that lie farthest south live the lives of beasts under the shapes of men.

But it yet remains to speak of two other nations; the Ethiopians and the Troglodytes: but of the Ethiopians mention is made elsewhere, and therefore now we shall treat of the Troglodytes. The Grecians call them Nomades; for they live pastoral lives, in the manner of shepherds, and are divided into tribes under a monarchical government, and enjoy their wives and children in common, except only the wife of the king; yet if any of them happen to lie with her, he is only fined by the king in a certain number of sheep.

When the Etesian winds blow, (at which time there falls abundance of rain), they feed upon milk and blood mingled together, and boiled for a little time. Afterwards, when the pastures are burnt up with the scorching heat of the sun, they fly into the low marshes, where they often fight one with another for convenient pastures for their flocks: those cattle that grow old, or are sick, they knock on the head, and eat them; and from these always they have their food and sustenance: and therefore they never call any father and mother, but only a bull, an ox, a goat, or a sheep, of which they call the males fathers, and the females mothers, because they have their daily food from these, and not from their parents. Their ordinary drink

is a liquor strained out of the plant called Paliurus: but the drink for the noblemen and persons of quality is made of the juice of a flower no better than the worst of our wines. Because of their cattle, they often shift and remove from one pasture to another, and are very cautious and careful not to stay long in one place.

Their whole bodies are naked, except about their loins, which they cover with beast's skins. All the Troglodytes are circumcised, like the Egyptians, except those who, by reason of some accident, are called cripples; for these only, of all those that inhabit these straits, have from their infancy that member (which in others is only circumcised) wholly cut off with a razor. Among the Troglodytes, those called Megabareans for arms bear round shields made of the raw hides of oxen, and clubs bound round with iron at the thick ends; the rest are armed with bows and spears.

When they are dead, they tie them neck and heels with the twigs and branches of the plant Paliurus; then they carry the body to the top of a hill, where, with great sport and laughter, they pelt it with stones till it be covered over; and then they stick up a goat's horn upon the heap, and so leave it without the least sense of pity or compassion. They fight not one with another out of any spleen or rage one against another, like the Grecians, but merely for their flourishing pastures. In the beginning of their fights, they make their onsets with throwing of stones; after some wounds given on both sides, they fall to it with their bows and arrows, whereupon great numbers are slain in a short time; for, by long experience they become good marksmen, and being all naked, are exposed to every shot. At length their old women, by their entreaties, put an end to their conflicts, (whom they greatly reverence, for it is unlawful to do them the least harm), and therefore, as soon as they see them come towards them, they cease casting their darts immediately, and all are quiet.

When they grow so old that they cannot follow the flocks, they tie themselves by their necks to an ox's tail, and so put an end to their days: and if any defer his death, any one, as a friend, may first admonish him, and then, if he does it not, the other may cast a rope about his neck and strangle him. In the like manner it is lawful to put to death any that become lame, or are seiz'd with any desperate and incurable distemper: for they count it the highest and greatest offence for any one to love his life when he is able to do nothing worth living. And therefore all the Troglodytes are of sound bodies and of a strong and healthful age, none exceeding three score. But this shall suffice concerning the Troglodytes. Yet if this account

seem strange to any, and this manner of living incredible, let but the climate of Scythia be compared with that of the Troglodytes, and then this, our relation, may easily gain belief: for there is so great a difference between our climate and their's of which we write, that the different natures, being weighed and considered distinctly, are scarce credible. For in some places of Scythia, by the extremity of cold, the greatest rivers are so frozen, that vast armies and chariots may pass over them; and wine and other liquors do so congeal, that they must be cut with knives and hatchets. And most strangely and wonderfully men's fingers and toes drop off with rubbing against their clothes, and their eyes grow dark and dim. Neither can the fire cast any warmth or heat; and by the force of cold even brazen statues are burst asunder; and at these seasons, they say, the clouds are so thick and gross, that there is neither thunder nor lightning in those parts. Many other things there happen which seem incredible to the ignorant, but are intollerable to them that feel them by experience. But in the utmost coasts of Egypt and the Troglodytes, the sun is so scorching hot at mid-day, that two standing together cannot see each other, by reason of the thickness of the air. Neither is it safe for any to go without shoes in these parts, for if they do, the soles of their feet are presently blistered all over; and except men have something ready to drink, to quench their thirst, they forthwith faint and die, the violence of the heat quickly exhaling all the moisture out of a man's body: and, moreover, if any do put meat and water into a brazen pot, and set it in the open sun, it is presently boiled, without fire or fuel. But the inhabitants of both these countries are so far from seeking to avoid these uncomfortable circumstances, that they choose rather to be, as it were, ever dying here, than to be forced to live another sort of life elsewhere. And thus every country is beloved by its own natural inhabitants, and a long usage, even from the time of childhood, overcomes the inconveniences of an intemperate climate. These great differences of climates are sometimes not far asunder; for, from the lake Mæotis, (where some of the Scythians inhabit, in the midst of extreme cold and biting frost), many with a fair wind sail to Rhodes in ten days time; thence, in four days more, they reach to Alexandria; thence crossing the river Nile, they recover Ethiopia (most commonly) the tenth day; so that it is not above four-and-twenty day's sail from the coldest to the hottest climates in the world. And therefore it is no wonder that there is such diversity of food, manners and bodies so far differing from our's, when there is so great a contrariety of climates in so small a distance one from another.

Having given a distinct account of nations, and their strange and unusual manners and customs, something now is to be said particularly concerning the wild beasts bred in those countries.

There is bred in Ethiopia a creature called, from the nature of the beast, a Rhinoceros, for courage and strength equal to the elephant, but not so tall. His skin is exceeding hard, and of the colour of box. He has a flat horn growing out a little above his nostrils, as hard as iron. He is always at war with the elephant for his pasture, and for that purpose whets his horn against a great stone; in the conflict he gets under the belly of the elephant, and cuts and gashes him, as if it were with a sword; and by this means his enemy bleeds to death, and thus he destroys many of them. But if the elephant prevent him from coming under his belly, he catches the Rhinoceros up in his trunk, and easily overcomes him, being far stronger in body, and wounding deeper with the strokes of his tushes.

Sphinxes are bred near to the Troglodytes in Ethiopia, not much unlike those which the limners draw, save that they differ only in being rough. They are of a gentle nature, very docile, apt to learn any thing presently that is taught them.

Those that are called Cynocephales resemble ugly-faced men, and are continually snarling and grumbling. This creature is exceedingly malicious, never to be tamed; and, from his eye-brows, looks with a most surly countenance. The females are extraordinary remarkable, for having their privy parts continually hanging down out of their body.

The beast called Cepus, so named from the beauty of his body, and the comeliness of proportion. He has the face of a lion, and in all other parts is like to a panther, except that for his bigness he is as large as a deer. Of all these strange beasts, none is so fierce as the wild bull, which feeds upon flesh, and is altogether invincible: he is larger than any tame bull, and as swift as any horse, and his mouth is wide even up to his eyes: he is exceeding red, his eyes greyer than a lion's, and sparkling in the night like fire. His horns have a wonderful property, for he can move them as well as his ears, and when he fights keeps them fast and immoveable. His hair, contrary to all other beasts, stands on end. He is so exceeding fierce, that he will set upon the strongest creature whatsoever, and feeds upon the flesh of such as he destroys. He destroys the flocks and herds of the inhabitants, and in a terrible manner fights with troops of shepherds and whole armies of dogs at once. It is said his skin is impenetrable; and therefore, though many have attempted to kill him, yet none were ever able to effect it. If he fall into a pit, or be taken any other way by snares or gins laid for him, he choaks and stifles himself

with his unruly rage, and will not suffer any man to come near him, though ever so gently: and therefore the Troglodytes justly account this beast the strongest of all others; to whom nature has given the stoutness of a lion, the swiftness of a horse, and the strength of a bull; and which cannot be conquered by the sword, which subdues all other things.

There is another creature among the Ethiopians, called a Crocut, of a mixed nature, between a dog and a wolf, more fierce than them both, and exceeding all others for his tearing and biting. Let the bones be ever so great, he presently gnaws them in pieces, and digests them immediately, as soon as they come into his stomach. Some historians (who love to tell strange things) report that this beast will imitate the voice and speech of a man, which we cannot in the least credit.

The inhabitants bordering upon the deserts say that there are in these parts divers sorts of serpents, of an incredible bigness; for those that say they have seen some a hundred cubits long, are looked upon to be liars, not only by me, but by every one else. But to gain the more credit to their fabulous relation, they add a story far more absurd and improbable. For they say, that when these vast creatures lie rolled up in a round in the open plain, every circle lying one upon another, they seem like hills to those that are at a distance. But who can easily believe there are any such monstrous creatures?

But we shall say something of the greatest serpents (that ever were seen) which were brought to Alexandria in nets, discoursing, by the way, of the manner of the hunting and taking them.

For Ptolemy the Second, being very much given to the hunting of elephants, for that purpose encouraged, with great rewards, many that were skilful hunters of the strongest wild beasts, and not sparing costs (in gratifying the pleasure he took in this kind) he got together great multitudes of elephants, which he trained up for his wars; by which means many strange beasts, which were never seen before, became known to the Grecians.

Upon these considerations some of the huntsmen, knowing the generosity and bounty of the king in his rewards for things of this nature, agreed together, at the hazard of their lives, to bring, if it were but one of these monstrous serpents, alive to the king, to Alexandria. It was a bold and difficult undertaking; but fortune crowned the enterprise, and prosperity effected the attempt. They spied a serpent lying in the standing pools, thirty cubits long, still and quiet, as it is wont to do at all times, save when he spies any beast come to the water to drink, and then he suddenly leaps out, and with his

wide jaws, and the winding himself round about their bodies, holds them so fast as that they can never escape).

Hereupon these persons, considering he was so very long, and naturally dull and slow, conceived some hopes of catching him in gins and chains, having all things ready and prepared for the purpose; but the nearer they came to him, the more they were terrified, and when they saw his eyes kindle like sparks of fire, his tongue slapping about his jaws, his terrible hissing, the sharpness of his scales, his rustling among the reeds and bushes when he began to stir himself, the greatness of his terrible teeth, his horrible aspect and high round whereunto he had wound himself, they grew wan and pale with excessive fear, and with trembling hands cast the gin upon his tail; upon which, as soon as it touched him, the monster rolled about with a terrible hiss, and lifting up himself above the head of the first that approached him, he snapped him up, and tore him in pieces. The second he catched by the winding of his tail, at a great distance, when he was making away, and (winding himself round him) held him fast round the middle of his belly. Hereupon the rest were so affrighted, that away they fled; however, they did not so leave the monster, for the hopes of the king's bounty overcame the fear of the imminent danger; and therefore, what they could not do by force, they endeavoured to effect by art, making use of the following contrivance. They made a toil of bulrushes, in shape like to a bosom net, large enough to receive and hold the beast; observing, therefore, his hole, and the time when he went out to feed, and when he returned, as soon as he was gone forth to hunt for his usual prey, they stopped up the mouth of his den with great stones and earth, and near to it dug another hole, and there placed the toil made of bulrushes, just over against the mouth of the hole, that the entrance might be plain and open. Then, as he returned from feeding, the darters, slingers, and a great number of horsemen, with trumpeters and other assailants, set upon him, and the monster (as he came nearer to them) pricked up his head far above the heads of the horsemen, but none of the whole troop of hunters durst come near him, being made cautious by the former misfortune; but many cast darts at him all at once at a great distance; so that, by the sight of the horses, multitudes of great dogs, and the noise of trumpets, they terrified the beast, and pursued him cautiously by degrees, till he came to his hold, lest, by pressing too hard and close upon him, he should be too much provoked and enraged.

Now, approaching near to the mouth of the den before prepared for him, they all at once made a great noise with beating upon their arms; and so, with such a multitude of men, and the noise and sound

of trumpets, they exceedingly terrified the monster, who, not finding his former hold, and fearing the hunters, flies into the mouth of that which was open and near at hand. In the mean time, while he was filling the net, by rolling of himself round in it, some forthwith rode up with full speed to the place, who (before the beast could wind up himself) tied up the mouth of the net, which was to the top made very long, on purpose for quickness of despatch in this business. Then, with all speed, they put rollers under the massy weight of the net, to lift it up, and so drew it forth. The serpent, being thus shut up, hissed most dreadfully, gnawing the bulrushes with his teeth, and tossing himself to and fro, as if he were just leaping out of the net, which the hunters exceedingly fearing he would do, drew him out upon the ground, and by often pricking him in the tail, caused him to snap and bite there, where was most sensible of pain. At length they brought him to Alexandria, and presented the beast to the king; a most strange monster, and almost incredible. And to admiration this creature was afterwards made tame: for, keeping him low, in want of food, he abated in his fierceness, so as by degrees to be very gentle. Ptolemy liberally rewarded the hunters, and kept and fed the serpent thus tamed, a most wonderful sight to all strangers that travelled into his kingdom.

It may not, therefore, be judged altogether incredible (or accounted a fable) what the Ethiopians have related, since so vast a monster has been exposed to open view. For they affirm that there have been seen serpents amongst them of that extraordinary bigness, that they have not only devoured cows and bulls, and other beasts of that size, but have even fought with elephants themselves: for they so wrap themselves round their thighs, and hold them so fast, that they are not able to move or stir, and, pricking up their heads from under the elephant's trunk, and looking direct upon them full in the face, with the fiery rays that dart out of their eyes, strike them blind, so that they fall down to the ground as if they were struck with a flash of lightning, and when they are down, they tear them in pieces.

And now, since we have given a clear and sufficient account of Ethiopians and Troglodyta, and the bordering countries as far as to the torrid zone, and of the southern coasts and climates of the Red sea, and the Atlantic ocean, we shall proceed to the description of the other parts bordering upon the Arabian gulf, which we have learnt partly from the public records in Alexandria, and partly from those that have seen the places themselves. For this part of the inhabited world, as likewise the British isles, and the places lying far to the north, are the least known of any other. But we shall describe those northern parts which border upon the frigid zone, together

with the British isles, when we come to treat of the acts of Caius Cæsar, who enlarged the bounds of the Roman empire as far as to those parts, and by his means we come to the knowledge of all those countries which were altogether unknown to us before.

CHAP. III.

A description of the coasts and countries on both sides the Arabian gulf, or Red sea. The perfumes of Arabia the Happy. The Fortunate Islands. A description of part of Libya: the Spectres near the Syrtes.

THE Arabian gulf (as it is called) empties itself into the Southern ocean, and stretches out many furlongs in length; where it falls into the sea, it is both bounded with Arabia and Troglodyta. It's breadth both at the mouths, and where it is lost in the sea, is about fifteen furlongs. But from the port of Panormus, the opposite shore, is one day's sailing: the greatest breadth is at Mount Tyrceus, and Macaria, where the sea is very rough and tempestuous; nor can land be seen from one side to another; and from thence it grows narrower, till it falls into the ocean.

In the sea are many great islands, between which the passage for ships is very narrow, and the water very rough. And this, in short, is the situation of this gulf. We shall begin at the utmost parts of this sea, and describe the coasts on both sides, and what is remarkable in each, as if we were sailing along.

And first, we shall give an account of the coast on the right hand, the seat of the Troglodytes: the Troglodytes take up all this part as far as to the vast deserts. All along the shore on this right side, from the city of Arsinoe, mariners meet with many rivers of salt-water, pouring down from the rocks into the sea.

After the passing these running fountains, appears a mountain in a vast and large plain of a red colour, which dazzles the eyes of all those that look earnestly upon it. At the foot of this mountain is a lake, with an entrance of many windings and turnings into it, known by the name of Aphrodites; in this are three islands, two of which abound with figs and olives; but the third has neither, yet breeds great numbers of those birds they call Meleagrides.

From hence you sail through a vast gulf, called Filthy, or Acathar-

tus; and near unto it is an exceeding deep current, making a peninsula, carrying ships through a narrow strait into the open sea on the other side. In sailing along by these places, there lies an island, surrounded with a deep sea, fourscore furlongs in length, called the Serpent's Island, because that in former times it abounded with divers sorts of dreadful serpents; but in after-times, by the diligence of the kings of Alexandria, it was so improved, that now there is not the least sign of any such beast there. But it is not to be omitted for what reason this island was with so much charge improved: the chief reason was, for that in this island was found the topaz, a resplendent stone, of a delightful aspect, like to glass, of a golden colour, and of admirable brightness; and therefore all were forbidden to set footing upon that place; and if any landed there, he was presently put to death by the keepers of the island. These keepers were few, and lived a most miserable life. And lest the stones should be stolen and carried off, there was not a ship left there; and if any by chance pass near to these places, (out of fear of the king), they sail away as far off as they can. The provision that is imported is commonly soon spent, and there is nothing to be had that grows naturally in the island; and therefore, when their store grows low, all the inhabitants of the village sit upon the shore, waiting and longing for the arrival of the provision-ships; and if they stay longer than ordinary, the people are driven to the utmost desperation.

This stone grows in the rocks, darkened by the brightness of the sun; it is not seen in the day, but shines bright and glorious in the darkest night, and discovers itself at a great dissance. The keepers of the island disperse themselves into several places to searoh for this stone, and wherever it appears, they mark the place with a great vessel, of largeness sufficient to cover the sparkling stone; and then, in the day time, go to the place, and cut out the stone, and deliver it to those that are artists in polishing of them.

Then, sailing on farther from these parts, appear many of those nations called the Ichthyophages, dispersed along the sea-shore; and many likewise of those Troglodytes called Nomades; several mountains likewise present themselves in this course, as far as to the haven called Safe-port, which gained this name from some Grecians that first sailed into these parts, and there arrived safe.

Thence passing on, the gulf begins to grow narrower, and bends its course towards Arabia: and the peculiar property of the places is such, that both the nature of the sea, and the soil, seem to be changed; for the land appears very flat and low, without any hills or rising ground, and the sea seems to be muddy and green all over, and is not above two fathoms and a half deep. This greenness is not as-

cribed to the nature of the water, but to the abundance of moss and sea-grass that grows at the bottom, and casts their colour through the water.

This part is very safe and commodious for small ships with oars, because the sea is there very calm, and no roughness of the waves for many leagues; and there they take abundance of fish. But the mariners that transport elephants run into great and desperate hazards, by reason of the strong built ships they use for that purpose, and the depth of water they draw. For oftentimes they are so driven by the violence of the winds, at full sail in the night time, that they are either split upon the rocks, or stranded upon some of the deep sanded necks of land thereabouts; and there is no going for the mariners out of the ship, because the ford is above the height of any man; neither can they force the ship in the least forward with their poles: and although they throw all overboard but their victuals, yet (even while they have provision) they are reduced to the utmost extremities; for neither island, promontory, or ship, is to be seen in these parts, being desert, and seldom frequented by mariners.

And to the other inconveniences, this further is an addition; the violent waves on a sudden raise up such heaps of sand out of the channel, and so enclose the ship, as if men on purpose had fixed it to some continent: being plunged into this calamity, at first they only gently and modestly breathe out their complaints to a doleful wilderness, which regards them not, yet not altogether despairing of deliverance.

For often, by the raging working of the sea, the ship is mounted up on high above the heaps of sand, and so the poor creatures that were in this desperate condition are unexpectedly (as by some god, assisting them out of an engine) delivered. But if this help from God do not intervene, when their provision grows low, the stronger throw the weaker overboard, that the meat that is left may last the longer for the support of those few that remain: but at length, when all hope of safety is gone, and provision spent, these few die far more miserably than those that perished before: for these, in a moment of time, give up that breath which nature had given them, but those (by prolonging their misery, and dividing, as it were, their sorrows into several parts) die at last with more lingering torments. The ships, being in this miserable manner deprived of their pilots and mariners, continue a long time as so many solitary sepulchres; and at length, being buried in heaps of sand, their lofty masts and main-yards remain only spectacles to move compassion in them that see them afar off: for, by the king's command, the monuments of these misfortunes are not to be touched, but are to remain as sea-marks to

mariners to avoid those dangerous places. It has been an antient report among the Ichthyophages, (the inhabitants of those tracts) continued down to them from their forefathers, that by a mighty reflux of the sea (which happened in former days) where the sea is thus green, the whole gulf became dry land, and appeared green all over, and that the water overflowed the opposite shore, and that all the ground being thus bare to the very lowest bottom of the gulf, the water, by an extraordinary high tide, returned again into the antient channel*.

The navigation from Ptolemais† to the promontory of Taurus has been described when we spoke of Ptolemy's pleasure in hunting of elephants: from Taurus the sea-coasts turn towards the east.

Here, from the time of the summer to the winter solstice, the sun casts the shadow to the south, contrary to what it does with us. This country is watered with rivers flowing down from the Psebarian mountains, (as they are called), and is divided into many spacious plains, which produce mallows, cardamum, and extraordinary palm-trees, and divers other fruits of an unsavory taste, altogether unknown to us. The south parts of this country are full of elephants, wild bulls, lions, and other wild beasts. In passing over to this coast, there lie several islands in the way, which are altogether barren as to any fruit that is grateful, but in them are bred strange sorts of birds, and wonderful to view and observe. From hence, sailing forward, the sea is exceedingly deep, and abounds with mighty great whales, which yet do no harm, unless any (by chance) run upon their erected fins; for they cannot pursue the ships, because when they rise up towards the top of the water, they are struck blind by the brightness and splendour of the sun. These are the utmost bounds of Troglodyta (known to us) environed with the Psebarian promontories.

And now we shall pass over to the other side of the gulf, and take a view of the regions lying towards Arabia, beginning again at that part of the sea which is called Neptunium, because Ariston erected there an altar in honour of Neptune, when Ptolemy sent him to discover the Arabian coast as far as to the ocean. From thence to the mouth of the gulf, is a place along the sea-coast, of great esteem among the inhabitants for the profit it yields them; it is called the Garden of Palm-trees, because they abound there, and are so very fruitful, that they yield sufficient both for pleasure and necessity. But the whole country next adjoining is destitute of rivers and brooks, and, lying to the south, is even burned up by the heat of the sun;

* This seems to be the passage of the Israelites over the Red sea.

† Ptolemais, not in Phœnicia, but that bordering upon the Red sea.

and therefore this fruitful tract that lies amongst dry and barren regions, (far remote from tillage and improvement), and yet affords such plenty of food and provision, is justly by the barbarians dedicated to the gods. For there are in it many fountains and running streams as cold as snow, by which means the region from one side to the other is always green and flourishing, and very sweet and pleasant to the view. In this place there is an antient altar of hard stone, with an inscription in old and illegible characters; where a man and a woman (that execute here the priest's office during their lives) have the charge of the grove and altar. They are persons of quality and great men that abide here, and for fear of the beasts, have their beds (they rest upon) in the trees.

The mariner passing by this country of palms, arrives at an island near to a promontory of the continent, which is called the Island of Sea-calves, from the great multitudes of those creatures that frequent this place. The sea here so abounds with them, that it is to the admiration of the beholders.

The promontory that shoots out towards this island lies over against Petra in Arabia and Palestine. It is said that the Gerrheans and Minæans bring out of the higher Arabia frankincense and other odoriferous gums into this island.

The coast next adjoining has been antiently inhabited by the Marrameans, and afterwards by the Garyndaneans their neighbours, who got possession in this manner.

At the festival celebrated every fifth year in the palm country, a great concourse of the neighbours meet together from all parts, both to sacrifice stall-fed camels to the gods of the grove, and likewise to carry some of the spring-water that rises there back into their own country, which they say is physical.

The Garyndaneans taking the opportunity when the Marrameans were gone to the feast, cut the throats of all those that remained at home, and lay in wait for those that returned, and in their way homeward, slew all them likewise; and so, the country being by this means depopulated, they divided that fruitful region, and those rich pastures for flocks and herds, by lot amongst themselves.

But this coast has very few harbours in it, by reason of the many vast mountains that lie all along as they sail; from whence is presented to the view such variety of colours, that they afford a most wonderful and delightful prospect to the passengers at sea as they sail along.

The promontory of Alainites next salutes them that sail on forward, full of towns and villages inhabited by the Arabians called Nabatheans. They possess a large country all along the sea-coast,

and go far likewise up into the land: this tract is very populous, and exceeding rich in cattle. Once they lived justly and honestly, content with the sustenance they had from their flocks and herds; but after that the kings of Alexandria allowed liberty to merchants to traffic in the Red sea, they not only robbed them that were shipwrecked, but provided little skiffs, and acted the pirates, and spoiled all other merchants that trafficked in those seas, imitating the Taurians of Pontus in cruelty and inhumanity. But afterwards, being beaten in a fight at sea by some galleys sent out against them, they were punished according to their demerits.

After the passing of these tracts, follows a flat champaign country, watered in every part, which (by the advantage of the many springs and fountains that are in it) abounds in rich pastures, and produces great plenty of medica and lotus, as high as a man. Here, in these pastures, are fed not only an infinite number of cattle of all sorts, but of wild camels, harts, and red and fallow deer. This extraordinary plenty invites lions, wolves, and leopards, out of the deserts, with whom the shepherds and herdsmen are forced to have conflicts night and day for the preservation of their flocks and herds: and thus the richness of the country occasions mischief and prejudice. For nature often distributes her gifts with a mixture of good and evil.

In sailing farther along by this champaign country, the gulf offers to the view something strange and wonderful: for it shoots up with a bending course into the inland parts, five hundred furlongs in length, walled in on both sides with high and steep rocks, so that both the entrance and passage is very difficult: for the rocks that lie under water so stop up the entrance, that it is scarce possible to enter into the gulf, or come out; and by the continual dashing of the floods with the violence of the winds beating upon the shore, it foams terribly, and rages on every side the rock.

The people that inhabit these parts are called Bizomenians, and live upon wild beasts taken in hunting. Here is a sacred temple in high veneration among all the Arabians.

Three islands are adjoining to the shore of these tracts, which have many ports: the first, which is desert, they say is consecrated to Isis. There remain the foundations of the antient buildings and pillars, whereon are inscriptions in barbarous characters; the rest are as much defaced and ruined, yet they are shaded with olive trees planted here and there, much different from our's.

Beyond these islands there are steep rocks, hard to pass, all along the shore, for the space of a thousand furlongs: for there is neither port nor anchorage for ships, nor any wood which can afford

any necessary relief to mariners, be they in ever so great wants and extremities. To this shore adjoins a mountain roofed over with craggy rocks of a stupendous height; and at the foot are many sharp shelves, which lie under water, and behind them many winding hollows, worn wide by the raging waves dashing one upon another; and the sea being very deep, when a storm beats upon them, and the water rebounds, they make a noise like a mighty thunder; and part of the waves dashing against those huge rocks, mount up in a curl, and foam to admiration; and part being swallowed up within these caverns, cause such a terrible whirlpool, that they that are driven (against their wills) near to these places, are ready to die for fear. The Arabians called Thamudanians inhabit this coast.

Next adjoining to this perilous sea is a mighty great gulf, which washes many islands dispersed in it here and there, to the view not much unlike to the Echinades*.

All along this coast, which is very long and broad, lie high heaps of black sand.

Thence, sailing forward, is presented to the view a peninsula†, where there is the most famous port of any mentioned by historians, called Carmutha: for it lies under a large key, where the gulf, as it inclines to the west, is not only wonderfully pleasant to the view, but far more commodious than any other.

A woody mountain hangs over it, a hundred furlongs in compass. The mouth of the haven is two hundred feet broad, affording a very calm and safe harbour, where two thousand sail may ride: the water, moreover, is exceeding good and sweet, a large river emptying itself into it. In the middle of it lies an island full of good water, and fit for gardening. To conclude, it is in every respect like to the port at Carthage, called Cothon, the commodiousness of which we shall speak of in its proper place. By reason of the quietness and sweetness of the water, abundance of fish come into it out of the ocean.

Sailing forward, appear five exceeding high mountains, spiring up like the pyramids of Egypt, so close as if they all united into one at the point: thence the gulf appears in a round form, surrounded with large and high promontories: in the very middle of which rises a hill, in form of a table, upon which stand three temples of a wonderful height, dedicated to gods unknown, indeed, to the Greeks, but in great honour and veneration with the inhabitants. Hence the coast shoots out forward a long way, abounding with fountains and fresh water. On this coast is the mountain Chabinus, covered over with

* Little islands near Acarnania in Greece.

† Or an Isthmus, or Chersonesus.

divers shady woods. The country lying at the foot of the mountain is inhabited by Arabians called Debæ, who employ themselves in feeding herds of camels, which they make use of in their most weighty concerns: for they ride upon these when they charge their enemy, carry upon them their victuals, and use them upon every speedy despatch; they drink their milk, and feed upon their flesh, and with their dromedary camels they presently run over all the country. There runs a river through the country which carries along with it such abundance of gold sand, that at the mouth of it, where it falls into the sea, the soil seems to shine and glister like gold; but the making and refining of gold is altogether unknown to the inhabitants. They entertain not all sorts of strangers, but only the Bœotians and the Peloponnesians, by reason of the antient familiarity of Hercules with this nation, as they have fabulously received it from their ancestors.

The region next adjoining to this, (which is not so burning hot as those near unto it, but often covered with thick clouds, whence fall snow, and seasonable showers, which moderate the heat of the air) is inhabited by the Alilæans and Gasandians, another people of Arabia. The land there is rich, and capable of bringing forth any kind of grain or fruit whatsoever; but, through the unskilfulness of the inhabitants, who addict themselves chiefly to fishing, the ground is not tilled and improved as it ought. Abundance of gold is got there out of several hollows in the earth, not refined by melting of little pieces, but growing there naturally pure, which, from the nature of it, is called *Apyros**. The least piece of it is as big as an ordinary nut-kernel, the greatest not much bigger than a large nut. The inhabitants wear them about their arms and necks, interlaced with several bright sparkling stones. But as they abound in gold, so they are as much wanting in iron and brass, and therefore they exchange gold with the merchants for the like weight in iron and brass.

Next to these inhabit those Arabians called Carbi, and next to them the Sabeans, the most populous of any of the Arabians, for they possess Arabia the Happy, exceeding rich in all those things which we esteem most precious; and for breeding of cattle of all sorts, the most fertile country in the world; for the whole country is naturally perfumed all over, every thing almost growing there sending forth continually most excellent odours. On the sea-coasts grow balsam and cassia, and another herb of a strange and peculiar property, which while it is fresh is delightful and strengthening to the eyes, but kept a-while, presently loses its virtue. Higher in the heart of the coun-

* Gold without fire.

try, are shady woods and forests, graced and beautified with stately trees of frankincense and myrrh, palm-trees, calamus, and cinnamon, and such like odoriferous plants: for none can enumerate the several natures and properties of so great a multitude, or the excellency of those sweet odours that breathe out of every one of them. For their fragrancy is such, that it even ravishes the senses with delight, as a thing divine and unutterable; it entertains them that sail along by the coast at a great distance with its pleasures and delights. For in spring-time the winds from off the land waft the air, perfumed with the sweet odours of myrrh and other odoriferous plants, to those parts of the sea that are next to them. And these spices have nothing of a faint and languishing smell, as those that come to our hands, but a strong and vigorous odour that strongly pierces all their senses to the utmost of their capacity: for the wafts of air dispersing the perfumes of these odoriferous plants, abundance of pleasant, healthful, and strange variety of scents (proceeding from the richest spices) are conveyed to them that sail near unto the coast. For this sweet smell comes not from fruit bruised in a mortar (whose strength is in a great measure decayed) or from spices made up in divers sorts of vessels for transportation; but from the ripeness of the fruit as it grows, and from the pure and divine nature of the plant itself. So that they that have the advantage of these sweet odours, seem as if they were entertained with that feigned meat of the gods called Ambrosia; since those excellent perfumes cannot have a name ascribed them transcending their worth and dignity.

Yet fortune has not imparted to men an entire and unmixed felicity in these things, but has joined some inconveniences with these advantages, to correct them who (through a constant confluence of earthly blessings) have usually despised and slighted the gods. For these fragrant forests abound with red* serpents of a span long, whose bite is deadly and incurable. They strike a man with a violent assault, leaping up in his very face, leaving him besmeared with his own blood.

There is something very remarkable amongst these people, as to them that have been long sick: for, being that things of a more than ordinary piercing operation pass quick through the pores of the body, and so discuss the stubborn matter, there follows a dissipation of humours, and the party becomes curable: therefore they burn brimstone mixed with goat's hair under the noses of the sick, that by a contrary smell they may discuss and drive out those sweet and fragrant odours that have overpowered the spirits of the sick; for that

* Or fiery serpents. So Agatharchidas, in Plutarch, Symp. lib. 8, c. 9, concerning the little serpents.

which is good in itself, is profitable and delightful, used moderately and seasonably; but an immoderate enjoyment, and beyond a due proportion of time, loses the benefit and advantage of the blessing bestowed.

The capital city of this nation is called Saba*, and stands upon an high hill: they are governed by kings who inherit the crown by descent; yet the honour allowed them by their subjects is such, as that they are in some respects, notwithstanding, in a sort of bondage and slavery: for though they seem to be privileged in this, that they have a sovereign and absolute power in making of laws, and are not to give an account of any of their actions to their subjects; yet they are as unhappy in this, that they are never to stir out of their palace, for if they do, the people stone them to death, for so they are commanded by an antient oracle.

This nation not only excels all the neighbouring barbarians in wealth, but all other people whatsoever, for plenty of every thing that is accounted precious: for in their traffic, for a thing of a very small weight they receive a greater sum of money than any other merchants that sell goods for silver.

Being, therefore, that they never were conquered, by reason of the largeness of their country, they flow, as it were, in streams of gold and silver, especially at Saba, the seat-royal of their kings: their vessels, and all their cups are of gold and silver, and likewise their beds, chairs, and stools, have their feet of silver; and all other their household stuff is so sumptuous and magnificent, that it is incredible. The porticoes of their houses and temples are some of them overlaid with gold, and silver statues are placed upon some of the chapiters of the temples. The doors and roofs of their inner rooms are adorned with many golden bowls, set with precious stones. The like wonderful cost they are at throughout their whole building, adorning them in some parts with silver and gold, in others with ivory and precious stones, and other things of great value: for they have enjoyed a constant and uninterrupted peace for many ages and generations, being very far remote from those whose covetousness prompts them to advance their gain by the riches of others.

The sea there is of a very white colour, so that a man may as justly wonder at the strangeness of the thing, as be inquisitive what should be the cause.

Near hereunto are the Fortunate Islands, full of walled towns, where all the sheep and cattle are exceeding white, and none of the females bear any horns. The merchants from all parts resort to these islands, especially from Potana, built by Alexander the Great, upon

* Or Sabe, from Seba, the eldest son of Chus.

the banks of the river Indus, that there might be a commodious port-town for shipping upon those coasts: but of this country and its inhabitants we have said enough.

And now we are not to omit what wonders are seen there in the heavens: what is said of the North Pole* is greatly to be admired, and puts all mariners at a stand: for, during the month which the Athenians call *Memacterion*†, none of the seven stars are seen about the Bear, till the first watch of the night; and in *Posidon*‡, not till the second: in the following months, few of these (it is said) are seen by them at sea, nor any of the planets at all. As for the rest, some of them seem to be greater at the time of their rising than they do with us, others not to rise and set in the same manner. Nor that the sun (as with us) enlightens the air upon the approach of its rising, but even while it is dark night, strangely and on a sudden appears, darting forth his refulgent rays: and therefore there both day and sun appear together. They say it rises out of the middle of the sea like a burning coal, and shoots forth great sparks of fire, and appears not in a round form, (as it seems to do with us), but like to a pillar, something thicker than ordinary towards the head; and that it shines not bright, nor casts forth any rays, till one o'clock, but glows like fire in the night, without light; at two o'clock, it resembles the form of a shield, and sends forth on a sudden a fiery scorching light, even to admiration. But, near the time of its setting, its effects are contrary; for, during the space of two (or, as Agatharchidas of Cnidus says) three hours before (which is the most pleasant part of the day to the inhabitants) he both enlightens the world by his rays, and abates in his heat as he sets by degrees.

The west, south, north-west, and east winds blow here, as in other parts of the world; but the south winds never blow, nor are ever known, in Ethiopia. But in Troglodyta and Arabia, the south winds are so exceeding hot, that they sometimes set whole woods on fire; and, though the inhabitants run into their cottages for shelter, yet they faint and pine away with heat; therefore north winds are justly judged the best, which run through the whole earth, and are always cool and refreshing.

Having now given an account of these countries, it will well agree with the course of our history, to describe Libya, bordering upon Egypt; for in Cyrene, the Syrtes, and in the midlands, inhabit four sorts of Africans: those called Nasomones possess the parts towards the south; the Auchises the west; the Marmarides inhabit that large tract lying between Cyrene and Egypt, as far as to the sea-coast:

* Bear. † December. ‡ January.

the Macæ, the most populous of all the rest, have their habitations near the Syrtes.

Some of these beforementioned people are husbandmen, as having fertile lands, fit for all sorts of tillage: others are shepherds and herdsmen, who employ themselves in feeding of cattle, and maintain themselves and families by that means. Both sorts are under a kingly government, not living altogether like wild beasts, or uncivilized. A third sort there is, that are neither subject to any king, nor have any knowledge of good or bad, or regard to right or wrong, but live continually upon spoil and robbery: they make sudden eruptions out of the deserts: these rob and steal whatever is in their way, and then presently make away back to their former lurking holes.

All these rude Libyans lie in the fields in the open air, and live like wild beasts, contriving how they may be most cruel: they affect neither dainty food, nor civil raiment, but are clothed in goat's skins.

Their princes have neither city nor town, but live in castles near the sides of rivers, where they lay up all their stores. They command all their subjects once a-year to take an oath of allegiance: those that are obedient and observant of them, they protect as friends and associates: those that refuse to submit, they condemn to die, and prosecute them with fire and sword, as thieves and robbers. Their arms are suitable to the nature of their country and their own disposition; for, being nimble, and inhabiting a country for the most part champaign, they go to the field in times of war, each with their darts, and a bag filled with stones. But they use neither sword nor helmet, nor any other arms, but make it chiefly their business to be quick and nimble in pursuing and retreating; and therefore are very active in running, and slinging of stones, care and continual exercise improving natural habits. They are neither just nor faithful to strangers in any of their compacts.

The country about Cyrene is a fat soil, and very fertile: it not only abounds in corn, but in wine and oil, fruit-trees and pastures, and is watered with many rivers.

But those parts that lie far south are barren and dry, without water, and look like the sea, where there is no variety of objects, but all on every side waste and desert; over which there is no possibility of passing, and therefore there is neither bird nor four-footed beast to be seen, except it be deer or oxen: neither is there so much as any plant, or any thing else for the eye to fix upon; for the parts farther up into the land (for a long way together) are all full of heaps of sand. And as it is destitute of all things for the support of man's

life, so it abounds as much in serpents of all shapes and sizes, especially those which they call Cerestes, whose bites are mortal, and they themselves of the same colour with the sand; and therefore, not being discerned or distinguished from the soil, many (treading upon them unawares) run the hazard of losing their lives.

It is reported that this sort of serpents once entered Egypt, and depopulated a great part of the country.

There is likewise a strange and wonderful thing often happens in this country, both in the deserts and that part lying near to the Syrtes. For some time, and most commonly in calm weather, there appear in the air the shapes of divers living creatures, some standing still, others moving, some flying, others pursuing, and are of that monstrous bigness, that they greatly terrify such as are ignorant of the nature of them. Some of them pursue men, and when they take hold of them, a chilliness, with a trembling, seizes upon all parts of their bodies; and therefore strangers, unaccustomed to such things, are ready to fall down dead with fear; but the natural inhabitants (being used to them) regard them not.

Some natural philosophers endeavour to give a reason for these strange apparitions, which look indeed like mere invented fables: they say that there are never any winds in this country, and if there be any, they are very small and inconsiderable, and that the air is often so wonderfully serene, that it is altogether without the least motion, in regard, that near those parts there are neither woods, deep valleys, nor swelling hills; neither are there any great rivers that run through the country, nor any sort of grain or other fruits that grow there; and therefore there is nothing from whence any vapours can arise, which are the productive matter of winds. The air, therefore, being thick in this dry and sandy region, the same things happen here in Libya as do upon rainy days elsewhere, where, in the clouds, various shapes and forms may be observed: because the air, being concreted, transforms itself into many shapes, which, being wafted up and down with gentle gales, and with often brushing one upon another, are consolidated, and carried about hither and thither.

At length, when the air is serene and calm, these phenomena, by their weight, fall to the earth in that shape that each have accidentally before received; and being that there is nothing at hand to dissolve it, what sort of living creature soevor it meets with, it cleaves to it.

And as for that motion to and fro which they seem to have (they say) it is not directed by any voluntary faculty; for that it is impossible any inanimate things should have a will either to fly or pursue;

but the living creatures to which they adhere are the secret causes of their several motions.

For, in their going forward, they drive the air before them, and therefore the spectre, which is made up of air, seems gradually to go forward, and resemble one that flies; and by the rule of contraries, when the body to which it approaches goes back, the resemblances appear as if they pursued; forasmuch as, being but empty and airy images, they are attracted by the more solid bodies; for, by the force of the attraction the other way, they move again towards the fore-parts of the body attracting; and whether the flying animated bodies turn or stand still, the spectre is still with it; and then it is no strange thing, or unreasonable, for the image to dissolve when it joins to a solid animate body, and so, by diffusing itself, to affect it with a chilling cold.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Amazons of Africa. Their acts: rooted out by Hercules; and the Gorgons by Perseus. The Atlantides, and the gods among them. The origin of the Titanes. The acts of Basilea, or Cybele, said to be born in Phrygia. The origin of Atlas and Saturn. A long account given of Bacchus, and the several Bacchuses there were. A description of the Grotto in Nysa, where he was brought up. The building of the temple of Ammon by him. The several Herculeses. The monsters Ægides and Campes killed by Minerva and Bacchus.

HAVING now run over those things before mentioned, it will be pertinent in this place to relate what is reported concerning the antient Amazons of Africa: for many have been persuaded into this error, as to believe that there never were any but those that inhabited upon the banks of the river Thermodon in Pontus; but in truth it is quite otherwise, for those in Africa were far more antient and famous than any of the rest.

Though we are not ignorant that the account to be given of these will seem very strange, and a mere novelty to the readers, being that the race of those Amazons were extinct long before the Trojan war; but these viragoes about the river Thermodon flourished not long before these our days: for what wonder is it that the latter (the know-

ledge of whom is so fresh) should seem more renowned than the more antient, who are altogether unknown (through length of time) to the greatest part of mankind?

Forasmuch, therefore, as many things are reported of them both by the antient poets and historians, and also by many later authors, we shall likewise endeavour to give a distinct and orderly account of their actions, following the example of Dionysius, who wrote the history of the Argonauts and Bacchus, and many other actions performed in antient times.

In Africa there was not one race only of women who were famous for valour and warlike exploits: for we are informed that the Gorgons (against whom Perseus made war) for courage and valour were eminent: how famous and potent they were, may be gathered hence, inasmuch as that son of Jupiter* (the most eminent hero among the Grecians in his time) made choice of this expedition as the greatest and most noble enterprise. And as for the Amazons, of whom we are now about to write, their valour was most eminently remarkable, if we compare them with the greatest spirited women of our own times.

In the western parts of Africa, upon the borders of those tracts that are inhabitable, there were antiently a nation under the government of women, whose manners and course of living were altogether different from ours. It was the custom for those women to manage all matters of war; and, for a certain time keeping themselves virgins, they went out as soldiers into the field, and, after so many years spent in their warfare, they accompanied with men, for the preservation of posterity; but the magistracy, and all public offices, they kept wholly in their own hands, and the men (as the women do with us) looked to the household affairs, submitting to whatever was thought fit to be done by the wives, and were not upon any terms admitted to intermeddle in martial affairs, or to command, or be in any public authority, which might any ways encourage them to cast off the yoke of their wives.

As soon as any child was born, they delivered it to the father to nurse it up with milk and other meat agreeable to its age. If it were a girl, they seared off its paps, lest they should be burthensome when they grew up, for they looked upon them to be great hindrances in fighting; and from the searing of their paps, the Grecians called them Amazons.

It is reported they inhabit an island called Hisperia, because it lies to the west, near to the morass called Tritonis: this fen, they say, is near to the ocean, which surrounds it, and is called Titronis,

* Perseus.

from a river that runs into it, called Titron. This morass borders upon Ethiopia, under the greatest mountain in those parts, called by the Grecians Atlas, extending itself to the ocean.

This island, they say, is very large, abounding with all sorts of fruit-trees, which supply the inhabitants with food: that they have many herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep and goats, which feed their possessors both with their milk and flesh: but that they had no sort of corn, for that in those times they knew not what it was.

These Amazons, therefore, for valour eminent above all others, and heated with an ambitious desire of war, first subdued all the cities of this island (except one called Mena, accounted sacred) inhabited now by the Ethopians, called Ichthophages: it is often scorched with many eruptions of fire, which break out of the earth, and its bowels are enriched with precious stones, which the Grecians call anthraces*, sardes†, and smaragdos‡.

Afterwards, having subdued many of the neighbouring Africans and Numidians, they built a great city in the morass Tritonis, which for the shape of it was called Chersonesus.

Then being further instigated by their innate valour and courage, they attempted greater matters, and invaded many other countries. And first they attacked them upon mount Atlas, a soft sort of people, who enjoyed a rich country full of great cities; among whom (in those parts bordering upon the ocean) the gods first had their origin, as the Grecians fabulously report, of whom a particular account shall be given hereafter.

To this end, when Merina was queen of the Amazons, she raised an army of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, for they were very exact and diligent in training up horses for the war. The armour they wore for coats of mail, were the skins of vast serpents, with which sort of creatures Africa abounds. But for offensive arms, they carried swords, darts, and bows, in which they were so expert, that with these they not only broke their enemies' battalions, but when they pursued them upon their flight, they were sure to hit their mark.

Entering, therefore, the country of the Atlantides, in a battle they routed them that inhabited Cercene, and pursued them so close, that they entered pell-mell with them that got within the walls, and took the city: and to strike a greater terror into their neighbours, they executed horrid cruelties upon the conquered: for they put all the men to the sword, and having razed the city to the ground, carried away captive all the women and children. The noise of this destruction being spread all over the country, the rest of the Atlan-

* Carbuncles. † Sardonixes. ‡ Emeralds.

tides (being struck with a panic fear) submitted, and delivered up all their cities: whereupon Merina received them all into her favour, and made a league with them, and in the room of that which was destroyed, built another city, calling it after her own name, and peopled it with the captives, and with such as were willing to come there to inhabit.

In the mean time being presented by the Atlantides with many rich gifts, and decreeing to her (with a general consent) many high honours, she not only graciously accepted those marks of their kindness, but promised she would for the future endeavour to merit the good opinion of the whole nation.

Being, therefore, often infested by their envious neighbours the Gorgons, Merina, to gratify the Atlantides (who addressed themselves to her for that purpose) with an army invaded the country of the Gorgons, where, joining battle with them, the engagement was smart, in which the Amazons got the day, and killed great numbers of their enemies, and took three thousand prisoners; the rest flying into woods, Merina (designing utterly to root up the nation) endeavoured to set the woods on fire; but not being able to effect it, she returned with her army into the confines of her own country, where, by reason of her late victory, being secure and careless in setting her watch, the prisoners killed many of her Amazons with their own swords as they were asleep; but at length, being surrounded by the whole army (fighting it out to the last) they were every man killed upon the spot. Then Merina erected three funeral piles, and burnt up all those of her army that were slain, and raised up as many mounts of earth over them, which are at this day called the Amazon's sepulchres.

The Gorgons, notwithstanding, were afterwards of great power, till the reign of Medusa, at which time they were conquered by Perseus. At length both they and the Amazons were utterly extirpated by Hercules, at the time when he travelled into the western parts, and erected the pillar in Africa. For it was a thing intollerable to him, who made it his business to be renowned all the world over, to suffer any nation to be governed any longer by women.

It is reported, likewise, that by an earthquake the tract towards the ocean opened its mouth, and swallowed up the whole morass Tritonis.

Merina likewise overran a great part of Africa, and, passing into Egypt, made a league with Orus the son of Isis, who then reigned there. She made war also upon the Arabians, and destroyed many of them: afterwards, having subdued Syria, the Cilicians met her with presents, and submitted themselves; whom (upon the account

they of their own accord gave up all into her hands) she by an edict ordained to be a free people, and for that reason they are called the free Cilicians to this day. Afterwards, having conquered the nations about Mount Taurus (who were both men of strong bodies and stout hearts) she descended through the greater Phrygia to the sea*; thence, passing through the maritime tracts, she put an end to her expedition at the river Caicus: out of her new conquests she picked out the most convenient places for the building of cities, and built many there, among others one after her own name; the rest she called after the names of the chief commanders of her army, as Cymes, Pitanes, and Princia, situated upon the sea-coasts; others she built up higher into the continent.

She possessed herself likewise of serveral islands, particularly Lesbos, where she built Mitylene, calling it after the name of her sister, who went along with her in the expedition. Whilst she was busy in taking other islands, she was endangered by a storm at sea, where, offering up her prayers to the mother† of the gods for deliverance, she was driven upon a certain desert island, which she consecrated to the beforementioned goddess, being admonished so to do by a dream; and there she erected altars, and offered magnificent sacrifices. This island is called Samothracia, which, according to the Greek dialect, signifies the Sacred Island. But there are some historians that say, it was formerly called Samos, and from some Thracians that came to inhabit there, Samothracia. After that the Amazons were returned into the continent, they fabulously report, that the mother of the gods (being delighted with this island) placed there her sons, called the Corybantes. In the records of their sacred mysteries, it is declared who was their father; and she herself (they say) taught them the rites and mysteries that are now in use in that island, and instituted and appointed a sacred grove, and an inviolable sanctuary.

About these times (they say) one Mompsus, a Thracian, banished by Lycurgus, king of Thrace, with an army invaded the country of the Amazons: his associate was one Sipylus, who was likewise banished out of Scythia, bordering upon Thrace. They, with Sipylus and Mompsus, overcame the other in a battle, in which Merina the Amazon queen, and many more of the Amazons, were slain. In process of time, (after the Thracians had overcome them in several engagements), they say, that those that remained of the nations of the Amazons retired into Libya. And such was the end of the Amazonian expedition out of Africa.

And now, since we have made mention of the Atlantides, we judge

* The Mediterranean.

† Cybele, or Vesta, the mother of the gods.

it not impertinent to relate what the Atlantides fabulously report concerning the genealogy of the gods, not much differing from the fables of the Greeks.

The Atlantides inhabited a rich country bordering upon the ocean, and were esteemed to excel all their neighbours in civil reception and entertainment of strangers; and they boast that the gods were born amongst them, and say that the most famous poet amongst the Grecians does confirm this their assertion, where he brings in Juno speaking thus—

> The utmost bounds of earth far off I see,
> Where Thetys and Ocean boast to be
> The parents of the gods.....

They say that Uranus was their first king, who caused the people (who then wandered up and down) to dwell in towns and cities, and, reducing them from a lawless and savage course of life, taught them to use and lay up the fruits of the earth, and many other things useful for man's life. It is said he had under his dominion the greatest part of the world, especially towards the west and the northern parts: and that, being much addicted to astrology, he prognosticated many things that were come to pass in the world; and measured the year according to the course of the sun, and the months according to the motion of the moon, and divided the days into hours; and therefore the people, as at that time ignorant of the constant motion of the stars, did so admire his prognostications, that it grew into a common opinion among them, that he was a god; and, when he was dead, (by reason of his deserts, and art in astronomy), they honoured him as a god.

The starry heaven was called after his name, because that he was so familiarly acquainted with the rising and setting of the stars, and other things happening in the etherial world; and for that his merits transcended all the honours that could be attributed to him, he was called the eternal king of the universe.

They report that this Uranus had five-and-forty children, by several wives, and eighteen of these were by one Titea, who had each of them a peculiar name, but all in common called Titanes, from their mother Titea, who for her wisdom and beneficence was after her death reputed a goddess by those whom she had obliged by her kindnesses, and was called Terra.

Of Uranus and Titea were born several daughters, of whom two were most famous above the rest, Basilea and Rhea, by some called Pandora. Basilea being the eldest (and most prudent and discreet) bred up her brothers with the care and affection of a mother, and therefore was called the Great Mother.

After the death of her father, by the general suffrage of the people and consent of her brothers, she was elected queen, being as yet a virgin, and remarkable for her modesty and chastity. She was long unwilling to marry; but afterwards (desiring to leave heirs of her own body to succeed in the kingdom) she married Hyperion, one of her brothers, whom she most dearly loved, by whom she had two children, Helio* and Selene†, who for their beauty and modesty were the admiration of all; her other brothers (they say) partly out of envy at the issue, and partly out of fear lest Hyperion should assume the kingdom entirely to himself, committed a notorious wicked act; for, entering into a conspiracy, they assassinated Hyperion, and drowned Helio (then a tender infant) in Eridanus‡.

Upon the discovery of this sad disaster, Selene, who passionately loved her brother, threw herself down headlong from the house-top; and the mother, while she was seeking for her son at the river side, with grief fell asleep, and dreamed that she saw Helios standing by her to comfort her, and wished her not to grieve too much, and afflict herself for the death of her children; for the Titanes should execute due revenge upon the malefactor, and that he and his sister, by the providence of the gods, were to be deified, so as that which before was called the *Holy Fire in Heaven* should then be called *Helios*, and that which before had the name of *Mene* should then be termed *Selene*.

When she awaked she told her dream, and repeated all her misfortunes, and then entreated her subjects that they would adore her deceased children as gods, and that none for the future would come near her.

Presently afterwards, in a furious rage of madness, (taking her daughter's gingling gewgaws) she wandered up and down, with her hair dishevelled about her ears; and, playing like a mad woman upon a timbrel and cymbal, she was even a terror to the spectators: and while every body pitied her miserable condition, and some attempted to lay hold of her, there arose on a sudden a terrible storm of rain, thunder, and lightning, and she was never seen after. The people hereupon, admiring this prodigy, began to transfer the name of Helios and Selene (in honour of them) to the sun and the moon in the heavens; and being persuaded that the mother was a goddess, they erected altars, and (with the noise of timbrels and tinkling of cymbals, and other things agreeable to her circumstances) offered sacrifices, and instituted other divine rites and ceremonies in honour of her.

But, however, Phrygia is said to be the birth-place of this goddess:

* Helio, that is, the sun. † Selene, that is, the moon. ‡ The river Po, in Italy.

for the inhabitants fabulously report, that Masones heretofore reigned in Phrygia and Lydia, and that he married Dindyma, and upon her begat a daughter, which he unnaturally exposed in the mountain Cybelus: and that there, by a divine providence, leopards and other fierce and wild beasts, nourished the child with their own milk: but shepherdesses thereabouts, observing what was done, and (admiring the strangeness of the thing) took away the child, and called it, from the place, Cybele. The young lady growing up both in strength and years, was admired by all for her beauty, modesty, and ingenuity: for she was the first that invented the pipe, composed of many reeds, and the timbrel and cymbal, in sports and dances: she taught likewise how to cure (by purging) diseases both in children and cattle.

For her extraordinary love to children, whom she often restored to health, by singing and lulling them in her arms, she was called by all the *Mother of the Mount**. Marsyas the Phrygian (they say) was very much with her, and the chiefest of all her lovers: this man, it is said, was mighty ingenious, and wonderfully chaste. His ingenuity they gather hence, that, imitating the sound of a pipe composed of many reeds, he found out how one single pipe might make the same harmony: and as an argument for his chastity (they say) he never had to do with any woman all the days of his life.

Cybele being now ripe of years, loved a young man, one of the natives, first called Atys, afterwards Papas: this youth she accompanied with, and was got with child, about which time she was owned by her parents, and received by her father into his palace, as a virgin: but being afterwards informed of the miscarriage of his daughter, caused Atys and her nurses to be put to death, and their bodies to lie exposed without burial: whereupon (they say) Cybele (through the love she bore to the young man, and overwhelmed with grief for her nurses, fell into a furious madness, and ran out into the fields where, all alone, with her hair about her ears, she filled the whole country with the noise of her timbrel, and her wailing and lamentations. But Marsyas, pitying her miserable condition, and prompted thereunto by the remembrance of his antient love and kindness he had for her, followed her wherever she went; and coming together at length to Bacchus in Nysa, found there Apollo, then in great esteem for his skill in playing upon the harp, invented by Mercury. There Marsyas contended with Apollo who should be accounted the greatest artist, and the Nysians were to be the judges. And first Apollo played only upon his harp. But Marsyas, as soon as he had

* Mater montana.

winded his hautboy (tickling their ears with the novelty of the melody, and the sweetness of his notes) seemed far to excel his rival. Then they made a match that they should both make a second trial of their skill before the judges: Apollo, therefore, leading the way, first began as before, and added to the melodiousness of his harp the harmony of his voice, and by that means gained the victory over the applause formerly won by the hautboy. At which Marsyas was in a rage, and said, that he was highly injured in not being allowed the preeminence, for that they ought to judge by the art in playing, and not in the voice and in singing, and that according to that rule, trial should be made, and judgment given concerning the melody and harmony between the harp and hautboy; and that it was unjust to lay in the balance two arts against one. To which, it is said, Apollo answered, that he did no more than the other; for that Marsyas did the same thing, when he tuned his hautboy with his breath, and therefore, either both ought to be allowed the same privilege, or both should be restrained from making use of their mouths, and their hands only should be the instruments of evidencing the excellency of their art and skill. What Apollo said seemed most just and reasonable to all the auditors. Then there was a third contest between them, in which Marsyas was again overcome; but Apollo was so incensed with his vying with him, that he flayed him alive: but presently after he was so sorry for what he had done, that he broke in pieces all the strings of his harp, and destroyed that music which he himself had invented. But it was afterwards revived; for the muses restored the meane, Linus the string called the tenor, and Orpheus and Thamyris the two strings called the base, and next to the base.

They say that Apollo consecrated both the harp and hautboy to Bacchus, and left them in his cave; and afterwards, falling in love with Cybele, wandered up and down with her as far as to the Hyperborean mountains*.

And whereas there was a plague and famine in Phrygia, the Phrygians inquired of the oracle† how they should be freed from the calamity they lay under, it is said the god commanded them to bury Atys, and adore Cybele as a goddess.

The Phrygians, therefore, (because they could not find any part of his body, through length of time since he was killed) made a statue for him, which they followed as to his burial, with howling, lamentations, and other honourable ceremonies proper for his funeral, and so made an atonement for their former offence; which solemnity

* Hyperborean signifies very far north, by which the antients use to express the furthest parts of the world.

† Of Apollo at Delphos.

they constantly observe to this very day, and offer yearly sacrifices to Cybele, who formerly erected altars to the gods there. In honour of this Cybele, they built a magnificent temple in Pessinunte, a city of Phrygia, and instituted solemn sacrifices and divine worship to her, which work was advanced by the assistance of king Midas. They placed leopards and lions standing by the statue of the goddess, because it was generally believed she was nursed up by them. And these are the things which the Phrygians and the Atlantides, the inhabitants of the coasts bordering on the ocean, do report of this mother of the gods.

After the death of Hyperion, they report that the children of Cœlus* divided the kingdom amongst themselves; amongst whom Atlas and Saturn were the most renowned. The country bordering upon the ocean fell by lot upon Atlas, who called the people there Atlantides, and the greatest mountain in the world Atlas, after his own name.

They say that he was an excellent astrologer, and was the first that discovered the knowledge of the sphere; whence arose the common opinion, that he carried the world upon his shoulders; noting, by this fancy, his invention and description of the sphere. The most eminent among his many sons was Hesperus, for piety towards the gods, and justice and kindness towards his subjects. Being upon the top of Mount Atlas, to observe the motion of the stars, he suddenly vanished in a tempest. The people hereupon, much lamenting the loss of him, that they might for ever honour him, called the brightest star in the heavens after his name†.

Atlas likewise had seven daughters, who were all called after their father's name, Atlantides; but their several proper names were Maia, Electra, Taygeta, Asterope, Merope, Halcyone, and Celæno. All these were got with child by several heroic princes, and even by some of the gods themselves, and bore divers sons, who were the first ancestors of several nations, and for their virtuous qualifications were afterwards called gods and demi-gods.

So Maia, the eldest, was got with child by Jupiter, and bore Mercury, the inventor of many arts and sciences for the use of mankind.

All the rest, likewise, had sons who were famous in their times, some of which gave beginning to whole nations, others to some particular cities: and therefore not only some of the barbarians, but likewise some among the Greeks, refer the origin of many of the antient heroes to these daughters of Atlas: for they were in great reputation for wisdom and justice; and therefore, when they were

* Uranus. † Hesperus, the morning star.

dead, were adored as goddesses, and fixed in the constellation of the Pleiades*.

Nymphs were commonly called Atlantides, because nymphs is a general term in this country applied to all women.

They say that Saturn, the brother of Atlas, was extraordinarily prophane and covetous; and, marrying his sister Rhea, he begat Jupiter, afterwards surnamed Olympus. There was another Jupiter, the brother of Cœlus, and king of Crete, but much inferior for glory and renown to the latter: for this latter was lord of the world; but the antient Jupiter was only king of the island before-named, and had ten sons, whom they called Curetes, and called the island Ida, after the name of his wife, where he himself was buried, the remains of whose sepulchres are to be seen at this day.

However, the Cretans relate several stories of these Jupiters, of whom we shall write distinctly when we come to their history.

Saturn reigned (they say) over Sicily, Africa, and Italy, and enlarged his dominion over all the western parts of the world, and by garrisons and strong forts placed in convenient places, kept his subjects every where within the bounds of their duty: and hence it is, that at this very day, in the western parts of Sicily, the high mounts still to be seen here and there are called Cronia†.

Jupiter (they say) was the son of Saturn, who, contrary to what his father did before him, carried himself justly and courteously towards all, and therefore he was called Father by all his subjects. He succeeded in the kingdom, either as given up to him by his father, or set upon the throne by his subjects, out of hatred to his father: and though Saturn afterwards, by the help of the Titans, made war upon his son, yet Jupiter overcame him in a battle, and so gained the kingdom; and afterwards he ran through the whole world, doing good to all mankind: and because he was of a strong body, and endowed with all virtuous qualifications of mind, he easily conquered the whole world. He chiefly made it his business to punish the impious, and to do good to all his people; and therefore (after he left the world) he was called *Zena*‡, from life, because he was the first that taught men to live well: and therefore they of whom he had deserved well rewarded him with this honour, that he was unanimously by all placed in the highest heavens, and called a god, and supreme lord of all the earth. And this is the full account (distinctly related) of all the gods mentioned and recorded by the Atlantides.

And forasmuch as before, in the account we gave of the Egyptian antiquities, we came, in the course of the general history, to the genealogy of Bacchus (whom the Greeks call Dionysius) and his acts—

* The seven stars. † Saturn's castles. ‡ Zeus.

We conceive it fit here to add what the Grecians have delivered to posterity concerning this god: but in regard the antient fabulous historians and poets have given different accounts of Bacchus, and have related many monstrous stories, it is very difficult to set forth truly his genealogy and acts. For some say there was but one Dionysius*, others that there were three. But some say there never was any such man, but conceive that wine is to be taken for Dionysius. We shall, therefore, in short run over distinctly what is said by every one of them.

The naturalists who speak of this god, and call wine Bacchus, say, that the earth, amongst other plants, naturally produced the vine, and that it was not planted or found out at the first by any whatsoever. In confirmation whereof, they instance in wild vines, which in many places at this day bear grapes of themselves, as well as if they were husbanded and improved by the care and industry of men: and that Bacchus was by the antients called *Bimeter*†, because, when the vine is planted in the earth, and begins to grow, that is to be esteemed the first birth; the second, when it shoots forth branches, and puts forth fruit, and brings them to ripeness and perfection: and so the first birth of this god is to be judged to proceed from the earth, and the second from the vine itself.

The fabulous writers likewise feign a third generation of Bacchus, that he was the son of Jupiter and Ceres, and that some men of the earth pulled him in pieces, and boiled his parts; and that Ceres gathered his members together again, and renewed and revived him. Which fictions the natural philosophers explain according to natural reason; for he is said (they say) to be the son of Jupiter and Ceres, because the vine is nourished by the earth and the rain from heaven, and so produces fruit; whence comes wine, by pressing of the grape. That the boiling of his members, signifies the operation of making the wine, which many boil to render it more strong and fragrant. That his members were pulled in pieces by earthly men afterwards, and joined together again, and he restored to his former state, denotes no more, but that, after the vintage and pruning of the vines at the season of the year, the earth causes them to flourish again, and to be as fruitful as ever they were before. For it is certain, that by Ceres the antient poets and other fabulous authors meant the mother earth: and agreeable hereunto are those things that are delivered in the verses of Orpheus, and which are exhibited in the celebration of the sacred mysteries, which it is not lawful for any ordinary person particularly to treat of.

In the same manner the naturalists explain his being the son of

* Bacchus. † Two mothers.

Semele; for they say that the earth was by the antients called Thion and Semele; Semele*, because the worship of this goddess was splendid and pompous: and Thyon†, from the frequent sacrifices which were offered to her.

He is feigned to be begotten of Jupiter twice, because, it being supposed that the vines, with other plants, were destroyed in Deucalion's flood, and that it afterwards sprung up again; therefore, when this god appeared again, as if he had sprung up by a second birth, he was feigned to be born out of Jupiter's thigh. And these are the opinions of them who take Bacchus for nothing else but the use and strength found out to lie in wine.

But those fabulous authors that say this god was a man, unanimously attribute to him the finding out and first planting of the vine, and every thing that belongs to the use of wine. But whether there were more than one of that name, they differ among themselves. Some affirm there was but one, and this very Bacchus who taught the use of wine, and gathering of grapes, and with an army overran the whole world, and first instituted the rites and festivals of the *Bacchanalia*. Some (as I have before declared) have affirmed, that there were three that lived at several times, and have given an account of the actions of each of them.

Of whom (they say) the most antient was born in India, and therefore, in regard that country (through the temper of the climate, and richness of the soil) naturally produced vines, they affirm he was the first that taught the way of pressing of grapes, and found out the use of wine; and employed himself likewise in pruning of fig-trees, and other fruit-trees of a larger size, and taught others the same art: and in conclusion, that he found out whatever appertained to the vine. And hence he was called the Presser‡, and the Bearded, because it is the custom among the Indians to let their beards grow all their days without cutting them.

This, they say, is the Bacchus that overran the whole world with his arms, and found out the manner of planting of vines, and the pressing of grapes with wine-presses, and hence was surnamed *Lenæus*, as before) and imparted what he had discovered to others; by which advantages he so gained the hearts and respects of all men, that when he was dead, they adored him with divine honours. At this day they shew the place of his birth in India, and many cities there in their own proper language called after his name. Many other things they relate of this Indian Bacchus, which is too tedious here to rehearse.

* From the Greek word Semne, which signifies splendid, or beautiful.

† Called by the Greeks Thyias and Thyeias. ‡ Lenæus.

Another Bacchus (they say) there was who was the son of Jupiter and Proserpina, or as some think, of Ceres. This they say, was the first that taught how to plough with oxen, when men before tilled the ground with their own handy labours, and invented many other things useful for the art of husbandry, that the countryman might not be overlaid with his labours. By these advantages and benefits to mankind, he gained such reputation and esteem, that he was by all adored as a god, and divine worship and solemn sacrifices were offered in honour of him. In all his images and statues he was painted and engraven with horns, as well to signify the nature of this second Bacchus, as to denote how great a benefit and advantage accrued to the husbandmen by the invention of the plough.

A third Bacchus they say, was born at Thebes in Bœotia, of Jupiter and Semele, the dauther of Cadmus; for Jupiter being in love with her, by reason of her extraordinary beauty, is said frequently to lie with her; at which Juno was so inflamed with jealousy, that she resolved to be revenged upon the girl, and to this end, (minding to deceive her), she appeared in the shape of one of her servants, and persuaded Semele, (who never suspected any sinister design), that it was very fitting that Jupiter should lie with her in the same splendour, and glorious appearance as he did with Juno: whereupon Semele over-persuaded Jupiter, that he would honour her in his addresses in the same manner as he did Juno; upon which he visited her in thunder and lightning, which killed the young lady, causing her to miscarry, and Jupiter forthwith clapped up the infant within his thigh, and when he was come to the full time of his birth, he conveyed him to Nysa in Arabia, where being nursed by nymphs, he was called from his father and the place Dionysius*. Being a very beautiful young man, he spent the time of his youth in dancing, plays, and all manner of sports and pleasures with young women.

Afterwards he got together an army of women armed with lances, and adorned with garlands of flowers, and marched with them through all parts of the world, teaching men his misterious rites and ceremonies, yet imparting them only to those that lived virtuously and piously. He every where likewise instituted festival days, and general meetings for sports and dancings, and composed differences both in cities and countries; and instead of wars and seditions, established peace and concord amongst them. And when the noise of his coming to any place was spread abroad, and how kind he was to all, and how great a benefactor he was in improving and civilizing the manners of men, they ran out flocking from all parts to receive him. But some few proud and impious persons despised him, and gave

* In Greek, Dis is Jupiter, and Nysa, the place so called.

forth that he carried women along with him to gratify his lusts, and that he taught his rites and ceremonies merely to commit whoredom with strange women; but of these he took a speedy revenge; for whenever he exerted his divine power in punishing the wicked, sometimes he struck them with madness, and at other times caused them to be torn in pieces by the hands of the women; and sometimes by his sovereign skill in martial affairs, caused his enemies suddenly to be slain. For instead of the lances, he ordered his Bacchantes to carry darts wrapt round with ivy at the points, with which (on a sudden and unexpectedly) they assaulted and wounded to death the kings that were ignorant of the stratagem, and therefore despised and contemned them, because they were women.

Amongst them that were punished by him, the most considerable and eminent were Pentheus the Grecian, and Myrrhanus the Indian king, and Lycurgus of Thrace. For Bacchus intending to transport his forces out of Asia into Europe, made a league with Lycurgus king of Thrace, whose country was washed by the Hellespont. As soon as Bacchus had transported his Bacchantes into the country, one of his allies (as he thought Lycurgus) commanded his soldiers to set upon Bacchus and all his mad crew in the night, and to cut them all off. Of which Bacchus being informed by one of the inhabitants, called Tharops, he was not a little amazed, because he had but a few with him, the strength of his army being on the other side of the Hellespont; upon which he himself secretly passed over to his army: but Lycurgus in the mean time cut the throats of all his Bacchantes that were left behind, in a place called Nisius. As soon therefore as Bacchus had transported his forces, he fought the Thracians, and overcame them; and having taken Lycurgus prisoner, first plucked out his eyes, and after he had put him to all sorts of torments he could devise, and used him with all the contempt and disgrace imaginable, he nailed him to the cross. Afterwards, in recompense to Tharops for the kindness shewed him, he advanced him to the kingdom of Thrace, and taught him the manner of celebrating the mysteries of his solemnities called *Orgia*.

Œagrus the son of Tharops, succeeded his father in the kingdom, being instructed by him in the same mysterious rites and ceremonies. Œagrus afterwards taught them Orpheus his son, who (being eminent for his learning and ingenuity) changed many things in the Orgia. Hence those rites and mysteries first instituted by Bacchus were afterwards called *Orphea*,

But some of the poets, among whom is Antimachus, say, Lycurgus was not king of Thrace, but of Arabia; and that he treacherously set upon Bacchus and his Bacchantes in Nysa in Arabia: and

further relate, that Bacchus having every where punished the wicked and rewarded the good, returned out of India, mounted upon an elephant, into Thebes; and because he spent three years in his expedition, the Grecians celebrate the festivals called Trieterica. And report, that being loaden with the spoils of so great an expedition, he was the first that was brought in triumph into the country. These are the genealogies of Bacchus, according to the unanimous consent of all the ancients.

But many of the cities of Greece contend for the place of his birth; for the Eleans, Naxians, and the inhabitants of Eleutheræ, the Teians, and many others, appropriate his birth each particularly to themselves. And the Teians, for confirmation of what they say, bring this argument, that there is a spring in their city, which at some certain times streams forth most rich and fragrant wine: and as to the rest, some of them shew parcels of land dedicated to him; and others (from ancient tradition) sacred groves and consecrated temples. But in truth, since this god has left behind him many tokens of his beneficence, and likewise of his personal presence in most parts of the world, it is no wonder that every one affirms that his own country and city was the place that was most especially dear to Bacchus.

The poet in his hymns confirms what we have before declared, where, speaking of those that doubt the place of his birth, brings him in as born at Nysa in Arabia in this manner—

Some Dracanus, Icarus some, some Naxos name,
Places from which the divine Bacchus came,
From Thebes some, and from thy curling streams,
Alphæus, others say: all silly dreams.
Thee, father Jove, in secret brought to light,
Fearful of men's, and his fair Juno's sight,
On Nysa's mount adorn'd with pleasant woods,
Far from Phœnician coasts, near Egypt's floods.

Yet I am not ignorant that the Africans inhabiting the sea-coasts, do themselves challenge the birth-place of this god, and say that what things are reported to be done by him were done among them, and shew many marks and signs to prove what they say, which remain among them to this very day: and in further confirmation hereof many of the antient historians and poets, and likewise a great part of the modern writers do agree in this thing concerning him.

And that we may not omit any thing that is said of Bacchus, we shall range under distinct heads what the Africans have related concerning him, and wherein the Grecian historians have agreed with them, and lastly, what account is given of him by Dionysius,

who composed a history of the antient stories and fables: for he has written a history of Bacchus, of the Amazons, of the expedition of the Argonauts, and the war of Troy, and many other things; annexing thereunto several poems of the antient mythologists and poets. He says that Linus was the first that invented rhimes and music in Greece: and that Cadmus brought letters out of Phœnicia, and was the first who taugnt the Grecians to pronounce them, and gave them their several names, and formed their distinct characters: hence these letters are all generally called Phœnician letters, because they were brought over out of Phœnicia into Greece: but they were afterwards called Pelasgian characters, because the Pelasgians were the first that understood them after they were brought over. He says that this Linus, being an excellent poet and musician, had many scholars, amongst whom there were three that were the most famous, Hercules, Themyris, and Orpheus. Hercules learnt to play upon the harp, but was very dull and unapt to learn, insomuch, that he was sometimes boxed and beaten, at which he was at length so enraged, that he killed his master by a blow with his harp. Themyris was very ingenious, and gave himself wholly to music: and grew so eminent therein, that he would boast he could sing more sweetly and melodiously than the Muses themselves; at which the goddesses were so enraged, that they both deprived him of his art, and struck him blind besides, as Homer affirms in these verses:

> Themyris then by th' Muses was envied
> And of his art the Thracian they depriv'd.

And then again:

> Th' enraged goddesses then struck him blind
> That th' way to sing or play he could not find.

Of Orpheus, the last of his scholars, we shall speak more particularly when we come to what concerns him.

This Linus (they say) wrote in Pelasgian letters, the acts of the first Bacchus, and left other stories in his writings behind him. Orpheus, likewise, it is said, used the same characters, and Pronapides, Homer's master, an ingenious musician. Thymætes also, the son of Thymætus, the son of Leomedon, who lived in the time of Orpheus, and travelled through many parts of the world, as far as to the western parts of Libya to the very ocean: this Thymætes visited likewise (they say) Nysa, the place where Bacchus was brought up, as is reported by the antient inhabitants; where being instructed by the Nysians, he wrote a poem called Phrygia, of the particular actions of this god, in very old language and character. Amongst other things, he says, that Ammon, a king, reigning in some part of Li-

bya, married Rhea the daughter of Cœlus, sister of Saturn and the other Titans; and that when he came first to the kingdom, he met with a beautiful virgin called Amalthæa, upon the Ceraunean* mountains, and falling in love with her, begat a son of her, who was afterwards famous and admirable both for strength and comeliness of person; afterwards he made Amalthæa queen of the neighbouring nations, which in its situation being in shape of an ox's horn, was therefore called the Western Horn, and that the soil is so very rich, that it abounds with vines and all other sorts of fruit-trees. Being possessed of this country, she called it after her own name, Amalthæa's Horn. And therefore posterity call every rich piece of land that abounds with fruit-trees, Amalthæa's Horn.

But Ammon fearing the rageful jealousy of Rhea, concealed his adultery, and privately sent away the child afar off to the city Nysa, which lies in an island almost inaccessible, surrounded by the river Triton, into which there is but one strait and narrow entrance, called the Nysian gates.

The land there is very rich, abounding with pleasant meadows, gardens, and orchards, watered on every side with refreshing streams; wherein grow all sorts of fruit-trees and vines, which grow of themselves, for the most part running up on the sides of trees. A gentle, cooling and refreshing wind pierces through the whole island, which makes the place exceeding healthful, so that the inhabitants live much longer here, than any in the neighbouring countries. The first entrance into the island runs up a long vale, shaded all along with high and lofty trees, so thick, that only a dim and glimmering light passes through; but the fiery beams of the sun enter not in the least to offend the passenger. In passing along, issue many sweet and crystal springs, so that the place is most pleasant and delightful to them that have a desire there to divert themselves. When you are out of this vale, a pleasant and very large grotto, of a round form, presents itself, arched over with an exceeding high and craggy rock, bespangled with stones of divers resplendent colours; for, being chequered, some sparkled with purple rays, some with azure, and others darted forth their refulgent beauty in divers other colours, no colour being ever known but might be seen there. At the entrance grew trees of a strange and wonderful nature, some bearing fruit, others always green and flourishing, as if they had been created by nature to delight the sight: in these nested all sorts of birds, whose colour and pleasing notes, even ravished the senses with sweet delight: so that all the place around imparted a sort of divine pleasure, not only to the eye, but the ear; the sweetness of natural

* In Asia, near the Caspian sea.

notes far excelling the artificial harmony of all other music whatsoever. Passing through this, appears a large and spacious grotto, in every part enlightened by the bright rays of the sun: here grow various sorts of flowers and plants, especially cassia, and others that perpetually preserve their sweet odours in their natural strength. Here are to be seen the many pleasant apartments of the nymphs, (composed of various flowers, planted in that order by wise nature's hand, and not by man's art) fit to receive even the gods themselves. Within all this pleasant round, is not a flower or leaf to be seen withered, or in the least decayed; so that the spectators are not only delighted with the sight, but even transported with the pleasures of the fragrant smells and sweet odours of the place.

To this cave the child was brought by Ammon, and committed to the care of Nysa, one of the sisters of Aristæus, to be brought up; but ordered Aristæus himself to be his tutor, who was a prudent, honest, and very learned man: and that the child might be the better secured against the mischievous contrivances of his stepmother Rhea, to these was joined Minerva, to be his guardian, whom the river Triton, they say, brought forth a little before these times; and therefore from thence she was called Tritonides*. They report that this goddess lived a virgin all her days, and that being likewise endued with extraordinary wisdom, she found out many arts and sciences; and that her strength of body, and manly courage was such, that she employed herself in feats of arms, and went out to the wars. Amongst her other actions, this was one remarkable, that she killed Ægides a terrible monster, before esteemed invincible. It was the birth of Terra, and (in an horrible manner) naturally breathed forth flames of fire at her mouth. This monster first appeared in Phrygia, and burnt up the whole country, which is therefore called burnt Phrygia at this day. Afterwards, she bent her course to the places about mount Taurus, and burnt and destroyed all the woods and forests all along, as far as to India: thence she moved towards the sea-coasts, and burnt down the cedars upon mount Libanus in Phœnicia: thence passing through Egypt, she burnt up Libya, as far as to the western shore, till at length she set on fire all the woods upon the Ceraunian mountains. The earth being thus all in a flame, and the inhabitants partly consumed, and partly through fear, having forsaken their country, Minerva (they say) eminently furnished both with wisdom and courage, killed this monster; and wore its skin upon her breast, to be both as a breast-plate and coat of mail against future encounters, and likewise as a memorial of her valour and glorious victory.

* Or Tritoangenes, because she first appeared in a virgin's habit at the river Triton.

Terra, the mother of this monster, being hereat enraged, in revenge brought forth the giants, those implacable enemies of the gods, which were afterwards destroyed by Jupiter, with the assistance of Minerva, Bacchus, and other deities.

But as for Dionysius, bred up in Nysa, and instructed in the most learned arts and sciences, he grew not only eminent for the strength and beauty of his body, and endowments of his mind, but for his inventions of things useful for man's life. For, while he was but as yet a mere boy, he found out the nature and use of wine, discovering the pressing of the clusters of the vine, and drying of the grapes, to the end to store them up for future use. He found out, likewise, what ground was most proper for the planting of every thing, and in hopes of attaining unto immortal honour for the great benefits and advantages of those things by him discovered, he communicated his inventions to mankind.

When his fame and glory was noised abroad in every place, Rhea, (it is said), enraged at Ammon, endeavoured to seize Dionysius: but being disappointed in her design, she forsook Ammon, and, returning to her brothers the Titans, married her brother Saturn, who, at the instigation of Rhea, with the other brothers, made war upon Ammon, and in a battle routed him. That Ammon, by reason of famine, was forced to fly into Crete, and married Geta, one of the daughters of the Curetes, then reigning there, and with her gained the sovereignty of the island, and called it after his wife's name Geta, which was before called Idæa.

Saturn, they say, having gained the kingdom of Ammon, governed cruelly, and marched with an army to Nysa, against Dionysius, who, hearing of the routing of his father, and the confederacy of the Titans against him, raised soldiers in Nysa, two hundred of which were bred up with him, who, as they were eminent for valour, so they were great lovers of Dionysius. He confederated, likewise, with the neighbouring Libyans, Africans, and the Amazons, of whom we have before related, that they were both valiant, and used to send great forces abroad into other countries, and had brought many parts of the world under their dominion. They were brought (they say) into this confederacy chiefly for the sake of Minerva, who pursued the same way and course of life as they did: for the Amazons were both warriors and virgins. The army with Dionysius was divided into two bodies, the men commanded by him, and the women by Minerva; and in this order they made a violent charge upon the Titans: the engagement was very hot, and great numbers fell on both sides; at length, upon a wound given to Saturn, Dionysius gained the day, who signalized his valour in this battle above all others. The Titans then

fled to the places formerly belonging to Ammon, and Dionysius, with a great number of prisoners, returned to Nysa, where he surrounded them with his soldiers, and then, in an harangue, accused the Titans; so that all thought they must every man be put to the sword: but forthwith pardoning them all, he gave them liberty either to go home, or to take up arms with him: upon which they all chose to serve him, and upon the account of their sudden and surprising deliverance, all adored him as a god. Then, giving to each of them a cup of wine, as a sacred pledge of their fidelity, he caused them man by man to swear that they would serve him faithfully, and fight for him to the end of the war.

This rite and ceremony of pledging their faith on both sides, by pouring out and drinking of wine, being then first begun, was afterwards imitated by posterity, and truces and leagues in times of war were called Libations*.

Dionysius afterwards undertaking a war against Saturn, and marching out of Nysa with all his forces for that purpose, they report that Aristæus his tutor was the first that, with great solemnity, offered sacrifices to him as to a god. It is said the noblest of the Nysæans, called Sileni, were his companions. For Silenus was the first that reigned in this island, who is so very antient, that none knows his origin: and forasmuch as he had a tail growing out at his rump, his posterity, partaking of his nature, had the same badge. Dionysius therefore marched away with his army, and, (after much toil and hazard for want of water, passing through many deserts infested with wild beasts), came at length to Zabirna†, a city of Libya, and there encamped: near to this place he killed the monster (the spawn of Terra‡, called Campe), which had destroyed many of the inhabitants, for which he was in high reputation among the people for his valour. He raised a mount of earth over this monstrous beast he had killed, to the end to leave an everlasting monument of his valour to posterity, which remains to this very day. Thence he marched against the Titans, causing his army to pass quietly and orderly through all places, carrying himself courteously and civilly towards all, assuring every body that he undertook this expedition for no other reason but to punish the impious, and benefit all mankind: so that the Libyans, admiring his good order and discipline, and the greatness of his mind, largely supplied his army with provision, and freely joined with him as confederates.

And now approaching near to the city of Ammon, he routed Saturn again before the walls, who afterwards set the city on fire in the night, with a purpose to destroy the antient palace of Ammon, and he him-

* Drink offerings. † Zacira. ‡ The earth monster, Campe.

self, with his wife Rhea, and others of his distressed friends, secretly fled out of the city. But Dionysius was nothing like to him in his temper; for he not only pardoned Saturn and Rhea, whom he had taken prisoners, upon the account of being his kindred, but entreated them that for the future they would, as his parents, love him, and live with him as his choicest and most beloved friends; so that Rhea loved him all her life long as dearly as her own son, but the love of Saturn was deceitful. About this time Saturn and Rhea had a son born, called Jupiter, who was advanced to many places of honour by Dionysius, and afterwards became king, upon the account of his virtuous qualifications.

The Africans had informed Dionysius before the fight, that Ammon at the time he was driven out of his kingdom, foretold, that after a certain time his son Dionysius would recover his father's kingdom, and that he should enlarge his dominion over the whole world, and should be adored as a god. Dionysius hereupon, concluding that the prophecy would certainly take effect, he built a temple and a city to his father, and having ordered him to be worshipped as a god, constituted priests for the oracle.

It is reported that Ammon was pourtrayed with a ram's head, because he always wore a helmet in the wars of that shape.

There are some that report he had horns naturally growing out at his temples; and hence it is, that his son Dionysius is represented in the same manner; and modern authors do deliver it as a most certain truth, that this god was horned.

When he had built the city, and settled the oracle, they say, he first consulted with this new god, concerning his intended expeditions, and that his father answered him, that by doing good to all mankind, he should attain to an estate of immortality. Being thus encouraged, he first invaded Egypt, and made Jupiter, the son of Saturn and Rhea, king of the country, though he was then but a boy: but appointed Olympus his assistant and tutor, by whose instructions he attained to a high degree of virtue and noble endowments, and thence was called Jupiter Olympus.

Dionysius was said to have taught the Egyptians the manner of planting, and use of the vine, and to keep and store up wine, apples*, and other fruits. His fame was now so noised abroad in every place, that none durst oppose him, but all submitted of their own accord, and with praises and sacrifices adored him as a god. Passing thus (they say) through the whole world, he planted and improved the countries all along as he went, and by his good acts obliged all mankind to a grateful remembrance, by rendering him immortal honour:

* Acorns, or crabs.

and whereas all men have divers sentiments of the rest of the gods, yet they all agree in the immortality of Bacchus: for there is neither Greek nor barbarian, but have tasted of his grace and bounty; yea, even those that inhabit the most barren countries, altogether unfit for the planting of vines, learnt of him how to make drink of barley, little inferior in deliciousness of taste to wine.

They say, moreover, that Dionysius with a swift march hastened out of India to the sea*, and there found the Titans passing over with great forces into Crete, against Ammon. And whereas Jupiter in the mean time had brought over forces out of Egypt to the assistance of Ammon, and a great war was broke out in that island, Dionysius forthwith, together with Minerva and others (reputed to be gods) transported aids to them in Crete. Hereupon was fought a great battle, wherein the Dionysians were victors, and the Titans were every man cut off.

After Ammon and Bacchus were translated to a state of immortality, (and all the Titans now utterly extinct) Jupiter became lord of the universe, none daring to be so impious as to oppose him.

These are the things which the Libyans say were done by the first Bacchus, the son of Ammon and Amalthæa.

The second Bacchus (they say) was son of Jupiter, by Io, the daughter of Inachus, and reigned in Egypt, and there taught the manner of divine worship and sacrifices.

The third was the issue of Jupiter and Semele, and was, among the Grecians, a rival of the other two before mentioned: for, making it his business to imitate them, he likewise, with a great army, marched through the whole world, and set up many pillars at the utmost bounds of his several expeditions, and planted and improved likewise the countries as he went. And as the antient Bacchus listed the Amazons into his army, so did this other women. He took, likewise, much care and pains about the *Orgia* and sacred rites and ceremonies, some of which he reformed, and added others. But because of the length of time, the first invention and finding out of things is unknown to many, this last Bacchus only inherits the glory and reputation belonging to the former, which misfortune not only befel him, but Hercules after him.

For whereas there was anciently two of the same name; one of them (and the more antient) is said to have flourished in Egypt, who, having overcome a great part of the world, erected a pillar in Africa. The other was born in Crete, and was one of the *Idæi Dactyli*; he was a juggler, but likewise a good soldier, and instituted the Olympic games.

* The Mediterranean.

The last was the son of Jupiter, by Alcmena, born a little before the Trojan war: he travelled through many parts of the world to execute the commands of Eurystheus, and succeeded in all his enterprises; he erected a pillar in Europe.

His name being the same, and his actions much like to those of the former, was the occasion that what things were done by the antient Herculeses, after their deaths were by posterity solely ascribed to him, as if there never had been any but one Hercules in the world.

Amongst other evident proofs that there were more than one Dionysius, or Bacchus, this very fight of the Titans makes it clear: for it is generally acknowledged, that Dionysius was with Jupiter in the war against the Titans, and they say that it is an absurd and indecent thing to account Semele contemporary with the Titans, and to affirm that Cadmus, the son of Agenor, was more antient than the celestial gods*. And these are the things which the Libyans relate of Bacchus. Thus, having now performed our promise made at the beginning, we shall here put an end to this third book.

* The gods of Olympus.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

BOOK IV.

PREFACE.

I AM not ignorant that the writers of antiquities in many things fall short of the truth in their relations. For being that antient things are (as it were) scraped out of the rubbish with very great difficulty, they greatly perplex the historian. And because the supputation of times wherein things were done cannot now be so exact as to infer an infallible argument for the truth of the actions related, therefore it is that the reader despises the authors of the history: and the multitude and variety of the gods, demi-gods, and other famous men, whose genealogies are to be treated of, add much more to the difficulty. And the greatest vexation of all is, that the writers of antiquities and mythologies differ exceedingly in their relations one from another: and therefore the most famed and noted historians of later times have altogether waved treatises of antient things, and applied themselves to composing histories only of such as have happened in times a little before their own. For Ephorus the Cumæan, the scholar of Isocrates, designing to write a general history, passing over matters of former ages, began his writings with the return of the Heraclides*; Callisthenes and Theopompus, who were contemporary, followed the same method, and waved all matters of antiquity. But I am of a contrary opinion from them in this matter, and therefore, the more fully to discharge what I have undertaken, have resolved with the greatest care and diligence I can, to treat of the antiquities of antient times: for there are many things, and such as are very remarkable, that have been done by the gods and demi-gods, and other famous men, to some of whom posterity, for their good actions to the

* Time of Samuel the prophet, eighty years after the destruction of Troy.

general benefit of mankind, have attributed divine honours, as to gods, and have adored others, by instituting sacrifices to them as demi-gods. But the due praises of all these worthies are published to the world by history, to the succession of perpetual generations.

In the three former books we have treated of the affairs of other nations, and of their gods; of the description of places in the several countries, of the wild beasts and other living creatures bred amongst them, and whatever we judged worthy of remark, or strange and wonderful.

In this book we shall set forth the antiquities of the Grecians from the most antient times, and therein treat of the gods and demi-gods, and of all others that have been famous and remarkable in feats of arms in times of war, or have found out what has been beneficial to mankind in times of peace, or such as have been law-makers.

We shall begin, therefore, with Dionysius, or Bacchus, because he is the most antient, and did the most benefit to makind.

In the former books we have shewed how that some of the barbarians have challenged the birth of this god to be amongst them. For the Egyptians say, that their god Osiris is the same whom the Grecians call Dionysius; and that he went through the whole world, and first found out the use of wine, and taught men how to plant the vine, and that, for this great benefit to mankind, all generally agree that he attained to a state of immortality.

The Indians likewise, with no less confidence say, that he was born among them, and that he shewed the way and manner of planting the vine, and discovered the use of wine; which having before declared, we shall now deliver what the Grecians report concerning this god.

CHAP. I.

What the Grecians say further of Bacchus. The story of Priapus. Of Hermaphroditus. Of the Muses. The birth of Hercules; and his twelve labours enjoined him by Eurystheus. His wandering expeditions through Africa, Spain, France, Italy, Sicily. His setting up two pillars at Gades, and his other acts by the way. The story of Orpheus.

CADMUS*, (they say) the son of Agenor, being sent out of Phœnicia by the king his father, to seek Europa, was commanded to bring her back, or he himself never to return into Phœnicia. After many long and tedious travels through many countries, not being able to find the lost lady in any place, despairing of ever returning into his own country, he came at length into Bœotia, and, by command of the oracle, built Thebes, where he resided, and married Hermione, the daughter of Venus, by whom he had Semele, Ino, Autonoe, Agave, and Polydorus. Semele was so beautiful, that Jupiter fell in love with her, and lay with her; but making his addresses in a mean and ordinary manner†, she looked upon it as if he did it in contempt of her, and therefore earnestly entreated him to come to his embraces with her in the same manner as he did when he lay with Juno. Whereupon, decking himself in his divine majesty, he approached to her in thunder and lightning, and so lay with her in light and splendour: but Semele being great with child, and not able to bear the flashes of lightning that shot round about her, miscarried, and she herself was consumed by the flame; and then Jupiter took away the infant, and delivered it to Mercury, with orders to convey him to the cave in Nysa, (which lies between Phœnicia and the river Nile) and there to recommend him to the care of the nymphs, to be carefully bred up. Hence from Jupiter, whom the Greeks call *Dis*, and Nysa, he was called Dionysius, as Homer in his hymns witnesseth in this distich:

> Far off from Phœnice stands the sacred Nyse,
> Where streams of Egypt's Nile begin to rise,
> On mountain high with pleasant woods adorn'd.

Being brought up by the nymphs in Nysa, they say, he found out the use of wine, and taught the way and manner of planting the vine; and, going almost into all parts of the world, he civilized many

* This of Cadmus was Ann. Mund. 2660, in the time of Gideon, before Christ 1288.

† Silently.

nations and countries, so that he was highly honoured of all. He found out likewise the manner of making drink of barley, which some call Zythus, for taste and fragrant smell not much inferior to wine, and this art he especially taught them whose country was not fit for planting or producing of vines. He led along with him an army, not only of men, but of women, to execute punishments upon impious and wicked men.

In Bœotia, (in gratitude to his own country) he set free all the cities, and upon the account of this freedom, built a city, and called it Eleuthera*.

After he had spent three whole years in an expedition into India, he returned with many rich spoils into Bœotia, and was the first in triumph mounted upon an Indian elephant. Therefore the Bœotians, and the rest of the Grecians and Thracians, to keep up the memory of the Indian expedition, instituted solemn sacrifices every third year to Bacchus, called Trieterica, at which time they are of opinion this god appears among men; and therefore every third year, in many towns of Greece, the festivals of Bacchus, called Bacchanalia, are celebrated by a company of women and virgins, who (according to the solemn rites) carry javelins decked with flowers†, and run about like furies, hallooing and setting forth the praises of the god. The married women likewise run to these sacrifices, and fill the air with loud and solemn hymns to Bacchus, as if he were then present amongst them, in imitation of the Mænades‡, which heretofore (as is said) went along with Bacchus. Amongst many others who were impious and wicked, he especially inflicted punishment upon Pentheus and Lycurgus. But because the invention and use of wine is very grateful to mankind for its pleasant relish, and its strengthening and enlivening of the body, it is the custom at supper-time, when pure and unmixed wine is freely offered to all, to call upon the good genius; but after supper, when the wine is mixed with water, to call upon Jupiter Soter§: for, from pure and unmixed wine many times proceeds madness; but, tempered and allayed with the liquor that descends from Jove‖, it truly cheers and refreshes the spirits, and cures men of their madness and intoxication. Amongst all the gods, (they say) Bacchus and Ceres deserve most to be honoured by mankind, because they were by their good inventions most benefited: for he found out the most pleasant drink, and she the most strengthening food.

They report that there was another Bacchus, or Dionysius, much

* In Greek, Freedom. † Called Thyrses.
‡ Mænadæ, women that acted like furious mad women.
§ Jupiter the Saviour. ‖ Water called the liquor of Jove.

more antient than this, the son of Jupiter and Proserpina, called by some Sabazius, at whose birth sacrifices were celebrated in secret, and in the night, by reason of the filthy commixtures that were then among them. It is said, he was of a very sharp wit, and was the first that taught how to yoke oxen, and by them how to plough and sow the ground, whence they feign him to have horns. They say, likewise, that the son of Semele* was of later times, of a slender and delicate shape of body, and most comely feature, exceeding amorous, and addicted to the sports of Venus: that he carried about with him multitudes of women in his army, furnished with lances wrapped about with all sorts of flowers: and that the muses attended him in his expedition, virgins excellently learned, who by their melodious singing, dancing, and other pleasant diversions, exceedingly delighted the god.

Silenus, it is said, was his master, his foster father, and associate in his wars, and was an excellent instructor and teacher, and contributed much to the improvement of Bacchus in virtue, and the advancement of his reputation and honour.

In the time of battle he was furnished with warlike weapons, and a coat of mail covered with a panther's skin; in time of peace, when he celebrated solemn festivals, and came into the general assemblies, he was clothed with splendid and delicate apparel; and to prevent the head-ach by drinking of too much wine, he wore a mitre upon his head, and was called Mitrophorus†. This gave occasion to kings afterwards to wear diadems.

They say he was called Bimater, because both Dionysiuses had one father, but several mothers; but the younger succeeded the elder in the like remarkable actions; and therefore posterity, through ignorance of the truth, and both having had one and the same name, concluded that there was but one Dionysius.

They attribute to him the carrying of a rod, for the reasons following: when wine was first found out, it was drank pure, not mixed with water, so that in many meetings and solemn festivals, many times men drank to that excess, that they grew mad and furious, and beat one another with clubs and staves, insomuch as some were grievously wounded, and others were killed; at which Dionysius was much offended, and though he did not altogether forbid the drinking of unmixed wine, because it was so pleasant and delicious, yet instead of clubs he ordered the use of wands and small rods.

Men have given him many surnames, according to the several acts or circumstances of his life. For he is called Bacchæus, from the

* Dionysius of Thebes. † The Miter-wearer.

‡ Bimater, having two mothers.

Bacchæ*, that accompanied him; Lenæus†, from the pressing of grapes at the wine-press; Bromius, or Thunderer, because of the crash of thunder that was at the time of his birth; and for the same reason he was called Fireborn‡: he was surnamed likewise Thriambus, because he was the first (of whom ever any mention was made) that triumphed, when he returned laden with many spoils into his country from his Indian expedition. Many other names were assigned him, which would be both too tedious particularly to recite, and likewise foreign to the design of this history.

They held that he had two faces§, because there were two Dionysiuses; the antient Dionysius, who always wore a long beard, because all in antient times let their beards grow; and this later Bacchus, who was a spruce young man, as we have before declared. But some say that a double countenance was assigned him, because of the two special qualities wherewith drunkards are affected, being either raving mad, or transported with mirth.

They say, likewise, that he carried satyrs along with him, who by their dancing and skipping in his sports and plays, made the god exceeding merry. To conclude, as the muses pleased and delighted him with the knowledge of the liberal sciences, so the satyrs, with their tricks and antic and ridiculous gestures and actions, completed the happiness and comfort of his life.

It is reported, likewise, he invented plays, and set up theatres, and instituted music-schools, and freed all musicians that went along with him in his expeditions from public taxes; and hence it is, that posterity (after the example of Dionysius) have created societies of musicians, and decreed that all of that profession should be free.

But, that we may keep within due bounds, we shall here put an end to our discourse concerning Bacchus and his actions in antient times.

And now, since what is antiently reported of Priapus is (as we conceive) pertinent to this history of Bacchus, we shall here proceed to give an account of him.

The antients feign that Priapus was the son of Bacchus and Venus, induced thereunto by a probable argument, which is this—That when men are drunk, they are naturally prone to venery; and some say, that when the antient mythologists would name a man's yard, they called it Priapus; and therefore, that the privy parts (because they are the instruments of generation, and support the constant and continual succession of mankind) have received divine honour.

* Bacchæ, howling or mourning women. † *Lenos*, a wine-press.
‡ Pyrigene. § Biformis.

The Egyptians tell this story concerning Priapus: they say, that the Titans in antient times treacherously assassinated Osiris, and divided his members into equal parts, and that every one privately carried away a part out of the palace, only his privy members they threw into the river, because none would meddle with them: but Isis (they say) after a diligent inquiry made concerning the murder of her husband, and having revenged his death upon the Titans, by conjoining his dismembered parts, reduced them to a human shape, and delivered the body to the priests to be buried, and commanded that Osiris should be adored as a god, and appointed the shape of his privy member (which only was wanting, and could not be found) to be set up as a sacred relict in the temple, and to be honoured likewise as a deity: and these are the things which the antient Egyptians feign concerning the origin and divine worship of Priapus. Some call this god Ithyphallus, others Typhon. He is not only worshipped in the temples in the cities, but in the fields and villages, where he is reputed the guardian and keeper of their vineyards and orchards, and say that if any steal their goods, he inflicts punishment upon them for it. This god is not only honoured in the festivals of Bacchus, but in all other sacred solemnities, where, with sport and ridicule, his image is presented to the view of all.

They feign, likewise, that Hermaphroditus had the like origin, who being sprung from Hermes* and Aphrodite†, was, from their two names joined together, so called. Some say that this Hermaphroditus is a god, who at some certain times appears to men, and is naturally both man and woman; in beauty and slenderness of his body he represents a woman, but in strength and manly countenance, a man. Others account these births for monsters, which being but rare, portend sometimes both good and bad by turns; but enough of these.

Here it is fit to say something of the muses (of whom some mention is made in the history of Bacchus). Most of the writers of antiquities, and those of greatest authority, say they were the daughters of Jupiter and Mnemosyne‡. Some few of the poets (among whom is Alcman) say they were the issue of Cœlus and Terra§. They differ, likewise, about their number, for some reckon three, others nine; but the number nine, by the authority of the most famous authors, (such as Homer, Hesiod, and some others of the like esteem) has prevailed before all others: for thus says Homer—

The muses nine with voices sweet do chant.

* Mercury. † Venus. ‡ Memory.
§ Cœlum and Terra, Heaven and Earth.

Hesiod likewise sums up their names in these verses—

Clio, Thalia, and Melpomene,
Likewise Erato and Terpsichore,
Polymnia, Urania, Euterpe,
And one beyond them all, Calliope.

To each of these they attribute their peculiar art in particular sorts of sciences, as poetical harmony, dancing, singing, astrology, and the rest of the liberal arts. They are said by most to be virgins, because liberal sciences seem to be uncorrupt and virtuous qualifications.

They are called muses, from the Greek word *Mousa*, which signifies the teaching of things commendable and profitable, and such as are unknown to them that are instructed. They apply likewise to each a particular reason of their several names. Clio, they say, is so called, because she advances men's names to the skies, in assisting the poets to resound their praise. Euterpe, because she delights her auditors with wholesome and commendable instructions. Thalia, from the constant glory and honour that attends upon learning. Melpomene, is so called from melody, by which means she insinuates herself with delight into the minds of men. Terpsichore, because she delights her scholars with those pleasures that result from learning. Erato, because she procures love and respect to learned men from all. Polymnia, from the many hymns whereby she advances the renown of her poets, and crowns their names with immortal praise and glory. Urania, because those that are taught and improved by her are even lifted up to heaven. Lastly, Calliope, from the sweetness of her voice, that is, her elegant language and exact composures of her verse, whereby she gains the general applause of her learned auditors.

Having treated sufficiently of these matters, we shall now bend our discourse to the things done by Hercules.

I am not ignorant that those who write of the actions of the antients, especially of the acts of Hercules, meet with many difficulties; for, of all the great actions that ever were done in the world, those of Hercules far exceed all that ever have been recorded. A most difficult task therefore it is to give such an account of what this hero did as may be agreeable to the worth and dignity of his actions, or to frame such a discourse as may equalize the greatness of them, for which he attained to a state of immortality. For, inasmuch as things that are antient and unusual are judged incredible by most, it is absolutely necessary, though with the diminution of this god's glory, to omit some of his acts, lest, by relating all, the whole his-

tory be rejected as fabulous. For some unreasonably expect as clear evidence for things that are antient as for those done in our own age, and judge of the greatness of actions (which makes them seem incredible) according to the rule of things done in the present time, and estimate the strength of Hercules according to the weak measure of men's strength now.

And so, by reason of the greatness and strangeness of things related, history suffers in its credit and reputation. But in old stories* the truth ought not to be searched into too critically and punctually: for, in the plays and theatres, though we do not believe for certain that there ever were such creatures as centaurs, or creatures of a double nature, of several species, nor such a one as Gerion, that had three bodies, yet we favourably receive and entertain those fables, and with a general applause advance the honour of the god†. How unjust is it, then, that men should forget the labours of Hercules while he was here upon earth? Whereby he did good to all the world, and, instead of rendering him his due praises, to calumniate him whom our ancestors with unanimous consent, for his eminent virtue, honoured with divine honours.

And what can be more impious, than not to preserve and defend that religious respect to this god which they by their example have recommended to us? But, letting these matters pass, we shall relate the things done by him from the beginning, according as the poets and the most antient mythologists have handed them down to us.

Perseus (they say) was the son of Jupiter by Danaë, the daughter of Acrisius, and that Perseus begat Electryon of Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus, and that Electryon begat Alcmena of Eurydice the daughter of Pelops, and that Jupiter (deceiving Alcmena) lay with her, and begat Hercules: so that by this genealogy Hercules descended from the chiefest of the gods, both immediately by his mother, and more remotely by his great grandfather Perseus. His virtue and valour were not only evident from his acts, but might be concluded and foreseen by what happened before he was born: for when Jupiter lay with Alcmena, he lengthened the night threefold, so that, spending so much time in procreating this child was a sign how extraordinary strong he was likely to be. They say that Jupiter lay not with her out of any amorous pang of love, as with other women, but merely for procreation sake: and therefore, willing that his embraces at this time should be lawful, he forbore all violence; and knowing that the woman's chastity was such, that no arguments would prevail with her, he deceived her by taking upon him the shape of Amphitryon.

* In mythologies. † That is, Hercules, who carried away Gerion's oxen.

And now the time of her delivery drew nigh, when Jupiter, full of thoughts concerning the birth of Hercules, in the presence of all the gods declared, that he would make him king of the Persians, who was to be born that day. Whereupon Juno, enraged with jealousy, with the assistance of Ilithyia* her daughter, gave a check to the delivery of Alcmena, and brought forth Eurystheus before his full time. But though Jupiter was thus outwitted by Juno, yet, that he might perform his promise, he took care to preserve the honour and reputation of Hercules; and therefore it is reported, that he prevailed with Juno to consent, that Eurystheus being made king according to his promise, Hercules, (who should be subject to him), performing twelve labours, (such as Eurystheus should impose upon him), should be taken into the society of the immortal gods.

Alcmena being delivered (out of fear of Juno's jealousy) exposed the child in a place which is now, from him, called Hercules's Field. About which time Minerva, together with Juno, walking abroad, found the infant, and, much admiring his beauty, Minerva persuaded Juno to give it suck: the child drawing the breast with more violence than at his age was usual, Juno, not able to endure the pain, cast away the infant, whom Minerva took up, and brought home to his mother, to be nursed by her. The accident here seems very strange and remarkable: for the mother, who owed a natural affection to her own child, exposed him to destruction; but she who hated him, as a step-mother, (unknowingly) preserved her natural enemy.

Afterwards Juno sent two serpents to devour the child: but he took them with both his hands by their throats, and strangled them. Upon which account the Argives (coming to understand what was done) called him Hercules†, because Juno was the occasion of his glory and fame, for he was before called Alcides. Others are named by their parents, but he gained his name by his valour.

In after times it happened that Amphitryon, being banished from Tyrinthe, settled himself in Thebes; here Hercules was educated, here he was instructed and greatly improved in all laudable exercises, insomuch that he excelled all others in strength of body, and also in the excellent endowments of his mind.

Being now grown up to man's estate, he first freed Thebes from tyrannical slavery, and thereby made a grateful return to the country where he was bred. The Thebans at that time were under the tyranny of Erginus, king of the Minyans‡, who every year exacted tribute from them, not without scorn and contempt. Hercules,

* Ilithyia, a goddess, assistant to those in travail. † Hercules signifies, the glory of Juno, who is called in Greek, *Hera*. ‡ Or Orchomenians; a people of Thessaly.

therefore, not at all discouraged with the greatness of the bondage they laboured under, attempted a glorious piece of service. For when those who were sent from the Minyæ to collect the tribute carried it insolently towards the people, he cut off their ears, and cast them out of the city; whereupon Erginus demanded the delivery up of the malefactor, and Creon, the prince of Thebes, (dreading the potency of Erginus) resolved to deliver him up; but Hercules stirred up the young men of the city to arm themselves, in order to recover the liberty of their country, and to that end took away all the arms that were in the temples, formerly dedicated to the gods by their ancestors, of the spoils of their enemies; for none of the citizens had any arms of their own, by reason the Minyans had disarmed the city; so that the Thebans had not the least thought of a revolt.

Intelligence being brought that Erginus with an army approached the city, Hercules set upon him in a strait passage (where a multitude was of little use) and killed Erginus, and cut off almost his whole army. He fell likewise suddenly upon the city of the Orchomenians, entering unexpectedly, and burnt the palace of the Minyæ, and razed the city to the ground.

The fame of this notable exploit was presently noised over all Greece, while such a sudden and unexpected achievement was the subject of every man's admiration, and Creon the king (wonderfully taken with the valour of the young man) gave him his daughter Megæra to wife, and committed to him the care and charge of the city, as if he had been his own son.

But Eurystheus, king of Argos (jealous of Hercules's growing greatness, sent for him to perform the labours he was to impose upon him, which he refusing, Jupiter commanded him to obey king Eurystheus; whereupon Hercules went to Delphos, and inquired of the oracle concerning this matter, who answered him—That it was the pleasure of the gods, that he should perform twelve labours at the command of Eurystheus, and that when he had finished them, he should receive the reward of immortality. Hereupon Hercules became exceeding sad and melancholy; for he judged it very much below him to be at the beck of his inferior, and to disobey his father Jupiter a second time he concluded was both unprofitable and impossible. While he was in this perplexity, Juno struck him with madness; being therefore, through the discomfiture of his mind, become distracted, and by the growth of his distemper altogether a madman, he designed to murder Iolaus, who saving himself by flight, he fell upon his own children by Megæra, who were next in his way, and struck them through with his darts, as if they had been his enemies.

As soon as he came again to himself, and understood his error, he almost sunk under the weight of his misery, (being pitied by every body), and shut himself up in his own house a long time from the converse and society of men.

At length, time moderating his grief, resolving to undergo all the difficulties that were enjoined him, he went to Eurystheus, who in the first place commanded him to kill the lion in the forest of Nemæa*, which was of a monstrous bigness, not to be pierced or wounded by sword, spear, or stones, and therefore not to be dealt with but by mere force and strength of hand. His walks were commonly between Mycenæ and Nemæa, near the mountain (from what happened to it) called Tretos†. For at the foot of this hill there was a den, in which this monster used to lurk. Hercules here meeting with him, laid hold of him, whereupon the beast beginning to fly to his den, he resolutely pursued him, (having before stopped up one of the mouths of the den), and so both closed, where he got the lion by the throat, and strangled him with his arms. Then he clothed himself with his skin, (which was big enough to cover his whole body, and ever after wore it as a defence in all conflicts.

His second task was to kill the hydra of Lerna. This monster had a hundred necks rising out of one body, and upon every neck a serpentine head, and when one of these was cut off, two others grew up in its stead; and therefore this monster was accounted invincible, and not without good reason, for, from the part that was lost, arose a double assistance in its room. Against this difficulty he invented this stratagem; he commanded Iolaus to sear the part that was cut off with a firebrand, that thereby the blood might be stopped, by which means the beast was killed, and he dipped the points of his darts in the monster's gall, that wherever they struck, the wound might be incurable.

The third command was, that he should bring the Erymanthean boar (which roved about in the plains of Arcadia) to him alive. This seemed to be a most difficult task: for he that fought with this beast ought to be so subtle as diligently to watch the exact time and fittest opportunity in the management of the conflict; for if he should let him go while he was in his full strength, the champion was in danger to be rent in pieces with his tushes; and if he wounded him too sore, and so killed him, his labour was lost, and his victory imperfect. However, he so prudently managed the combat, that he brought the beast alive to Eurystheus, who was so terrified to see him come hurrying with the boar upon his shoulders, that he hid himself in a brazen hogshead.

* This forest was in Achaia. † *Tretos*, bored through.

In the mean time Hercules subdued the centaurs, upon this occasion: there was one Pholus among the centaurs, from whom the neighbouring mountain was called Pholoe; this same having entertained Hercules as his guest, took up an hogshead of wine that had for a long time been buried in the earth: for it is reported, that this wine was antiently deposited in the hands of a certain centaur by Bacchus, who commanded that it should be broached at that very time when Hercules came thither; who now happening to be there, the fourth age after, Pholus, remembering Bacchus's command, opened the hogshead; whereupon, the wine being old, and exceeding strong, the flavour of it reached to the neigbouring centaurs, and struck them all with a fit of fury and madness; whereupon they all came in troops, and in a terrible tumult assaulted Pholus's house, to carry away the prey, insomuch that Pholus, in a great fright, hid himself.

But Hercules unexpectedly set upon the aggressors; for he was to fight with those who from the mother partook of the nature of the gods, were as swift as horses, as strong as double-bodied beasts, and were endued with the understanding and prudence of men.

Some of these centaurs assailed him with fir-trees plucked up by the roots, others with huge and massy stones, some with lighted firebrands, and others with axes, with whom he undauntedly entered the list, and fought with that bravery as was agreeable to the glory of his former actions.

Their mother Nephele* assisted them by a violent storm of rain, which was no prejudice to them that were four-footed, but he, that had but two, had by this means a troublesome and slippery standing: however Hercules, with wonderful valour, overcame them that had so many and great advantages above him, killing most of them, and putting the rest to flight. Of those that were slain, the most remarkable were Daphnis, Argeus, Amphion, Hippotion, Oreus, Isoples, Melanchetes, Thereus, Dupo, and Phrixus: and every one of those that fled came afterwards to condign punishment; for Homadus (because he ravished, in Arcadia, Atalcyona, the sister of Eurystheus) was slain by Hercules, for which his generosity was greatly admired: for, though he hated his enemy upon his own private account, yet he judged it a commendable piece of humanity to have compassion on a woman in her afflicted condition, upon the account of her dishonour and disgrace.

Somewhat remarkable likewise happened to Pholus, Hercules's friend: for, burying the centaurs that were killed, (upon the account of his kindred and relation to them) plucking a dart out of one of

* A cloud.

them, he chanced with the point mortally to wound himself, of which he died, whom Hercules with great pomp and state buried at the foot of the mount, which fell out to be far more glorious than the most stately monument; for the mountain being called Pholoe, preserves the memory of him buried there, not by characters and inscriptions, but by similitude of name. In the same manner he killed Chiron* (eminent for his art in physic) by chance, with the throwing of a dart. But this that has been said of the centaurs shall suffice.

Afterwards Hercules received a further command, that he should take the swift hart that had golden horns, and bring him to the king. This he performed more by art and subtlety, than strength of body: for some say he took her in a net, others by tracing her to the place where she rested, and there laying hold of her when she was asleep; but others say that he ran her down, and so gained her by swiftness of foot. However it were, it is certain he performed this labour not by force or any hazard, but by art and skill.

Being next commanded to drive away the birds that were about the Stymphalian lake, by art and contrivance he easily performed this: for there were an innumerable number of birds in those places, which destroyed and ate up all the fruits in the neighbourhood, and they were so numerous, that no force could prevail to get rid of them. Being, therefore, there was need of art and contrivance in this matter, he invented a brazen pan, and, by the mighty sound it made, by striking upon it, frighted the birds, and by the continual noise drove them at length quite away, so that the lake was never infested with them afterwards.

This labour being now at an end, Eurystheus, in contempt of him, commanded him, without any assistant, to cleanse Augias's stable, in which were vast heaps of muck and dirt, which had been gathering together for many years. Hercules, therefore, to avoid the ignominy of this contempt cast upon him, scorned to carry out the muck and dung upon his shoulders, but in one day's time, without any disgrace to himself, cleansed the stable, by turning the course of the river Peneus through it; in which thing the ingenuity of Hercules is admirable, who so executed the proud command of his domineering master as to avoid every thing that was base and unbecoming the glory of his immortal honour.

Next was imposed upon him the bringing the bull out of Crete, with which (they say) Pasiphae fell in love. To this end, therefore, he sailed into the island, and, by the assistance of king Minos, trans-

* Another centaur.

ported the beast (for which he had made so long a voyage) into Peloponnesus.

Having performed this task, he instituted the Olympic games, and for that purpose chose out a place he judged most convenient for the reception of such a pompous assembly, which were the fields all along the banks of the river Alpheus. Here he ordered the solemnity of these games to the honour of his father Jupiter, and appointed to the victors a crown for a reward, minding the general good and benefit of mankind, without taking any advantage to himself. In every exercise he was victor, without any opposition; for, by reason of his remarkable strength and valour, none durst contend with him, although the contests were of a contrary and different nature one from another: for it is a hard matter even for a mighty champion in combat always to win the prize in a course, and as difficult for those that are usually victors in small contentions to prevail against them that are eminent in greater contests. Hercules, therefore, prevailed in all these games, carrying away the prize from the chiefest among them.

And here we are not to omit giving an account of the rewards given to him by the gods for his virtue; for, when he retired himself from wars, and betook himself to his ease and quietness, and to follow sports, panegyrics, and festivals, every one of the gods presented him with their several gifts.

Minerva gave him an embroidered hood, Vulcan a club and a breast-plate; and between these two was a contest who should excel in their several arts, whilst the one wrought and bestowed what was for pleasure and ornament in time of peace, and the other what was for defence in time of war. Neptune presented him with horses, Mercury with a sword, Apollo a bow, and taught him the art of archery. And Ceres, to expiate the slaughter of the centaurs, instituted in honour of Hercules some small mysteries. But concerning the birth of this god, this is remarkable; for the first woman upon earth that Jupiter lay with was Niobe, the daughter of Pharoneus, and the last was Alcmena, who was in the sixteenth age after Niobe, as the mythologists say. From the time of her* ancestors, he began to beget men, and at length ended in this Alcmena, and would never after have any thing to do with any mortal, or beget any issue, never expecting to beget a more excellent offspring.

Afterwards, when the giants fought with the immortal gods at Pallene, Hercules aided the gods, and, after a great slaughter made by him of those sons of the earth, he became greatly renowned. For

* Alcmena's ancestors.

Jupiter called those only gods of Olympus who assisted him in the war, by this title of honour to distinguish the courageous from the coward; which surname he gave to Bacchus and Hercules, though their mothers were mortals, not only because they were the offspring of Jove, but likewise for that they were like him in virtuous qualifications, doing good generally to all mankind.

But Prometheus*, because he stole fire from heaven, and handed it to men, was clapped in chains by Jupiter, who caused an eagle to seize and feed continually upon his liver; but Hercules, seeing that he suffered so much for his kindness to mankind, shot the bird with an arrow, and then, having pacified Jove, freed this common benefactor from all further trouble.

Afterwards he was enjoined to bring away Diomedes king of Thrace's mares, which were kept in stalls of brass, and (by reason of their strength and fierceness) tied up in iron chains. Their provender was not from the product of the earth, but they were fed with the flesh of miserable strangers that came thither, cut in small pieces for that purpose. Hercules, to gain possession of them, laid their own master Diomedes before them, who, satiating their hunger by his flesh who had wickedly taught them to feed upon flesh, thereby became tame and manageable. Eurystheus, when they were brought to him, dedicated them to Juno, and their breed continued to the time of Alexander the Great. When he had performed this labour, he sailed with Jason to Colchis, to bring away the golden fleece by force of arms. But of this we shall speak when we come to the expedition of the Argonauts.

Then he was commanded to strip Hippolyta the Amazon of her belt. Hereupon, resolving upon a war against the Amazons, he sailed into Pontus, from him called Euxinus†, and, arriving at the mouth of the river Thermodon, he encamped near the city Themiscyra, the seat-royal of the Amazons; and first he demanded the belt to be delivered to him, which being refused, he joined battle with them.

The choice and most noble of the Amazons were drawn up against Hercules, the rest of the army opposed the other ordinary troops, so that there was a very sharp engagement. The first that fought hand to hand with him was Aella, so called from her swiftness; but she found her enemy swifter than herself: the second was Philippis, who upon the first onset received a mortal wound, and fell down dead. Then Prothoe entered the list, who, they say, seven times baffled her

* Prometheus is judged to be Noah by some, and Magog the son of Japhet by others. See Gale's Court of the Gentiles, p. 1, c. 6, sect. 4.

† The Euxine sea.

enemy in single combat; but she being at length slain, he killed the fourth, called Eribea. She was so confident in her strength and feats of arms, that she used to boast she needed none to second her; but, meeting with one stronger than herself, she presently experienced the vanity of her boasting.

After these Celænus, Euryæa, and Phœbe, companions with Diana in hunting, (who never used to miss their mark, yet now could none of them hit one), in defending one another, were all killed together upon the spot. Then he overcame Deianita, Asteria, Marpes, Tecmessa, and Alcippe. The last mentioned had vowed perpetual virginity, and kept their oaths, but could not preserve their lives. Melanippe* also, the queen of the Amazons, (who was famous and highly admired every where for her valour), then lost her kingdom. The chief of the Amazons being thus cut off, he forced the rest to fly, and killing most of them in the pursuit, wholly destroyed and rooted up that nation. Of the prisoners he gave Antiope to Theseus, but Melanippe he discharged, having first taken from her her belt.

After this, a tenth labour was imposed upon him by Eurystheus, and that was to drive away the oxen of Gerion that pastured in Iberia near to the ocean. Hercules, perceiving he could not perform this task without much trouble and great preparation, set forth a brave fleet, and manned it with such a number of seamen and soldiers as such an expedition justly required: for it was noised abroad through the whole world, that Chrysaor (so called from his riches) king of Iberia†, had three sons‡, strong bodied men, and famous for martial affairs, and that each of them had great armies of valiant men constantly at hand attending upon them, which was the reason Eurystheus imposed this task upon him, conceiving this expedition was greater than he was ever able to perform: but Hercules undertook this with as much confidence as he had done those before, and commanded forces to be raised in Crete, whence he resolved to set forth, this island being the most convenient port from whence to make any expedition into any part of the world. Before he set sail, mighty honours were conferred upon him by the inhabitants; in grateful return for which favours he freed the island from wild beasts, so that no hurtful creatures, such as bears, wolves, serpents, and such like, remained there ever after. He did these things in reverence to the island, because it was reported that Jupiter was bred and born there. Loosing thence, he arrived at Libya. Here, in the first place, he

* Melanippe, she was rather sister to Antiope, who was queen. See Nat. Comes, lib. 7, c. 9.

† Spain.

‡ Of whom this Gerion was one, whom the poets feign to have three bodies.

challenged and slew Antæus, (famous for his great strength and skill in wrestling), who was used to kill the strangers he wrestled with, after he had mastered them. Then he destroyed the wild beasts in the deserts, and made Africa so quiet and improveable, (which was before full of hurtful creatures), that every part was fit for tillage, and planting of fruit-trees; the whole country productive of wine and oil. In short, he so improved Libya, (which, by reason of the multitude of wild beasts, was before uninhabitable), that no country in the world afterwards exceeded it for fertility and richness of soil. In like manner he so purged the nation from wicked men and insolent tyrants, that he put all the cities into a flourishing state and condition. It is therefore reported that he was prosecuted with the hatred and opposition of all sorts of dreadful wild beasts, and of wicked men; for, when he was an infant in his cradle, he was assaulted by serpents, and, when he was a man, he was vexed and perplexed with the commands of a proud and unjust tyrant.

After the killing of Antæus, he went into Egypt, where he slew the tyrant Busiris, who murdered all strangers that landed there. After he had passed over the sandy deserts of Libya, he found a fertile and well watered country, in which he built an extraordinary great city, from the number of its gates called Hecatompylon*, which continued in a flourishing condition till of latter times that the Carthaginians, with a great army, (commanded by eminent captains), took it.

Hercules having passed through a great part of Africa, arrived in the ocean near Gades†, where he erected two pillars, one on each side the strait upon the continent.

Thence (with his fleet sailing along with him) he passed over into Iberia, where he found the sons of Chrysaor with three mighty armies. These at a distance he challenged to a single combat, and having at length slain the three generals, he gained Iberia, and drove away those remarkable herds of cattle.

In the mean time, as he travelled through Spain, he was magnificently entertained by a petty prince in the country, (who was a pious and just man), in return for which, he bestowed upon him some of the cattle; and he again consecrated them all to Hercules, and every year sacrificed to him one of the fairest bulls that were bred of them, some of which sacred breed remain in Iberia to this day.

And now, because we have before made mention of Hercules's pillars, we conceive it fit in this place to say something further concerning them.

Hercules, when he arrived at the utmost coasts of both continents

* Hecatompylon, a hundred gates. † Or in the straits near Cadiz.

adjoining to the ocean, resolved to set up these pillars as lasting monuments of his expedition. That his work, therefore, might be famous to all posterity, it is said, that he much enlarged both the mountains on each side, by making great mounds for a long way into the sea; so that, whereas before they lay in the sea at a great distance one from another, he made the passage so narrow, that the great whales from that time could not pass out of the ocean through those straits into the Mediterranean; and, by the greatness of the work, the glory of the workman is preserved in everlasting remembrance.

But there are some of a contrary opinion, and affirm that the continents once joined together, and that he cut a trench through them, whereby he opened a passage, and so brought the ocean into our sea. But every man may judge of this matter as he thinks fit. The like he did before in Greece: for, when the large champaign country about Tempe was all over a standing lake, he cut sluices through the lower grounds, and through those trenches drained all the water out of the lake, by which means were gained all those pleasant fields of Thessaly as far as to the river Peneus. But in Bœotia he did quite contrary; for he caused the river which ran through the country of the Minyæ to overflow the whole region, and turn all into a standing pool. What he did in Thessaly was to gain the favour of the Grecians, but that in Bœotia he did to punish the Minyæ, because they oppressed the Thebans.

Hercules having committed the government of the kingdom of Iberia to the chiefest of the inhabitants, marched away with his army into Celtica*, and overran the whole country, and put an end to their usual impieties and murdering of strangers.

And whereas a vast multitude from all nations came and listed themselves of their own accord in his army, having such a number, he built a famous large city, which he called, from his wandering expedition, Alesia†. But because many of the barbarians from the neighbouring places were mixed among the citizens, it happened that the rest of the inhabitants (being much inferior in number) learnt the barbarian manners of the other. The Celtæ at this day have a great esteem and honour for this city, as being the chief and metropolis of all Gaul; and ever since the time of Hercules it has remained free, never taken by any, to our very days; till at length Caius Cæsar, who (by reason of the greatness of his actions) was called Divus, took it by storm, and so it came into the hands of the Romans. With the rest of the Gauls Hercules, marching out of Gaul into Italy, as he passed over the Alps, levelled and opened those rough and dif-

* France. † Or Alexia, Arras.

ficult ways (that were scarce passable) to make way for his army and carriages. The barbarians who inhabited those mountainous parts were used to kill and rob armies, in the strait and craggy places, as they happened to pass this way; but he subdued them, and put to death the perpetrators of those wicked practices, and so made the passage safe this way to all posterity. Having passed the Alps, he continued his march through Gaul, as it is now called, and came into Liguria. The Ligurians inhabit a rough and barren soil, but being forced by continual labour and toil, it produces some little corn and other fruits: the people here are short and low, but by reason of their constant labours well set and strong; for they are far from being idle and luxurious livers, and therefore are very active and valiant in time of war. To conclude, because all these neighbouring regions are plied with continual labours and pains, (for that the land requires it), it is the custom for the women to work and labour in that kind as well as the men; and whereas the women as well as the men work for hire, there fell out a remarkable accident concerning one of these women, strange and unusual to any of our female sex. Being great with child, and falling in labour in the midst of her work amongst the men, without any noise or complaint she withdrew herself into a certain grove there near at hand, and there being delivered, she covered the infant with leaves, and hid it among the shrubs, and then returned to her work again, without the least sign of having borne a child, and continued with her fellow-labourers in her work as she did before. But the infant, crying and bawling, discovered the whole matter; yet the overseer of the workmen would by no means be persuaded to suffer her to leave her miserable employment, till he that hired her, pitying her condition, paid her her wages, and discharged her.

Hercules, after he had gone through Liguria and Tuscany, encamped at Tiber, where Rome now stands, built many ages after by Romulus, the son of Mars. The natural inhabitants at that time inhabited a little town upon a hill, now called Mount Palatine. Here Potitius* and Pinarius, the most eminent persons of quality among them, entertained Hercules with all the demonstrations of kindness imaginable, and presented him with many noble presents. There are now at Rome antient monuments of these men; for the most noble family, called the Pinarii, remains still among the Romans, and is accounted the most antient at this day. And there are Potitius's stone stairs to go down from Mount Palatine, (called after his name), adjoining to that which was antiently his house.

Hercules being much pleased with the civil entertainment of the

* Cacius in the Greek.

Palatines, foretold them, that whosoever should dedicate the tenth of their goods to him, after he was translated to the gods, should be ever after more prosperous; and this dedication has been ever since constantly used to this day: for many of the Romans, not only such as are of mean estates, but the great and rich men, (having experienced how riches have flowed in upon them after the decimation of their goods to Hercules), have dedicated the tenth part of their substances, which have been of the value of four thousand talents: for Lucullus (the richest almost of all the Romans in his time) valued his estate, and consecrated the tenths to this god, and feasted continually with prodigious charge and expence. The Romans afterwards built a magnificent temple near the river Tiber, in honour of this god, and instituted sacrifices to him out of the tenths.

Hercules marching from Mount Palatine, passed through the maritime coasts of Italy, as they are now called, and came into the champaign country of Cumæ, where (it is said) there were men infamous for their outrages and cruelties, called giants. This place is also called the Phlegræan plain, from a hill which antiently vomited out fire, like unto Ætna in Sicily, now called Vesuvius, which retains many signs and marks of its antient irruptions.

These giants, hearing of Hercules's approach, met him in battle array, and, fighting with the force and cruelty of giants, Hercules (with the assistance of the gods) overcame them, and cutting off most of them, quieted that country. These giants were called sons of the earth, by reason of the vast bulk of their bodies. These are the things that some report (whom Timæus follows) concerning the destruction of the giants of Phlegræa.

Leaving the plains of Phlegræa, he came to the sea, where he performed some remarkable works about the lake Avernus, (as it is called), which is consecrated to Proserpine. It is situated between Micenus and Dicarcheos, near the hot baths, five furlongs in circuit, and of an incredible depth. The water of this lake is exceeding clear, and the mighty depth of it casts a blue colour upon the surface.

It is reported that there was antiently here an oracle, where they conjured the infernal spirits, which the latter ages abolished. Whereas this lake extended as far as to the sea, it is said Hercules, by casting up of earth, so stopped up its current, that he made the way near the sea, now called the Herculean way. And these are the things he did there.

Marching thence, he came to a certain rock in the country of the Posidonians, where, they report, a kind of a miracle happened. A certain huntsman (famous all over the country for his brave exploits)

was used formerly to fix the heads and feet of all the game he took to trees, as an offering to Diana: but having then taken a great wild boar, (in contempt of the goddess), he boasted, and declared he would only consecrate the head to her; and forthwith, according to what he said, hung it upon a tree. It being then summer-time, about noon, he laid him down to sleep, during which time, the band that fastened the head broke, and so it fell down upon him as he slept, and killed him. And there is no reason to wonder at this, when many of the like kind are reported to have happened, by which the goddess has revenged herself on the impious. But the contrary happened to Hercules, for the sake of his piety; for, when he came to the borders of Rhegium and Locris, being wearied with his march, and laid down to rest, they say he was disturbed with the noise and creaking of the grasshoppers, whereupon he entreated the gods to free him from that disturbance, who heard his prayers: for the grasshoppers flew away, not only for that time, but none were ever seen there at any time after.

When he came to the narrowest passage over the sea, he caused the cattle to swim over before him into Sicily, and he himself catched hold of one of the horns of the oxen, and in that manner swam along for the space of thirteen furlongs, as Timæus reports the matter. Afterwards, desiring to go round the island, he went on his journey from Peloriados to Eryx, and, passing along the shore, the nymphs opened the hot baths for him, where he refreshed himself after his tedious journey. These baths were two in number, the Hemerian and Egestean, so called from the places. After Hercules came into the country of Eryx, Eryx the son of Venus and Bula, the king of the country, challenged Hercules to wrestle with him. Both sides proposed the wager to be won and lost; Eryx laid to stake his kingdom, but Hercules his oxen; Eryx at first disdained such an unequal wager, not fit to be compared with his country; but when Hercules, on the other side, answered, that if he lost them, he should lose together with them immortality, Eryx was contented with the condition, and engaged in the contest: but he was overcome, and so was stripped out of the possession of his country, which Hercules gave to the inhabitants, allowing them to take the fruits to their own use, till some one of his posterity came to demand it, which afterwards happened: for, many ages after, Dorieus the Lacedæmonian (sailing into Sicily) recovered his ancestor's dominion, and there built Heraclea, which, growing great on a sudden, became the object of the Carthaginians' envy and fear, lest, growing stronger than Carthage itself, it should deprive them of their sovereignty; and for that reason they besieged it with a mighty army, and took it by force, and

razed it to the ground; of which we shall speak particularly in its proper place.

Hercules having viewed Sicily round, came to the city now called Syracuse, where, when he came to be informed of the rape of Proserpine, he offered magnificent sacrifices to the goddesses, and at Cyane sacrificed the goodliest of his bulls, and ordered the inhabitants to sacrifice yearly to Proserpine, and observe an anniversary festival at Cyane. Then travelling through the heart of the country with his oxen, he was set upon by the Sicani, with a strong body of men; whom, after a cruel battle, he routed, and cut off most of them, amongst whom (it is reported) there were captains of extraordinary valour, who are honoured as demi-gods to this day; to wit, Leucaspis, Pedicrates, Buphonas, Caugates, Cygaus, and Crytidas. Thence he passed through the country of the Leontines, and much admired the pleasantness of the territory; and, by reason of the singular respect he found from the inhabitants, he left there eternal monuments of his presence.

Among the Agyrineans something remarkable happened concerning him; for they kept magnificent festivals, and offered sacrifices to him, as to the gods themselves, which was the first time he approved of such worship, never before allowing any sacrifice to himself: but now the deity itself ratified his divinity; for, not far from the city, in a rocky way, the oxen made impressions with their feet, as if it had been in wax; and the same thing likewise happening to Hercules himself, caused him to conclude, that (his tenth labour being now perfected) his immortality was in part sealed to him, and therefore he refused not the yearly solemnity of sacrifices instituted in honour of him by the inhabitants. That he might, therefore, manifest his gratitude to them for the honours conferred upon him, he caused a pond to be sunk near the city, four furlongs in compass, which he called after his own name. The impressions, likewise, made by the hoofs of his oxen, he named after himself, and consecrated a grove* to Gerion, as to a demi-god, whom the inhabitants religiously worship at this day. He built likewise there a famous temple in honour of Iolaus, his associate in his expedition, and appointed he should be honoured with yearly sacrifices, which are observed at this day: for all the inhabitants of this city let their hair grow, without cutting, from their very births, in honour of Iolaus, till they make an offering of them to him, and gain the favour of the god by costly and magnificent sacrifices. Such is the holiness and majesty of this temple,

* Or built a temple.

that whosoever do not observe these holy rites, they are stricken dumb, and are like dead men: but as soon as any recollects himself, and vows to offer his sacrifices, and gives a pledge to the god for that purpose, they are presently restored to their former health. The inhabitants, therefore, very fitly call the gate where these sacred solemnities are performed Heraclea. They every year, likewise, with great earnestness, celebrate the Gymnic sports*, and horse-races; whither all the people, both bond and free, flocking, they privately taught their servants how to worship this god, how to celebrate the solemn sacrifices, and to perform when they met together the sacred rites and festivals.

After this, Hercules passed over his oxen again into Italy, and in his marching along by the sea-coasts, he killed one Lacinius that was stealing some of his oxen. There he buried Croton, and erected a stately monument over him, whom he had unfortunately slain, and foretold that in time to come there should be built a famous city; called after the name of him that was there buried. Having at length marched round about Adria, and all the coasts of that gulf, on foot, he passed through Epirus into Peloponnesus.

Having finished his tenth labour, Eurystheus imposed another task upon him, and that was, that he should bring Cerberus out of hell. Preparing himself, therefore, to perform this, to be better enabled thereunto, he went to Athens to be initiated into the mysterious rites of Elusina, where Musæus the son of Orpheus was then high priest.

And because we have now occasion to mention Orpheus, we conceive it will not be amiss here to give a short account of him. He was the son of Œagrus, and by birth a Thracian, for in the art of music and poetry far excelling all that ever were recorded. For he composed a poem, for sweetness and smoothness, the subject of all men's admiration: and he grew so eminent in this art, that, by the melody of his music, he was said to draw even wild beasts and trees after him; and being naturally very studious, he attained to an extraordinary degree of knowledge in the antient theology. He improved himself, likewise, very much by travelling into Egypt, so that he was accounted to excel the most accomplished person among all the Grecians for his knowledge both in divinity and sacred mysteries, in music, and in poetry. He was one, likewise, in the expedition of the Argonauts, and for the exceeding love he had to his wife, (with an admirable courage) descended into hell, and there so enchanted

* Wrestlings, quoitings, &c.

Proserpine with the sweetness of his music, that she gratified him so far as to suffer him to carry back his wife along with him, that died a little before.

In like manner, they say, Bacchus hereupon raised his mother Semele from the shades below, and, enduing her with immortality, surnamed her Thyone.

Having now done with this digression relating to Orpheus, we return to Hercules: when he entered the infernal regions, (the mythologists say), Proserpine kindly received him as her brother, and gave him liberty to loose Theseus and Pirithous from their chains; and at length, contrary to the expectations of all men, brought up the dog* tied in his chain, and presented him to open view.

The last labour enjoined him was to fetch away the golden apples of the Hesperides, to which purpose he passed over a second time into Africa. The mythologists vary in their writings concerning this; for some affirm that there were really golden apples in some of the gardens of the Hesperides, guarded continually by a terrible dragon. Others say, that there are sheep of exquisite beauty in the Hesperides, and that from thence they are poetically called golden apples, as Venus, from her beauty, is called golden Venus. Others will have it, that the fleeces upon the sheep's backs are of that admirable colour, that they glitter like gold, and thence have been so called. And by the dragon they understand the shepherd of the flocks, who, being a man of a strong body and stout heart, preserved the flocks, and killed the thieves that attempted to steal them.

But let every one judge of this matter as he thinks best himself: for Hercules killed the keeper, and brought away the apples or sheep (which soever they were) to Eurystheus, trusting now, that since all his tasks were performed, (according to the oracle of Apollo), he should be rewarded with immortality.

* Cerberus.

CHAP. II.

An account of Atlas and his daughters, called Atlantides and Hesperides. The Amazons routed by Theseus in Attica. The further acts of Hercules; he goes against Laomedon, king of Troy; and other acts. The story of Meleager, son of king Œneus. Amalthæa's Horn. Hercules's further acts. His death by a poisoned shirt.

BUT we are not to omit what is said of Atlas, and the origin of the Hesperides. In the country called Hesperis, lived two famous brothers, Hesperus and Atlas. They were possessed of most lovely sheep, of a ruddy and golden colour, for which cause the poets in their phrase called them golden apples*.

Hesperis, the daughter of Hesperus, was married to his brother Atlas, whence the country was called Hesperis; by her Atlas had seven daughters, which from their father were called Atlantides, and from their mother Hesperides. Busiris, king of Egypt, having a great desire to enjoy these virgins, by reason of their extraordinary beauty, sent out some pirates, with orders to seize these ladies, and bring them away to him.

About this time Hercules, being employed in his last† labour, killed Antæus in Libya, who compelled those strangers that came into his country to wrestle with him, and inflicted condign punishment upon Busiris in Egypt, who sacrificed all strangers that arrived there to Jupiter. Afterwards, passing over the river Nile, he came into Ethiopia, and killed Ematheon, the Ethiopian king, who had challenged him to a battle; and then he again set upon the task enjoined him. In the mean time the thieves hurried away the girls out of a garden where they were playing, and in great haste got to their ships; whom Hercules met with upon a certain shore, where they were refreshing themselves, and being informed by the virgins of the rape, he killed all the thieves, but delivered the girls to Atlas their father; for which kindness he was so grateful, that he not only readily assisted him with what things were needful for the accomplishment of what he had then in hand, but willingly taught him the art of astrology: for he bestowed much of his care and pains in the study of this art; and because he had a curiously wrought sphere of the stars, he was said to carry the whole world upon his shoulders. In the like manner Hercules, transferring the doctrine of the spheres to the

* Melon, in Greek, signifies both a sheep and an apple. † Second.

Greeks, gained a name, as he that from Atlas took upon himself the burden of the whole world, the Greeks darkly signifying thereby what then happened between him and Atlas.

While Hercules was thus employed, they say, those Amazons that were left gathered all in a body, from all parts of the nation, to the river Thermodon, with a design to revenge themselves upon the Grecians for the losses they sustained by Hercules; and they bore a particular grudge and hatred to the Athenians, because that Theseus carried away captive Antiope, (or, as others write), Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons.

Being therefore joined with the Scythians, as their confederates, they raised a great army, with which the Amazonian leaders, passing over the Cimmerian Bosphorus, marched through Thrace, and pierced through a great part of Europe, and encamped at length in Attica, at a place which, from them, is now called the Amazonian Field. Theseus, having intelligence of their approach, marched out against them with an army raised from among the citizens, taking along with him Antiope, by whom he had now his son Hippolytus. Battle being joined, those with Theseus, through the valour of the Athenians, won the day, and slew part of the Amazons upon the spot, and drove all the rest out of Attica. There Antiope, in the defence of her husband, fought bravely, and died in battle like a hero. Those Amazons that remained, despairing of ever being able to recover their country, went away with the Scythians, their confederates, into Scythia, and there seated themselves.

But having spoke sufficiently of these, we return to Hercules; who, having now finished all his labours, was told by the oracle, that it was a thing very necessary, that before he was translated to the gods, he should plant a colony in Sardinia, and make his sons of the stock of the Thespiadæ, governors of the island. He therefore, with his nephew Iolaus, passed over thither with the boys, because they were yet very young. Here we think it convenient to premise something concerning the birth of these young boys, that we may more clearly give an account of the colony. Thespis was of the most noble family among the Athenians, the son of Erectheus, and prince of a territory so called from him. He had of many wives fifty daughters. This Thespis being desirous that his daughters should have issue by Hercules, who was as yet but very young, but of strength of body beyond the usual course of nature at that age, invited him to a sacred festival, and there nobly entertained him, and sent for his daughters severally, one after another; Hercules lay with them all, and got them with child, and so became both a husband of fifty wives, and a father of fifty sons; all which (being called by the gene-

ral name of Thespiadæ in obedience to the oracle, when they were grown up, he ordered them to be sent away, to plant a colony in Sardinia; and because Iolaus was admiral of his whole fleet, and his companion in all his expeditions, he committed the care of the colony of these Thespians to him. But two of the fifty remained in Thebes, whose posterity (they say) continue there in great honour and esteem at this day; and seven more, whom they call Demuchi*, resided in the city of Thespis, whose posterity (they say) were the principal men of the city within the time of man's memory. All the rest, and whosoever else would go along with them, Iolaus transported into Sardinia; and, having overcome the inhabitants in battle, the pleasantest part of the island, and that which was most champaign, he divided by lot, which at this day is called Iolaion. And he so improved the island, and planted it with fruit-trees, that it became afterwards a bone of contention: for, from that time it grew so famous for the riches and fruitfulness of the soil, that the Carthaginians, growing rich and powerful, so coveted this island, that they fought many battles to gain it; of which we shall speak hereafter in its proper place.

After Iolaus had settled his colony, he sent for Dædalus out of Sicily, and employed him in building many stately structures, which remain to this day, and, from the name of the architect, are called Dædalus's Works†. He built likewise stately and sumptuous public schools for all manner of exercises, and courts of justice, with many other such works conducing to the happiness and well-being of man's life: he called also the inhabitants Iolaians, after his own name, the Thespiadæ allowing him that honour as their father: for, on the account of his faithful service to them, they so loved him, that they called him father. Whence it came to pass in after times, that they who sacrificed to this god, call Iolaus father, as the Persians did Cyrus.

Afterwards Iolaus returned into Greece, and arrived at Sicily, where he staid a considerable time.

About that time some of his fellow-travellers, (taken with the pleasantness of the island) there seated themselves; and being mixed among the Sicani, they continued there, and are in great esteem with the inhabitants. But Iolaus is especially honoured, to whom, for the general good he did in many cities, temples and groves are built, and divine worship instituted as to a demi-god. This colony is famous upon the account of a remarkable circumstance; for the oracle commanded that all persons of this colony should be freemen, and that their posterity for ever should so continue, which freedom is ef-

* Demuchi, governors of the people. † Dædalia.

fectually enjoyed at this very day: for many barbarians being mixed with this colony, in process of time the whole colony became barbarous; and, removing themselves to the mountains, inhabited in places inaccessible, where, being used to flesh and milk, (having many herds and flocks of cattle), they never made use of bread-corn, and being that they live in caves under ground, they have easily avoided the miseries of war; and therefore, though both the Carthaginians and Romans have often attempted to subdue them by force of arms, yet all has been in vain. But let this now suffice that has been said concerning Iolaus and the Thespiadæ, and their colony in Sardinia.

Hercules having now finished all his labours, gave his wife Megara to Iolaus, suspecting that to have issue by her would be unfortunate, by reason of the miserable disaster that befel his former children; and for this reason he sought after another wife, (less to be suspected), by whom he might have more children. In order whereunto, he desired Iole, the daughter of Eurytus, prince of Œchalia, in marriage. But Eurytus (fearing the misfortune of Megara) told him he would consider of it. Hercules looking upon this as a denial, to revenge himself for the dishonour put upon him, drove away Eurytus's horses: but Iphitus, the son of Eurytus, suspecting how the matter was, came to Tirynthus to seek them; where Hercules brought him up to the top of a high turret, and bid him look round about, to see whether he could spy the horses pasturing in any place: Iphitus not discerning any of them, Hercules complained he had falsely accused him of theft, and thereupon threw him down headlong from the top of the tower. For which wicked act being punished with a grievous disease, he went to Neleus at Pylus, and entreated him to expiate his offence: whereupon Neleus consulted concerning this matter with his sons, who all declared (except Nestor the youngest) that no expiation ought to be allowed. Then he went to Deiphobus, the son of Hippolytus, and desired him to expiate him. But finding still no remedy for his disease, he consulted at the oracle of Apollo what he should do to be cured; who answered him that he should be easily freed from his distemper, if he were sold for a valuable price, and the money given to Iphitus's children. In obedience, therefore, to the oracle, (forced through the violence of the distemper) with some friends he passed over into Asia, and there suffered one of his servants to sell him; and sold he was as a slave to Omphale, the daughter of Jardanus, and queen of the Mæones, (for so the Lydians were formerly called), and the seller gave the price to the children of Iphitus, according to the command of the oracle.

Hercules hereupon, being recovered of his distemper, diligently served Omphale, and cleared the land of robbers that infested it; for some of the thieves, called Cercopes, (who had done abundance of mischief), he killed; others he brought bound before the queen. He killed also Sileus with a spade, who forced all strangers that came thither to work in the vineyards. He recovered likewise the spoils by force of arms from the Itones, that wasted a great part of the kingdom with their depredations, and took and razed their city to the ground, from whence they made all their excursions. Omphale, admiring the valour and noble exploits of the man, after she came to understand who he was, and from whence descended, not only manumitted him, but married him, by whom she had Lamon. He had a son likewise before, called Cleolaus, begotten in the time of his servitude, of one of his fellow-servants.

Returning afterwards into Peloponnesus, he led an army against Laomedon, king of Troy, for some injuries received from him. For he had denied to deliver the horses he had promised him for the killing of the whale at the time that he accompanied Jason by force of arms to bring away the golden fleece, of which we shall presently treat particularly in the history of the Argonauts. But being at that time prevented from revenging himself by reason of the expedition wherein he was engaged with Jason, he picked out a fit opportunity afterwards, and sailed (as some say) with eighteen ships against Troy, but as Homer says, with six only in the whole, who introduces Tlepolimus in these words:

> But Hercules my father, as is said,
> The lions strong in valour did exceed,
> That only with six ships and slender force,
> For Laomedon's horses took his course;
> And then besieg'd and took the city Troy,
> And many of her people did destroy.

Hercules, therefore, when he arrived in the country of Troas, marched straight with a valiant number of men to Troy, but left Oicleus the admiral, the son of Amphiaraus, with the fleet, to be ready to assist him as occasion served. In the mean time Laomedon being surprised by the sudden advance of the enemy, in a great hurry raised as many forces as the shortness of the time would admit him to do, and led them against the fleet, hoping, by burning it, to put a speedy end to the war. Oicleus the admiral met the enemy, and was killed at the first onset; the rest being forced to their ships, stood off to sea.

Laomedon then returned and fought with Hercules, and he and most of his men were cut off. Hereupon Hercules presently took

the city by storm, and put many of the inhabitants that opposed him to the sword, but advanced Priam (for his justice) to his father's throne. He was the only son of Laomedon who disapproved what his father did, and advised that the horses should be delivered to Hercules according to the contract. Hercules, to crown Telamon's valour with an honourable reward, gave him Hesione, the daughter of Laomedon, to wife: for he was the first that in this storm made his way into the city, at the very strongest part of the castle wall, where Hercules himself made the assault.

After his return into Peloponnesus he made war upon Augeas, for defrauding him of his promised reward; but after a battle fought with the Eleans, without effecting any thing further at that time, he returned to Olenus, who had before entertained him as his guest, whose daughter Hippolyte was at that time just married to Axanus. Hercules being then there, killed Eurytion the centaur, for offering violence to Hippolyte at the time of her marriage.

Being returned to Tirynthe, Eurystheus (moved upon some suspicion of treason or other) banished him, with his mother Alcmena, and likewise Ephicle and Iolaus, out of the kingdom. Being thus forced away, he resided at Pheneus in Arcadia; where he heard that the sacreds of Neptune, in a solemn procession, were sent to the Istmos under the conduct of Eurytus the son of Augeas: whereupon he hasted away, and set upon Eurytus on the sudden near to Cleone, where Hercules's temple now stands, and killed him. Afterwards entering the country of Elis with a potent army, he killed also king Augeas, and took the city by storm, and recalled Phyleus into his country, and gave up the city, together with the kingdom, into his hands. For he was banished by his father, for ordering the reward to be given to Hercules, being chosen an arbitrator between them.

Afterwards it happened that Tyndarus was banished from Sparta by Hippocoon, whose sons likewise, being twenty in number, had killed Hyionus, the son of Lycimnius, Hercules's special friend. Hercules understanding what they had done, made war upon them, and in a great battle routing them, slew multitudes of them, and took Sparta by storm, and restored Tyndarus, the father of the Dioscuri*, to the kingdom upon this condition, that (inasmuch as he had gained it by conquest) he should keep it, and hereafter deliver it up entire to his posterity. In this battle there were very few killed on Hercules's side, amongst whom were those famous men Iphiclus, and seventeen sons of Cepheus, for, of twenty, three only escaped. On the other side, there fell Hippocoon himself, with ten of his sons, and a

* Castor and Pollux.

great number of the Spartans. After this battle, he returned into Arcadia, and resorted to king Aleus, whose daughter Auge by stealth he lay with, and got with child, and then went to Stymphalus. Aleus being ignorant of what was done, afterwards discovered the matter by the swelling of his daughter's belly, and thereupon asked her who was the father; who answered, she was forced by Hercules. Her father not giving any credit to what she said, delivered her to a Nauplian whom he confided in, and ordered him to drown her.

Auge being carried away for Nauplia*, in her voyage fell in labour near the mountain Parthenius, and turned aside into a wood near adjoining, under colour of discharging the necessities of nature, and there was delivered of a son, which she left hid among the shrubs: then she went away with the Nauplian, and came at length to Nauplia, a port in the territory of Argos, and so was unexpectedly preserved: for the Nauplian was not willing to drown her, as the king had commanded, but gave her to certain strangers of Caria, who were then setting sail for Asia, who took her away, and sold her to Teuthras, king of Mysia. In the mean time, the child that was left in Mount Parthenius was found sucking a hind, by some shepherds belonging to king Corythus, who brought it to their master: Corythus willingly received it, and educated and brought it up as his own son, and named him Telephus, from the hind† that suckled him. When he was grown up to man's estate, he went to the oracle at Delphos, to inquire who was his mother, where he was answered, that he must repair to Teuthras, king of Mysia: having found out his mother, and it being now known who was his father, he was in high esteem and reputation, so that Teuthras, who had no heir male, married him to his daughter Agriope, and adopted him his heir and successor to the kingdom.

In the mean time Hercules, the fifth year after his banishment into Pheneus, being exceedingly grieved for the deaths of Hyionus the son of Lycimnius, and of his brother Iphiclus, wholly abandoned Arcadia and Peloponnesus, and being accompanied with multitudes of the Arcadians, went to Calydon, a city of Ætolia. And having now neither wife nor lawful issue, he married Deianira, the daughter of Œneus, Meleager being then dead.

And here it will not be amiss to make a small digression, and declare what happened to Meleager.

Œneus, upon a great plenty of corn, in gratitude sacrificed to all the gods, but only Diana: at which the goddess being enraged, sent among them that so famed and mighty Calydonian boar, which wasted

* Nauphalia, a city in Argos. † Elaphos is a hind in Greek.

and spoiled all the neighbouring region, and killed and destroyed most of their cattle. Meleager, the son of Œneus, being then in the flower of his age and full strength, and not inferior to any for valour, associated himself with many other gallants to hunt this boar. He being the first that wounded the beast with his dart, by the general consent of all carried away the spoil and honour of the day, which was the boar's skin. Atalanta, the daughter of Echeneus, was one of his associates in this hunting; and therefore Meleager (being much in love with her) presented her with the skin, attributing to her the glory of the action. But the sons of Thestius, his fellow-hunters, took it most heinously that a stranger should be preferred to them, and no regard be had to the nearness of kindred that was between them and Meleager. To defeat her, therefore, of Meleager's gift, they lay in wait for her, and fell upon her in her return to Arcadia, and took away the skin by force. But Meleager (for the love he bore to Atalanta) being much troubled at the affront and disgrace offered her, took upon him the defence of her cause, and at first advised the aggressors to restore what they had violently taken away. But when he could not prevail, he slew them. They were the brothers of Althea, his mother, who so immoderately grieved for their deaths, that she poured out most heavy curses against her son, and wished the gods would cut him off, who heard her prayer, and killed him. Some there be that feign that when Meleager was born, the destinies appeared to Althea in her dream, and foretold that Meleager her son should die when a brand that was then in the fire should be consumed. His mother thereupon, conceiving the life of her son depended upon the preservation of the firebrand, laid it up very carefully: but being incensed at the death of her brothers, she threw it into the fire, and so hastened her son's death. But afterwards repenting, and grievously afflicted for what she had done, she hanged herself*. In the mean time Hipponous in Olenum†, being incensed at his daughter Peribœa, because she said she was with child by Mars, sent her to Œneus in Ætolia, and desired him that he would forthwith put her to death: but he having lately lost both his son and his wife, would not kill the lady, but married her, and begat of her Tydeus. But let this suffice concerning Meleager, Althea, and Œneus.

Hercules, to gain the favour of the Calydonians, diverted the river Achelous‡ into another channel, which he cut for it, and by that means watered a great part of the country, and made it exceedingly

* Ovid says she stabbed herself. † Olenum, a city in Achaia.

‡ Vide Ovid. Vide Strabo. It had two mouths representing two horns, one of which was dammed up by Hercules: the stream roars like a wild bull.

fruitful, which gave occasion to the poetical fables, that Hercules fought with Achelous*, transformed into the shape of a bull, and in the conflict cut off one of his horns, and gave it to the Ætolians: this they call Amalthæa's Horn, in which (the poets feign) grow all manner of summer fruits, as grapes, apples, and such like. By the horn they darkly signify the new course of the river Achelous, bending like a horn through the other channel: by the apples, pomegranates, and grapes, they denote the fruitfulness of the soil watered by the river, and the plenty of fruitful plants. By terming it Amalthæa's† Horn, they signified the strength of him that cut the ditch.

Afterwards Hercules assisted the Calydonians in the war against the Thesproti, and took the city Ephyra by storm, and slew their king Philæus; and, lying with his daughter, who was his prisoner, on her he begat Tlepolemus. The third year after his marriage to Dejanira, Eurynomus, the son of Architelus, (then a young boy) serving Œneus at table, Hercules, for some small mistake in his attendance, gave him such a box on the ear, (that, much against his will) he killed the poor boy; for which misfortune he was so grieved, that, with his wife Dejanira, and Hyllus his son by her, who was then a young child, he voluntarily banished himself out of Calydonia. In his journey, when he came to the banks of the river Evenus, he found Nessus the centaur, who carried people over the ford for hire. Dejanira being the first that he carried over, the centaur fell in love with her for her beauty, and attempted to ravish her; whereupon she cried out for help to her husband, who presently shot him through the body with an arrow. The centaur, through the grievousness of his wound, dying in the very act of his rape, had only time to tell her, that, for the great love he bore her, he would teach her a recipe for the procuring of love by force, whereof Hercules should never after be familiar with any other woman besides herself, and that was, that she should anoint Hercules's under garment with the blood that issued from his wound, mixed together with oil and some of his seed that fell from him; and having thus said, he immediately breathed out his last.

Dejanira observed what directions he had given her, and, mixing the seed of Nessus with his blood which dropped from the arrow, kept it privately in a little box for Hercules. Hercules having passed the

* The son of Oceanus and Terra, fought with Hercules for Dejanira, the daughter of Œneus, and, finding himself too weak, transformed himself into a bull. Vide Ovid and Strabo.

† Amalacistia signifies hardness in Greek.

river, went to Ceyx, king of Trachinia, and dwelt with him as a stranger, ever accompanied with the Arcadians as his fellow-soldiers and associates.

After these things, Philas, king of the Dryopi, being accused for some act of impiety against the temple of Delphos, Hercules, with the assistance of the Melienses, took up arms against him, and both killed him, and cast the Dryopi out of their antient habitations, and gave their country to the Melienses. On his captive, the daughter of Philas, he begat Antiochus. Besides Hyllus he had afterwards other children by Dejanira, Gryneus or Gleneus, and Hodites. Some of the Dryopi that were driven out of their country passed over to Eubœa, and there built the city Carystus: others of them sailed into the island Cyprus, and gained new seats, and became one people with the inhabitants; the rest fled to Eurystheus, who (in hatred to Hercules) received them into his protection, and they, with his assistance, built three cities in Peloponnesus, Asine, Hermione, and Eione.

After the expulsion of the Dryopi, a war broke forth between the Dorians (who inhabited Hestiates, in the region of Ægimius) and the Lapithæ, the inhabitants of Mount Olympus, whose king was Coronus, the son of Phoroneus.

But the Lapithæ being much stronger than the other, the Dorians craved the assistance of Hercules, and promised him the third part of the kingdom; upon which terms they prevailed with him to join with them as their confederate. With their joint forces, therefore, they set upon the enemy, and Hercules, by the valour of the Arcadians, (whom he ever had with him as his assistants) routed them, and slew the king himself, and, cutting off multitudes of the enemy, forced the Lapithæ out of the territory which they contested for.

This being thus effected, he gave up the third part of the country promised him to Ægimius, to be kept by him in trust, in order to be restored to Hercules's posterity. In his return to Trachinia, he killed Cygnus, the son of Mars, who challenged him to a duel. And as he passed through the country of the Pelasgi, from Itonus, he met with king Hormenius, and demanded his daughter Astydamia in marriage; but because Dejanira was his lawful wife before, he refused to give his consent. Upon which he made war upon him, and both took the city, and killed the king; and so, possessing himself of Astydamia by force of arms, begat of her Ctesippus. Afterwards he made a second expedition against the sons of Eurytus, for denying to give him Iole in marriage: and, by the help of the Arcadians, took the city, and slew Toxios, Molion, and Pytius, the sons of Eurytus; and, carrying away Iole, made to the promontory

Cenæus in Eubœa, where he appointed a solemn sacrifice, and sent Lichas his servant to Trachina, to his wife Dejanira, with orders for her to send him his coat and shirt he used to wear when he sacrificed to the gods. Dejanira (being informed by Lichas of her husband's love to Iole, and how he had a greater love and kindness for her than herself) anointed the coat and shirt with the destructive receipt given her by the centaur, which Lichas (ignorant of the matter) carried to the sacrifice. But as soon as Hercules put on the garment, the infection and venom of the receipt began by little and little to work, which put him at last upon the rack in most miserable torment. For the poison of the arrow like a stinging viper overspread the garment, and by its scorching heat even eat up the flesh of his whole body. Hercules being thus intolerably tormented forthwith killed his servant Lichas; and then dismissed his army, and returned to Trachinia. But his torment more and more increasing, he sent Lioymnion and Iolus to Delphos to inquire of Apollo how he might be cured. Dejanira, amazed at the extremity of her husband's misery, and conscious of what she had done, hanged herself. The answer of the oracle was—That with a warlike train they should carry Hercules away to Œta, and there raise up for him a large pile of wood, and Jupiter would take great care of the rest. Iolus hereupon, and those with him, performed what was commanded, suspecting what the issue was like to be. Hereupon Hercules (despairing of his recovery) mounted the pile, and earnestly desired those present to set it on fire. When none would do it, at length Philoctetes observed his order, and put fire under the pile; and for a reward Hercules gave him his bow and arrows; hereupon the pile was presently on a flame, not only by the fire but with thunder and lightning from heaven, and all was in an instant reduced to ashes. Iolus afterwards seeking for his bones, could find none at all; whence arose an opinion that Hercules (as the oracle had foretold) was translated from men to the gods. Iolus and the rest having therefore sacrificed to him as a demi-god, and raised up a great monument in remembrance of him, returned to Trachinia. Afterwards Menœtius, the son of Actor, Hercules's special friend, instituted that in Opuntis there should be offered up to him every year as to a demi-god, a bull, a boar, and a goat. The Thebans did the same; and the Athenians were the first that offered sacrifices to him as a god, and their pious example first induced all the Grecians, and afterwards all other nations as such to worship him.

To what we have said, we must further add this, that after his translation to the gods, Jupiter persuaded Juno to adopt Hercules for her son; and ever after she bore towards him a motherly affection.

And they report that this adoption was brought about in this manner—Juno being gone to bed, and Hercules laid close to her body, she dropped him down from under her clothes, to the ground; which rite and ceremony the barbarians use in adopting of a son, to this day. They feign that afterwards Juno married him to Hebe*; and in the story of the dead, the poet thus introduces his ghost—

> Among the gods he feasts with hymns,
> And in fair Hebe joys and sings.

But they report that when Jupiter would have him to be one of the twelve gods†, Hercules refused that honour; for that it was impossible for him to be taken into the number, unless one of the twelve were rejected, and it was an unseemly thing to accept such an honour with the disgrace of another god.

Although we have been long in our relation concerning Hercules, yet, to make amends, we have not yet omitted any thing material that is reported of him. And now it is time that we treat of the Argonauts, for Hercules went with them in that expedition.

CHAP. III.

Of the Argonauts, Medea, and the daughters of Pelias. How the Argonauts gained the Golden Fleece. The pranks of Medea. The acts of Jason. The cruelty of Pelias towards Jason's kindred; how he was killed by his own daughters, through Medea's charms. Medea burns the king of Corinth's palace, and him in it. The miserable end of Jason. Of the Heraclidæ, and their return to Peloponnesus.

JASON (they say) was son of Æson, and nephew to Pelias, king of Thessaly; and being a man of strong body, and of a high spirit, far above any of his age, was ambitious to perform some memorable and

* The goddess of youth, daughter of Juno, and cup-bearer to Jupiter. At a feast her foot slipped, and she shewed all, and was displaced, and Ganymede put in her room. Servius. She restored Iolaus to his youth.—See Ovid, 9, Met.

† Amongst the heathen there were twelve chief gods. Ovid calls them *Deos Nobiles*: They enjoyed heaven by natural right; Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars, Mercury, Jove, Neptune, Vulcan, Apollo. Goodw. Antiq. 36, lib. 2, sect. 1.

remarkable action; for knowing that Perseus his ancestor, and some others, (by their expeditious and admirable achievements in foreign countries), had purchased eternal honour and renown, he resolved to imitate them in the like heroic undertakings: acquainting, therefore, the king his uncle with his purpose, he easily obtained his consent, not that Pelias thereby aimed at the honour and glory of the young man, but that he hoped (among so many hazards and difficulties) he would be cut off; for having no issue male, he was afraid lest his brother, with the assistance of his son, would some time or other invade his kingdom. But he concealed his suspicion in the mean time, and promised to furnish him with provisions for his voyage, encouraging him to undertake the adventure, in sailing to Colchis to bring away the ram's golden fleece, so much famed and spoken of all the world over.

Pontus at that time was inhabited by a fierce and barbarous people, that were infamous for murdering all strangers that came amongst them, and therefore it was called Axenus*: however, Jason being ambitious of glory, though he was something concerned at the difficulty of the undertaking, yet when he considered it was not altogether impossible to be accomplished, and that the more hazardous it was the greater his honour and glory would be, he furnished himself with all things necessary for his expedition.

And in the first place he built a ship at the mountain Pelion, much larger in every respect than was usual in those times; for then they used to sail only in boats and little skiffs. Every one, therefore, at the sight of the vessel, was amazed, and the intended design and the building of this ship, was noised over all Greece, so that many of the noble and brisk youths were eager to join and go away with Jason in order to partake of the honour in this expedition.

Jason now launching forth his ship, completely furnished with all things necessary, made choice of four-and-fifty of the greatest persons of quality out of the number of those who were desirous to go along with him: amongst whom the most remarkable were Castor and Pollux, Hercules and Telamon, Orpheus and Atalanta the daughter of Schœneus, the sons of Thespius, and Jason himself the head and captain of the expedition to Colchis; he called the ship Argo, before he took her from the builder, whose name was Argus, (as some fabulous writers report), who (they say) embarked with them to repair the ship, as occasion might require: but others say it was so called from its swift sailing, for that Argon among the antient Greeks signified swift. Being all on board, they unanimously chose Hercules, for his extraordinary valour, to be their general. After

* Inhospitable.

they had set sail from Iolchos, and passed by Athos and Samothrace, they were by a tempest cast upon Sigeum, a promontory of Troas: where landing, they found a young virgin tied near to the sea-shore, for this reason as is said—

The report was, that Neptune being displeased with Laomedon the king, concerning the fabulously famed building of the walls of Troy, sent a vast monster out of the sea upon the land, which devoured all that came upon the shore, and the husbandmen that tilled the ground upon the sea-coast; and that this sea-god destroyed the people by a plague, and blasted all the fruits of the field. The whole country being in this miserable condition, the people met in a general assembly, and consulted together what course was to be taken for the redress of their deplorable condition. Hereupon it is said that the king sent to inquire of the oracle of Apollo what was to be done in this matter: who received this answer—That Neptune was angry, and would be then appeased, when one of the Trojan's children upon whom the lot should fall, should be offered up to be devoured by the sea-monster. Hereupon, they say, that a general lot was cast, and that it fell upon the king's daughter, called Hesione; whereupon Laomedon was forced to deliver up his daughter, and left her bound in chains upon the shore: and it fortunately happened at that very time, that Hercules landed with the rest of the Argonauts, and being informed by the lady of her misfortune, he broke off her fetters, and brought her into the city, promising he would kill the monster. Laomedon hereupon rejoiced exceedingly, and promised to bestow upon him as a reward, some horses he had, that were unconquerable. They say this monster was killed accordingly by Hercules, and that free liberty was given the lady either to go along with her deliverer, or stay at home with her parents; the lady, it is said, chose to go along with the stranger, not only as being more affected with the deliverance, than the society of her parents and kindred, but fearing lest (if another monster should appear) she should be again exposed by the people to the same calamity.

Hercules, therefore, receiving honourable rewards suitable to so welcome a guest, left Hesione and the horses in trust with Laomedon, to be restored to him after his return from Colchis. Then he proceeded on his voyage with the Argonauts: and presently after they were overtaken with another violent storm, insomuch as they despaired of their lives; Orpheus only, they say, of all his companions in the expedition, (being a religious man), sacrificed and prayed to the gods of Samothracia for their preservation: whereupon on a sudden there was a calm, and two stars fell down upon the heads of Castor

and Pollux, to the great amazement of the beholders; and so all concluded, that by the providence of the gods, they were now out of danger. Hence it has been a custom ever since, that when any are in a storm at sea, they call upon the gods of Samothracia, and when any stars appear, they are looked upon then to be Castor and Pollux, that appear for their deliverance.

When the storm was over, the noble adventurers landed in a province of Thrace, of which Phineus was king; where met them two young men, who for the punishment of their offences, were driven out of the territories, and grievously whipped all along as they came. They proved to be the sons of Phineus, by Cleopatra the daughter of Boreas, and Orithyia the daughter of Erechtheus. But, through the malice of their stepmother, (by false accusations), their father was wrought upon to deal thus severely and unjustly with them; for Phineus having married (besides his former wife) Idea the daughter of Dardanus king of Scythia, was so enslaved by an inordinate affection to her, that he humoured her in every thing that she required; and therefore at that time he gave credit to her accusation, that those two young men (to please their own mother, and in contempt of her) attempted to lay violent hands on her.

Hercules, with the rest, fortunately landing at that very time, they say the young men called out to those noble heroes, and implored them as if they had been so many gods, to rescue them out of those miserable circumstances, declaring the cause why their father was so enraged against them. But Phineus meeting the strangers, in a rage charged them not to meddle in other people's concerns; for they might be assured, that no father would willingly so punish his own sons, unless the greatness of their faults had overcome all natural affection.

But it happened, that at that time, the Boreades, the brothers of Cleopatra, were companions with Hercules in this expedition. These therefore were the first that (by reason of their near relation) by force of arms relieved the young men, and breaking in pieces their chains, killed as many of the barbarians as opposed them. But when Phineus himself with a multitude of Thracians came flocking in, marched up to decide the matter by a battle, it is said, that then Hercules stoutly laid about him, and slew both Phineus, and a great number of the other Thracians. Then seizing upon the king's city and palace, he set Cleopatra at liberty, and restored to her sons their father's kingdom; who resolving to be revenged upon their stepmother, he persuaded them to forbear doing any such thing, but rather to send messengers into Scythia to her father, to let him know that they left her wholly to his discretion, to be punished for her of-

fences. Which being done accordingly, the Scythian put his daughter to death; and the sons of Cleopatra were highly commended by the Thracians for their mildness and equity. But I am not ignorant how some of the fabulous authors relate, that Phineus put out his two sons eyes, and that in retaliation, when he was old, Boreas served him the same sauce: and they report likewise, that Hercules going out of the ship to get a little fresh water, was left behind by the Argonauts in Asia. For in ancient stories no historians unanimously agree one with another; and therefore it is not to be admired, that in giving an account of things in antient times, we do not in every thing agree with the poets and other writers.

But it is said, that the two sons gave up the kingdon to their mother Cleopatra, and went along with the Argonauts in their expedition; who sailing away from Thrace, and arriving at Pontus, landed in Taurica Chersonesus, being altogether ignorant of the cruelty of the inhabitants: for it was a custom amongst those Barbarians, to sacrifice all strangers that arrived there, to Diana Taurica. Amongst whom it is said, that in after-times, Iphigenia, the priestess of the goddess, practised the same cruelty upon all she could lay hold of.

And here, in regard that the course of the history requires it, it is requisite we should give an account of the causes of this horrid cruelty executed upon strangers, especially this digression seeming pertinent to the acts of the Argonauts.

They say, that Sol begat two sons, Æetes and Perses, and that Æetes was king of Colchis, and the other of Taurica, and that both were exceeding cruel. That Hecate was the daughter of Perses, far more fierce and cruel than her father; for being given to hunting (if she could find no game) she would sport herself with casting her darts at men instead of beasts: she made it her business likewise to compound deadly poisons, and was the first that found out Aconitum*; and made trial of the nature and efficacy of every composition, by mixing them with the food given to strangers. Being thus grown extraordinarily skilful in this devilish art, she first poisoned her own father, and so usurped the crown.

Then she built Diana's temple, and ordered all strangers that arrived there, to be sacrificed to that goddess; so that her cruelty was noised abroad in every place. She afterwards married Æetes, and by him had two daughters, Circe and Medea, and one son called Ægialeus. Circe likewise being much addicted to the compounding of all sorts of medicines, found out the wonderful natures and efficacy of divers sorts of roots and herbs, many she learnt of her mother Hecate, but many more she discovered by her own industry; so that

* Wolf-bane, a most poisonous herb.

she left nothing new (for any that came after her) which might any ways advance that art. This Circe was married to the king of the Sarmatians, whom some call Scythians; but she likewise poisoned her husband, and so usurping the kingdom, executed many butcheries and cruelties upon the subjects; for which (as some writers relate) she was driven out of the kingdom, and fled to the ocean, and possessing herself of a certain desert island, settled there, together with the women her companions. But as other historians say, leaving Pontus, she settled in the promontory of Italy, now called from her Circæum.

They report likewise, that Medea learned the same art from her mother and sister; but she plainly made use of it for contrary ends and purposes; for she constantly laid out herself to save the lives of strangers that were driven thither, sometimes begging the lives of such as were condemned by her father, and at other times by her subtle contrivance procuring their escape out of prison.

For Æetes, prompted thereto both by the cruelty of his own nature, and likewise incited by the counsels and persuasions of Hecate his wife, observed the custom of murdering strangers. But Medea every day more and more opposed her parents in this thing; Æetes (upon suspicion of treason) committed his daughter Medea to prison, whence, notwithstanding, she escaped, and fled to a temple of Apollo, seated near the sea-shore; about which same time, the Argonauts sailed by Taurica, and arrived in the night at Colchis, at the very place where the temple stood; where meeting with Medea wandering upon the shore, were informed by her of the cruel custom of murdering strangers in those parts; whereupon giving the virgin thanks for her humanity and kindness, they told her of their designs, and of the end of their adventure; and she on the other hand informed them what dangers she was surrounded with from her father, by reason of her kindness and compassion to strangers: it being therefore evident to both parties what was then fit to be done, Medea on her part promised she would assist them to the utmost of her power, till they had accomplished their design; and Jason promised, and confirmed by a solemn oath, that Medea should from that time forward be his wife. Hereupon the Argonauts leaving a party to guard their ships, went with Medea in the night to the golden fleece: of which we must here write more largely, that nothing may be omited that is pertinent to the history.

They say that Phryxus the son of Athamas, to avoid the malice of his stepmother, fled out of Greece, together with Helles his sister, and being by the advice and direction of the gods, transported out of Europe into Asia, upon the back of a golden-fleeced ram, it hap-

pened that the young maid fell off into Pontus, which was therefore from thence called Hellespont: but Phryxus landing safe in Colchis, by the command of the oracle sacrificed the ram, and hung up its skin in the temple of Mars.

Afterwards the king was told by the oracle, that he should die when some sea-faring men came thither, and carried away the golden-fleece. And this was the cause (besides the cruelty of his nature) that moved this vile man to sacrifice strangers, that (this horrid cruelty being noised abroad in all parts) no stranger might dare to set footing in his country. He built a wall likewise round the temple, and placed a strong guard of Taurican soldiers to keep it, which has afforded matter for prodigious stories among the Grecians; as how that bulls which breathed out fire at their nostrils guarded the temple, and that a dragon kept the fleece. For by reason of the ambiguity of the word Taurus*, it was strained to signify the fierceness and violence of bulls; and the cruel murdering of strangers, gave rise to the fiction of the bulls breathing out fire. Upon the same account the poets have given the name of a most terrible and monstrous beast, placed as a guard for security of the temple.

And much like to this story, is what they say concerning Phryxus: for they say that he sailed in a ship, upon whose fore-deck was carved the head of a ram, and that Helle by leaning too much forward over the sides of the ship to vomit, fell over-board into the sea.

Others say, that about the time that Phryxus with his school-master was taken by Æetes, the Scythian king, the father-in-law of Æetes, came to Colchis, and fell in love with the boy, and upon that account he was bestowed by Æetes upon the Scythian, who loved him as his own child, and adopted him as his heir and successor to the kingdom. But that the school-master whose name was *Crius*†, was sacrificed to the gods, and his skin, according to the custom, was fastened to the walls of the temple.

Afterwards Æetes being foretold by the oracle that he should die when strangers carried away the ram's skin, it is said that he gilt it with gold, that the splendour thereof should cause the soldiers who were set to guard it, to be more careful and diligent in their watch. But we leave every one to judge of these things as he thinks fit.

However it was, Medea conducted the Argonauts to the temple of Mars, which was not above seventy furlongs distant from the city Sybaris, dignified with the palace royal of the kings of Colchis. Medea therefore coming in the night to the temple gates, which were fast shut up, spoke to the guards in the language of Taurica:

* Which signifies in Latin a bull, and is like in sound to Taurica.

† *Crius*, signifies a ram in Greek.

whereupon knowing her to be the king's daughter, they forthwith opened the gates; upon which, the Argonauts rushed in with their drawn swords, and killed many of the barbarians, and drove the rest (terrified with the sudden surprise) out of the temple; and then plucking down the fleece, they hastened back to their ship with all speed.

While these things were performing, Medea was as diligent on her part, and poisoned the ever-wakeful dragon, which wound himself about the fleece in the temple; and then she went on ship-board with Jason. The Taurians that fled, informed the king of what was done, who forthwith pursuing the Greeks with his soldiers which were ready at hand, overtook them at the sea-side, and falling upon them on the sudden, slew Iphitus, one of the Argonauts, brother of Eurystheus, who imposed upon Hercules so many labours. But when the rest of the Greeks (who were before dispersed) fell on in a great body upon them, the barbarians were most of them killed by Meleager, amongst whom was the king himself. The Grecians hereupon being fired with this success, pressed more resolutely upon the Colchians, and at length put them to flight, and slew the greatest part of them in the pursuit. Of the Argonauts, were wounded in this encounter, Jason, Laertes, Atalanta, and the Thespiades, but they were cured within a few days, by applications, as is said, made up of herbs and roots by Medea. Then furnishing themselves with provision, they set sail, in order to return. But being got into the midst of the Pontic sea, they were overtaken with a sudden tempest, to the great hazard of their lives. But Orpheus addressing himself to the gods of Samothracia as before, the winds presently ceased, and Glaucus the sea-god presently appeared near to the ship, and swam along by the ship's side for two days and nights together, and foretold to Hercules his labours and future immortality. He told likewise the Tyndarides*, that they should be called Dioscuri†, and should be adored and reverenced by all men as gods. Then he called the Argonauts every one by their names, and told them, that for the sake of Orpheus's prayers, by the provident care of the gods, he now appeared to them, and had foretold them of things to come. Therefore he advised them, that as soon as they landed, they should pay their vows, and give thanks to the gods, by whose kindness they had been now twice delivered. Having said this, Glaucus dived again into the sea.

The Argonauts being now arrived at the mouth of Pontus, made to land, where Byzas then reigned, from whom the city is now called Byzantium. Here they erected altars, and offered up their prayers

* Castor and Pollux. † The sons of Jupiter.

and thanks to the gods, and consecratad the place, which is now at this day accounted sacred, and reverenced by all that sail that way. Departing thence, they passed through Propontis, and the Hellespont, and made to the coasts of Troy. When they arrived there, Hercules sent his brother Iphiclus and Telamon into the city, to demand Hesione and the horses: but Laomedon laid the messengers by the heels, and plotted the destruction of all the Argonauts. To which foul act, all his sons (except Priam) contributed their helping hands. For Priam alleged, that compacts with strangers ought to be kept inviolable, and pressed that his sister, with the horses that were promised should be restored (whose advice being disregarded, he privately conveyed two swords into the goal to Iphiclus and Telamon, declaring to them his father's design, and by this means procured their deliverance. For forthwith killing the keepers that resisted them, they escaped to the sea, and discovered all the particulars to the Argonauts. The heroes hereupon readily prepared themselves for battle, and marched on to meet the Trojans, who with their king had issued out of the city against them.

A sharp dispute and conflict there was, but at length the valour of the heroes prevailed, where they say, Hercules exceeded them all; for he killed Laomedon, and took the city by a sudden assault, and punished them who were parties and contrivers in the design with the king; but gave the kingdom to Priam for his justice and equity; and after entering into a league of friendship with him, departed thence with the Argonauts. But some of the antient poets say, that being furnished only with six ships, upon the account of being denied the horses, he took Troy himself, without the help of the Argonauts; and to confirm this, they allege these verses of Homer—

> But Hercules my father, as is said,
> The lions strong in valour did exceed,
> That only with six ships and slender force,
> For Laomedon's horses took his course;
> And then besieg'd and took the city Troy,
> And many of her people did destroy.

From Troy the Argonauts arrived at Samothracia, and then again gave thanks to the gods, where they dedicated their drink-offering bowls, and left them in the temple, which remain there at this day.

The return of the heroes was not yet known; but the common report was throughout all Thessaly, that Jason and all his companions were destroyed some where or other about Pontus.

Pelias therefore now thinking it a fit opportunity to cut off all that might in any probability seem to affect the kingdom, compelled Jason's father to drink bull's blood, and murdered his brother Promachus, who was then but a mere child.

But when Amphinome his mother was sought for to be butchered, she acted the part of a manlike and noble spirit, worthy of remark; for running to the king's palace, she poured out most heavy curses upon his head, wishing that due vengeance might overtake him for his impiety; and then immediately stabbed herself, and so like a hero ended her days.

Pelias having thus extinguished Jason's whole family, in a short time after paid for it, and received the due reward of his wickedness: for Jason in the night, entering a port of Thessaly not far from the city Iolchos, (yet out of view of the inhabitants), was by one informed of the sad state and condition of his family, and thereupon all the heroes were in readiness to assist Jason, and to undergo all hazards for that purpose; but there arose some difference of opinion amongst them; for some were for surprising the king with a sudden assault, others were for the raising of forces out of every country, and so to join against him in a common war: for it was impossible for three-and-forty men, to think to overcome so potent a prince, both as to his riches and the number of his cities. In these different councils it is said, that Medea promised to kill the king by a stratagem, and deliver up the palace into their hands, without any hazard to any of them. The heroes wondering at what she said, asked how she would accomplish it? Who answered, that she had great variety of poisons of admirable strength and efficacy, some of them found out by her mother Hecate, and others by her sister Circe; that she had not as yet made use of them for the killing of any man, but now by the help of them, she would execute due and deserved punishment upon the wicked wretches; and told the Argonauts her whole design, after what manner she would get to the king; and promised that from some turret in the palace that looked towards the sea, she would give a sign to their watch by fire in the night, and by smoke in the day.

Hereupon she provided a hollow image of the goddess Diana, in which she hid several sorts of poisons, and anointed her hair with a sort of ointment, which turned it all grey and hoary, and with the same ointment wrinkled up her face and her whole body, so that she looked like an old withered hag. Then taking the goddess with her, ordered in all respects so as to excite the common people to a superstitious adoration, she entered the city when it was light; whereupon the people came running in to her from all quarters, as if she had been an inspired priestess: and she herself commanded every body to bear a reverend regard to the goddess, who was now by the special providence of the gods, come to them from the Hyperboreans, for the preservation of the king and the whole city. All being now

employed every where in adoring the goddess, and preparing sacrifices in honour of her, the whole city was possessed with such a fanatical fury of superstition, that Medea slily procured herself to be brought into the palace; where with her delusions she infatuated both Pelias and his daughters with such a pang of superstition, that they all believed the goddess was come to load the king's house with all manner of blessings; for she declared that Diana in a chariot, drawn through the air by dragons, had passed over many parts of the world, and had now at length made choice of the king as the most pious prince to settle her image, and establish her worship there for ever; adding, that she was commanded by the application of some medicines to give a check to his old age, and restore him to his former youth and strength, and bestow many other blessings upon him that might make his life comfortable to himself, and pleasing to the goddess.

The king being amazed at this strange and unusual discourse, she promised him, forthwith, to give an assurance of the truth of what she said, by an example in her own body. To this end therefore she ordered one of Pelias's daughters to bring her some spring-water; which being done, she shut herself up in a little room, and bathing her body all over in the water, she cleansed herself of the ointment, and so being restored to her former vigour, as soon as she came into the king's presence, all the beholders were amazed: for they conceived that an old woman was transformed into a youthful and beautiful virgin by the power and providence of the gods. She forthwith likewise, by her witchcraft, caused the appearance of the shape of the dragons to appear, by which the goddess was drawn through the air from the Hyperboreans to continue as a guest with Pelias.

These things done by her, being looked upon to be above the course of nature, the king highly honoured her, and believed all she said to be true; and it is said that he took his daughters aside, and ordered them to assist her, and do whatever she commanded: and that it was fitter his own children should apply medicines to his body than servants, in order to reap the benefits designed him by the favour of the gods. Pelias therefore having expressly commanded that his daughters should observe whatever Medea ordered to be done, in reference to the care of their father's body, were ready in all things to obey her. About midnight, therefore, when Pelias was fast asleep, she said it was absolutely necessary that his body should be boiled in a cauldron: and though the young ladies easily and readily of their own accord, prepared themselves to obey her, yet she applied herself to another experiment for the gaining further credit to what she said: there was an old ram bred up in the stall, which she told

the young ladies, she would first boil, and then it should come forth a lamb. Whereupon they agreed, and then it is said, she cut the ram into small pieces, and boiled them, till to their seeming, by the use of the enchanted drugs, she brought forth a young lamb out of the kettle, to the admiration and astonishment of the young women, who now thinking they might with great assurance depend upon what she promised, resolved to observe her in all her commands; and all of them, but Alcestis (who out of a pious and natural affection to her father, would not lay hands upon him) cudgelled him to death. Whereupon Medea pretended that vows and prayers were first to be made to the moon, before his body was dissected, and cast into the cauldron: to which end, she carried the young ladies with torches and fire-brands to the top of the highest part of the palace; where Medea to spin out time, mumbled out a long prayer in the language of Colchis, that the Argonauts might make the assault in the mean time; who now seeing the fire from the turret, concluded the king was despatched; and therefore in a body they made hastily to the city; where presently mounting over the walls, they entered the palace with their drawn swords, and killed the watch that opposed them. As soon as Pelias's daughters were come down to boil their father, unexpectedly seeing Jason with the rest of the noble youths his companions, entered into the midst of the palace, they grievously cried out with exceeding sorrow and lamentation: having now neither power to revenge themselves upon Medea, nor time to purge themselves from the horrid fact that by her delusions they had committed, they had forthwith murdered themselves, if Jason (pitying their miserable condition) had not prevented them, and comforted them with this consideration, that their present misery was not occasioned by their own malicious contrivance, but that they were without any fault of theirs led aside by the deceit of another: he promised them likewise, that their whole family should be civilly and honourably used. Having therefore called together a general assembly, he excused what was done, and declared that he had dealt far more gently with the authors of those injuries than they deserved; and what he had done, was far short of what he and his had suffered. Then he placed Acastus the eldest son of Pelias upon his father's throne, and carried himself with all due respect to the king's daughters; and in performance of what he had promised, it is said, he at length married them to the greatest persons of quality.

Alcestis, the eldest, he married to Admetus the Thessalian, the son of Pheretes; Amphinome to Andræmon, the brother of Leonteus; and Eradne to Canas the prince of Phocis, the son of Cephalus. And these were the things afterwards done by Jason.

Then arriving with the rest of the heroes in the Isthmus of Peloponnesus, he there sacrificed to Neptune, and dedicated the ship Argo to that god. Having gained the special favour of Creon king of Corinth, he was made free of the city, and ever after dwelt among the Corinthians.

When the Argonauts were preparing every one to return into his own country, they say Hercules made this proposal, that to obviate the unexpected blasts and frowns of fortune, they should enter into an oath mutually to assist each other, whenever any of them stood in need of help; and that they should pick out the most remarkable place in Greece for the celebrating of sports*, and a general and solemn meeting of all the Grecians; and that the games should be celebrated in honour of Jupiter Olympus, the greatest of the gods.

Upon which the heroes entered into the association proposed, and left it to Hercules to institute the games; who made choice of the ground in the territories of Elis, near to the river Alpheus, for the general and solemn meeting, and dedicated the place to the chiefest of the gods, from whom it was called Olympia. Having therefore appointed horse-coursing, wrestling, and other Olympic sports, and ordered their several prizes and rewards, he sent messengers to all the cities, to acquaint them with the institution of these games. He was in no small honour and repute before, upon the account of his expedition with the Argonauts: but this institution of the Olympic games much more advanced his praise; for he was so cried up amongst all the Grecians, and was so eminently famous in the esteem of most of the cities, that many desired to enter into a league of friendship with him, and to stand or fall with him in all dangers whatsoever.

His valour and military art was so admired by every body, that he presently got together a vast army, with which he went through the whole world, desiring to benefit all mankind; upon which account all unanimously agree that he has attained to a state of immortality. But the poets, according to their prodigious way of relating matters, say, that Hercules himself alone, and without any army, performed all those famous actions reported of him. But we have before given an account of all those things that are fabulously related concerning this god: and now it remains that we should proceed with the history of Jason.

It is said that he and Medea, as man and wife, lived together ten years in Corinth, and of her first begat twins, Thessalus and Alcimena, and then a third called Tisandrus, much younger than the other

* Olympic games instituted by Hercules. This was the first institution: but the Olympics were not an era, till 460 years after. An. Mund. 3174, in the 37th year of Uzziah king of Judah, before Christ, 774.

two. During all this time, they say Medea was greatly beloved of her husband, being eminent not only for the excellency of her beauty, but for her prudence and other virtuous qualifications: but it is said, that when she grew old, and her beauty began to decay, Jason fell in love with Glauce, the daughter of Creon, and courted the young lady to marry her. The father agreed to the match, and appointed a day, but Jason they say, first applied himself to Medea, in order to persuade her to a voluntary divorce; telling her, that he did not marry this other lady out of any aversion or disgust to her, but that he might have children to be heirs to the royal family. Hereat the woman stormed, and appealed to the gods for revenge, the witnesses of his oath and vows. However, it is said, Jason without any further regard to her, married the king's daughter.

Medea therefore being commanded to leave the city, having only one day allowed her by Creon to prepare for her departure, by the art of witchcraft she changed the form of her countenance, and entered the palace in the night, and by a root found out by Circe her sister (which being kindled, was of such a nature, as it could not be extinguished) she set the palace on fire. And now all being in a flame, Jason sprang out from the burning, and escaped, but Glauce and her father Creon hemmed in on every side by the fire, were both consumed. Some historians say, that Medea's sons presented the new bride with poisoned plasters, which she applying to herself, miserably perished, and her father together with her, by only touching her body in endeavouring to help her. Medea thus succeeding in her first attempt, proceeded still to be further revenged upon Jason; for she was so far transported with rage and jealousy, yea, with implacable cruelty, that notwithstanding Jason's narrow escape, and the destruction of the bride, she further enhanced his misery, by murdering his sons he had by her; for she cut all their throats (except one who made his escape by flight) and buried them in the temple of Juno; and when she had done, at midnight fled with some of her faithful maid-servants from Corinth to Hercules at Thebes, who undertaking as a surety for Jason, that he should perform his vows made to her in Colchis, promised to assist her in taking revenge. In the mean time, every one judged Jason was justly punished in this loss, both of his wife and children: not being therefore able to bear the insupportable weight of his calamities, he killed himself. The Corinthians were even astonished at the extremity of his misery, and were especially perplexed concerning the burying of the children. Therefore they sent to Delphos to inquire of the oracle how their bodies were to be disposed of: and it is said, the oracle ordered them to be buried in Juno's temple, and that they should for ever

after he worshipped as demi-gods. The Corinthians accordingly observed what was commanded; and Thessalus who escaped the cruel hands of his mother, was brought up by them.

Afterwards he returned to Iolchos, his father's country, and found Acastus the son of Pelius, then lately dead; and thereupon (as next heir to the crown) took upon him the sovereign authority, and called the people within his dominions after his own name Thessalians. But I am not ignorant that there are other accounts given concerning the naming of them Thessalians, of which we shall speak in their proper place.

In the mean time they say, Medea finding Hercules at Thebes distracted, and his children a little before by him murdered, she cured him by her medicinal applications. But because there was no hope of assistance for her from Hercules at the present, by reason of the labours imposed upon him by Eurystheus, she fled to Ægeus the son of Pandion at Athens, who married her, and begat of her Medus, afterwards king of the Medes. Others say, she was brought to her trial by Hippotus the son of Creon, and fairly acquitted.

Some small time after, when Theseus returned from Troezene to Athens, she was expelled the city for witchcraft; and Ægeus sent her away by messengers, with orders to conduct her to what place soever she had a mind to go; and it is said she went into Phœnicia, and that from thence she past into the upper parts of Asia, and being married there to a certain famous king, she had a son by him called Medus, who after the death of his father, succeeded in the kingdom, and became renowned for his valour, and after his own name, called the people Medes.

But by reason of the monstrous stories feigned by the tragedians, there is great variety and difference in the history concerning Medea. Others, in favour to the Athenians, say, that she returned safe to Colchis, and took along with her Medus the son of Ægeus: and that about that time, Æetes was by force of arms deprived of his kingdom by Perses his brother, and was restored by his nephew Medus, who killed Perses.

Afterwards Medus having raised a great army, overran many parts of Asia above Pontus, and subdued that part now called, from him, Media: but it would be here unnecessary and too tedious to relate all the stories that they have written concerning Medea; therefore we shall now proceed with what remains of the history of the Argonauts.

Many, both of the antient and modern writers, (amongst whom is Timæus), report that the Argonauts (after the carrying away of the golden fleece) coming to understand that Æetes had blocked up the mouth of Pontus with his fleet, to prevent their return, performed

that which was wonderfully remarkable: for it is said, they sailed up to the head of the river Tanais, and there drew the ship a considerable way over, and into another river that ran into the ocean, and so fell down that way into the sea; and then bending their course from the north to the west, leaving the continent on their left hand, they at length entered our sea near Gades: and to confirm this, they use these arguments—

First, that the Celts, the inhabitants near the ocean, do adore Castor and Pollux above all the rest of the gods; for among these Celts there is an ancient tradition, that these gods appeared, and came to them out of the ocean: and they affirm, that there are several places near the sea, that had their names from the Argonauts and the Dioscuri, which remain still to this day; and that within the continent beyond Gades, there are apparent marks and signs of the return of the Argonauts: for sailing by Tyrrhenia, and arriving at a certain island called Æthalia, there is a spacious haven, called by them Argo, from the name of their ship, which name the port retains to this day: and that there is another harbour in Etruria, eight hundred furlongs from Rome, which they named Telamon, and that the port at the city Formiæ into Italy they called Æetes, which is now named Caieta.

They further say, that being driven upon the quick-sands in Libya, by a violent tempest, they were informed by Triton the king, of the nature of the sea in those parts, and how to avoid the danger; for which kindness they presented him with a brass tripod, on which were inscribed very ancient characters, which not long since it is said was among the Hesperians.

We are not here to omit refuting those historians, that affirm the Argonauts sailing through the river Ister to the spring heads below, passed through the channel there straight before them into the Adriatic gulf. But time has now clearly manifested the mistakes of those authors, who thought that that Ister which disembogues itself by several mouths into the Pontic sea, and that other which falls into Adria, rise from one and the same spring-head. For, since the conquest of Istria by the Romans, it is known by experience, that the fountain-heads of the river, are not above forty furlongs from the sea: but the identity of the names of rivers has been the occasion of mistakes in historians.

Having now insisted long enough upon the acts of Hercules, and the Argonauts, it is requisite, according to my promise, to relate the actions of his sons.

After the translation of Hercules to the gods, his children dwelt in Trachinia, with Ceyx the king. When Hyllus and some of the

rest were grown up to men's estate, Eurystheus began to fear, lest when they were all grown up, he should be ejected out of the kingdom of Mycenæ: therefore he resolved to expel the Heraclidæ out of all parts of Greece. To this end he required Ceyx, to banish the Heraclidæ and the posterity of Licymnius, together with Iolaus and the Arcadian regiments, (that assisted Hercules in his expeditions), out of his dominions, and threatened him that if he did not he would proclaim war against him.

Hereupon the Heraclidæ and their friends, considering they were not able to contend with him, resolved to fly from Trachina of their own accord: making therefore away to other cities more wealthy and considerable, they desired residence amongst them: but none durst receive them but the Athenians, who out of their natural generosity, entertained them, and gave them and their friends habitations in Tricorythus, which is one of the four cities of that part of Attica called Tetrapolis.

After some time, when all the Heraclidæ were attained to men's estate, and their spirits were raised on account of the glory of their father, Eurystheus, jealous of their growing interest, led a strong army against them. But the Heraclidæ, assisted by the Athenians, having committed themselves to the care of Iolaus, (Hercules's brother's son), who together with Theseus and Hyllus, commanded the forces, fought Eurystheus, and routed his army, and cut off a great part of them; and Eurystheus himself, (his chariot breaking in pieces in his flight), was killed by Hyllus the son of Hercules; and all the sons of Eurystheus fell in this battle.

The Heraclidæ having obtained so remarkable a victory over Eurystheus, and their prosperous success now advancing the number of their forces, they invaded Peloponnesus under their general Hyllus.

One Atreus* at that time, after the death of Eurystheus, had obtained the kingdom of Mycenæ; and being joined with the Tegeans, and some other confederates, marched out against the Heraclidæ. Both armies met in the isthmus, and there Hyllus challenged any one of the enemy to fight him singly, upon condition that if he overcame the other, the kingdom of Eurystheus should be given up to the Heraclidæ; but if he himself were killed, that then the Heraclidæ should not return into Peloponnesus, within the space of fifty years. Whereupon Echemus, king of the Tegeans, entered the list, and fought with Hyllus, who was slain in the combat. The

* This Atreus was uncle to Eurystheus, that is, brother of Assidamia, the mother of Eurystheus. He was the son of Pelops, and father of Agamemnon. Vid. Thy. lib. 1.

Heraclidæ thereupon, in performance of the agreement, made no further attempt to enter Peloponnesus, but returned to Tricorythus. Afterwards Licymnius with his children, and Tlepolemus the son of Hercules, by the consent of the citizens, took up their residence, and dwelt in Argos; the rest continued in Tricorythus, till the fifty years were expired, and then they returned into Peloponnesus, whose acts we shall set forth, when we come to those times. Alcmena in the mean time came to Thebes, and a little time after vanished away, so that she was worshipped by the Thebans as a goddess. The rest of the Heraclidæ, they say, applied themselves to Ægimius the son of Dorus, who restored them to their father's kingdom, with which he was intrusted by Hercules, and so settled themselves among the Dorians.

But they say, that Tlepolemus the son of Hercules, who resided in Argos, was forced to fly thence to Rhodes, for the killing of Licymnius the son of Electryon, upon some falling out that was between them. The island was then inhabited by the Hellenes, a colony brought thither by Triopas the son of Phorbas.

Tlepolemus divided Rhodes, together with its inhabitants, into three equal parts, and built there three cities, Lyndus, Jalysus, and Camirus; becoming king of the Rhodians upon the account of the renowned actions of his father, he afterwards assisted Agamemnon at the siege of Troy.

CHAP. IV.

The acts of Theseus. The Minotaur in Crete. Androgeus the son of Minos murdered by Egeus. Ariadne daughter of Minos, in love with Theseus. Ariadne's crown. Egeus king of Athens kills himself. Theseus's death. The war of Thebes by the seven Captains. The Epigoni renew the war. The pedigrees of the heroes at Troy. Of the Centaurs, and Lapithæ. The pedigrees of Esculapius, Æacus, Ajax, Pelops, Tantalus, Œnomaus. Dardanus's posterity, to Priam king of Troy.

SINCE we have spoken of Hercules and his posterity, it remains that we say something of Theseus, because he seemed to imitate Hercules in his brave and noble actions.

He was the son of Æthra, the daughter of Pittheus, by Neptune,

and brought up [illegible] Troezene, [illegible]th [illegible]the [illegible]r's father. Having afterwards found (as is reported) the [illegible] hid under a stone by Ægeus, he resolved to go to Athens: as he travelled along the sea-coasts in the isthmus, his mind was full of thoughts how to imitate the valour of Hercules, and to perform some glorious and honourable enterprises.

First, therefore, he killed Corynetes, who used to carry a club called Coryne, which he used as defensive arms, and with the same weapon knocked all passengers and travellers on the head.

2. Then next, he slew Scinis, who haunted the isthmus, and used to bend down two pine trees, one to meet another, and bind one arm to one of the trees, and another to the other, of such as he took passing that way; and when he had done, then to let them spring up on a sudden, which by their force and violence so rent in pieces the bodies of the poor miserable creatures, that they died in most horrid pain and torment.

3. The third thing remarkable that he did, was the killing the Crommyonian sow, a most vast and fierce creature, which destroyed many.

4. The fourth was the killing of Sciron, who lay lurking amongst the rocks, called from him the Scironian rocks: his manner was, that he would force passengers to wash his feet upon the top of a steep rock, and then kick them down head-long into the sea, near Chelone.

5. Next he slew Cercyon at Eleusis, who killed all that he overcame in wrestling.

6. Afterwards he killed one Procrustes, who resided in Corydallus in Attica: his custom was to force all that passed that way, to lie down upon a bed, and if they were longer than it, to cut off so much of their legs, as reached beyond the bed; if they were shorter, then he racked and stretched out their limbs, till they reached the full length: thence he was named Procrustes.

Having performed these notable exploits, he came to Athens, and by the tokens which he brought along with him, he was known and owned by Ægeus.

7. Afterwards he mastered the Marathonian bull, (which Hercules, in performance of one of his labours, brought from Crete into Peloponnesus), and led the monster in triumph into Athens, which Ægeus sacrificed to Apollo.

And now it remains that we speak of the Minotaur which was killed by Theseus: but, for the clearer understanding of the history, it is necessary that we first ascend to things done some time before, that have a reference to the narration.

Tectamus the son of Dorus, the son of Hellen, the son of Deucalion, arriving in Crete, with the Æolians and Pelasgians, reigned there as king, and marrying the daughter of Cretheus, had by her Asterius; in the time of whose reign, they say Jupiter having carried away Europa out of Phœnicia, transported her upon a bull's back into Crete, and upon her begat three sons, Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Sarpedon.

Asterius king of Crete afterwards married Europa, but having no children of his own, he adopted the sons of Jupiter, and left the kingdom to them. Rhadamanthus prescribed laws for the Cretans. Minos taking the kingdom upon him, married Itone, the daughter of Lyctius, and of her begat Lycastes, who coming to reign, married Ida the daughter of Corybantus, and of her begat another Minos, whom some say was the son of Jupiter. He was the first of the Grecians that rigged out a gallant navy, and gained the dominion of the sea. He married Pasiphae, the daughter of Sol and Pereis, and by her had Deucalion, Astrea, Androgeus, Ariadne, and many other children.

Androgeus in the reign of Ægeus, went to Athens, to the Panathenean* solemnities, where he was victor in all the sports and contests; upon which account he became very familiar with the sons of Pallas; and thereupon Ægeus grew jealous, lest the house of Pallas, with the assistance of Minos, should deprive him of his kingdom, and therefore contrived to cut off Androgeus. To which end, as he was travelling to Thebes to see a sacred procession by order of Ægeus, he was waylaid by some of the country people, and assissinated near Œnoe in Attica.

Minos afterwards hearing of the sad misfortune of his son, went to Athens, and required justice for the murder committed: but seeing he could not prevail, he proclaimed war against the Athenians, and prayed Jupiter to send a drought and famine upon the city of Athens; whose prayer was speedily heard, for forthwith there was a great drought throughout Attica, and even through all Greece itself, together with a miserable scarcity and dreadful famine.

The chief men therefore of the several cities, assembling themselves together, sent to consult the oracle at Delphos, what they must do in order to avert the present calamity; who answered, that they were to go to Æacus the son of Jupiter, and Ægina the daughter of Asopus, and entreat him to offer sacrifices for them: which

* The Panathenean festivals were kept in honour of Minerva, wherein were exhibited wrestling, horse races, dancing in armour, &c. They were celebrated the 27th of July, yearly. Rous. Archæol. Attic. lib. 2. c. 10. p. 67. Vid. Steph. Dict. They were instituted by Theseus; upon what ground — see Pausan. in Arcad. c. 2.

they did accordingly, and Æacus performed what they desired: upon which the drought and famine ceased in all parts of Greece, but only in Attica, and there it still continued; so that the Athenians were forced to resort again to the oracle, to implore relief from the pressing calamity. Upon which the god returned answer, that to expiate the murder of Androgeus, they should give to Minos such satisfaction as he required. The Athenians obeyed the oracle; and Minos demanded, that for seven years together they should send seven boys, and as many girls, to be devoured by the Minotaur, and that this they should do as long as the monster lived. The Athenians sent them accordingly, and so the famine ceased, and Minos desisted from the further prosecution of the war. When the seven years were expired, Minos came again with a great navy into the coasts of Attica, and demanded fourteen boys, which were delivered him.

Theseus, with the rest of the children his fellows, being now ready to set sail, Ægeus sent a pilot along with them, with orders, that if Theseus overcame the Minotaur, that they should enter the port of Athens with white sails; but if he perished, with black, as they used formerly to do.

When the Athenians arrived in Crete, Ariadne, Minos's daughter, fell in love with Theseus, for his gallant mean and deportment: having, therefore, opportunity of converse with her, by her advice and assistance he both killed the Minotaur, and learned the passage out of the labyrinth, and so came out safe. Then privately preparing for his return into his own country, he stole away Ariadne, and sailed out of the port in the night, and arrived at the island then called Dia, but now Naxos.

They report, that at that time Bacchus being taken with the beauty of the young lady, took her by force from Theseus, and, through the ardent affection he had for her, married her; and that his love for her was such, as that, after her death, he dignified her with immortality, and transformed her crown into a constellation of stars, called Ariadne's crown. Theseus, they say, was so grieved to be thus bereaved of the young lady, that, through sorrow and vexation, he forgot the commands of Ægeus, and made into the port of Athens with black sails. At which sight Ægeus, concluding that his son was destroyed, resolved upon a heroic, but a sad and lamentable action; for he went up to the top of the citadel, and, (through the excessiveness of his grief, counting his life a burthen to him), threw himself down headlong. After his death Theseus succeeded him in the kingdom, and governed according to the laws, and ordered and performed many things which conduced to the welfare and increase of

the city. The most famous and remarkable among all the rest was this—That he gathered all the people together that were scattered abroad in the country, (who were more considerable for their number than their power), and brought them into Athens. From this time the largeness of the city did so puff up the Athenians, and swell them with that confidence, that they questioned not but to be lords of all Greece. But having said enough of these things, we shall go on with those which remain concerning Theseus, and which afterwards happened to him.

Deucalion, the eldest of Minos's sons, reigning in Crete, entered into a league with the Athenians, and married his own sister Phædra to Theseus.

After his marriage he sent away his son Hippolytus, whom he had by the Amazon, to Trœzene, to be bred and brought up by his sister Æthra: of Phædra he begat Acamantes and Demophon.

Hippolytus awhile after coming to Athens to the celebration of a great festival, Phædra was so taken with his beauty, that she fell passionately in love with him; but he going back again for that time, she built near to the citadel the temple of Venus, whence she might have a prospect of Trœzene.

Afterwards going with Theseus to Trœzene, to visit Pittheus, she solicited Hippolytus to lie with her, who refusing the motion, her love was turned into hatred and rage, and therefore she accused him to her husband, that he attempted to ravish her. Theseus, suspecting the truth of what she said, summoned Hippolytus to appear and answer the accusation; but Phædra, fearing she should be discovered upon the trial of the cause, hanged herself.

When Hippolytus first heard of the accusation, he was driving a chariot; upon the news whereof, he was in such a consternation and disturbance, that he let the reins fall, which so startled the horses, that they hurried him away, and broke the chariot in pieces; and he himself, being fastened in the harness, was dragged along upon the ground, and so perished. Hippolytus thus losing his life, upon the account of his commendable chastity, was adored by the Trœzeneans as a god. Theseus afterwards, by a sedition, being driven out of the city, died in banishment. But the Athenians, being sorry for what they had done, brought back his bones, and honoured him as a god, and the place where they buried him in the midst of Athens, they made a sanctuary, which from him was called *Theseion*.

Since we have proceeded so far in the story of Theseus, we shall give a distinct account also of the rape of Helen, and the intention of Perithous to court Proserpina; for these things have a relation to the history of Theseus.

Perithous, the son of Ixion, after the death of his wife Hippodamia, by whom he had a son called Polypœtes, went to Athens to Theseus; whom finding a widower, (having then lately buried his wife Phædra), he advised to steal away Helen, the daughter of Jupiter and Leda, who was then about ten years of age, and of surpassing beauty. To this end they went (with some other of their associates) to Lacedæmon, and, catching a fit opportunity for the purpose, seized upon Helen as their common prize, and carried her away to Athens; where it was agreed between them to cast lots for her, and that he who should have the good fortune to gain her, should faithfully assist the other (through all hazards whatsoever) in procuring him another wife. This compact being confirmed by a solemn oath, she fell by lot to Theseus. The Athenians were much incensed at what was done in this business: Theseus, therefore, fearing the bad effect of it, privately kept Helen at Aphidna, one of the cities of Attica, and committed her to the care of his mother Æthra, and some other persons of quality that were his faithful friends.

Afterwards Perithous had a desire to court Proserpina, and for this purpose required Theseus to go along with him. At first Theseus endeavoured to dissuade him, and to take him off from such a wicked and impious design. But Perithous urging him the more vehemently, (and by virtue of his oath being bound thereunto), he at length agreed to join with him in the attempt. To this end both of them descended into the shades below*, and for their impudence and impiety, were clapped up, and bound fast in chains; but Theseus was afterwards released for the sake of Hercules. But Perithous suffers eternal pains with the infernal spirits for his wickedness; though some writers report, that neither of them ever returned. About the same time they say, Castor and Pollux (the brothers of Helen) assaulted Aphidna, and taking it by storm, razed it to the ground, and carried away Helen (still a virgin) to Lacedæmon, and with her, among the captives Æthra, the mother of Theseus.

Having spoke sufficiently of these things, we shall now proceed to give an account of the seven captains that made war against Thebes, and shew the first causes of that war†. Laius the king of Thebes, having married Jocasta the daughter of Creon, and for a

* Hell. See this explained in Plut. Thes. This Pluto was the king of the Molossians, and his wives and daughters name was Proserpina, who clapped both Theseus and the other up in prison.

† This is the first war related by any heathen historian, either in prose or verse. An. Mund. 2727, the 10th year of Jair, Judg. 10. iii. Before Christ, 1221, about 30 years before the Trojan war.

long time being without children, at length consulted the oracle whether he ever should have any issue. Pithia the priestess gave this answer from the oracle, that it would be unfortunate for him to have any issue; for that the son that he should afterwards beget, should kill him, and involve his whole family in most dreadful calamities. But somewhat forgetful of what the oracle had declared, he afterwards begat a son, but bored his feet through with an iron, and ordered him to be exposed in the open fields; and for that reason he was afterwards called Œdipus. The servants that took him into their custody for that purpose, were unwilling to leave him so to the wide world, but gave him to Polybus's wife, who was barren.

Being attained at length to man's estate, Laius resolved to inquire of the oracle, to know what was become of the exposed infant; and Œdipus at the same time being by some one informed of the design against him when he was so very young, took a journey to Delphos, to inquire of the oracle who were his true parents: it so fell out, that both of them meeting one another upon the road in Phocis, Laius in a proud and haughty manner commanded Œdipus to get out of the way; who thereupon was so enraged, that he fell upon Laius and killed him, not knowing him to be his father.

About that time they report that Sphinx, a double shaped monster, came to Thebes, and put forth a riddle to be resolved by any that could: which none being able to do, (by reason of the difficulty of the thing), she destroyed many: at length she became more moderate, and offered a reward to such as should unfold it, that he should marry Jocasta, and with her enjoy the kingdom of Thebes. When none else could expound the riddle, Œdipus was the only man that did it. The riddle propounded by Sphinx was this: *What creature is that, which is two-footed, three-footed, and four-footed?* When all others were puzzled, Œdipus interpreted it to be a man; who when he is an infant, creeps upon all-fours; when he grows older, goes upright upon his two feet; but when he is old, he is three-footed, using a staff to support him, by reason of his weakness. Whereupon Sphinx, (as it is reported), threw herself down headlong from the top of the rock: and Œdipus married his mother unknown to him, and begat of her two sons, Eteocles and Polynices, and two daughters, Antigone and Ismene. The sons being grown up to man's estate, came to the knowledge of the wickedness committed in their family, and therefore, for the foulness of the fact, confined Œdipus, so as that he should not stir abroad; and his sons took upon them the government, first agreeing together to rule yearly one after another by turns. Eteocles, the elder brother, reigned first, but when his year was out, he refused to give way to his bro-

ther: Polynices demanded the government according to the covenant between them, but his brother turned to him the deaf ear; upon which he repaired to Adrastus king of Argos.

At which time Tydeus the son of Œneus king of Calydonia, had fled out of Ætolia to Argos, for killing his nephews Alcathous and Lytotheus. Adrastus kindly entertained them both, and by command of the oracle, gave his daughter Argia in marriage to Polynices, and Deipyle to Tydeus. The young men being both in great honour and esteem, and highly approved of by the king for their virtuous qualifications, Adrastus promised to restore them both to their own countries. Resolving therefore first to bring back Polynices, he sent Tydeus on an embassy to Eteocles to debate the matter with him: in his return, it is said, he was set upon by fifty men, employed by Eteocles to way lay him; all whom, notwithstanding, he slew, and came safe, beyond all seeming probability to Argos. Adrastus being informed of this piece of treachery, prepared all things necessary for the war, and procured Capaneus, Hippomedon, and Parthenopæus, the son of Atalanta, the daughter of Schœneus, to join with him: Polynices also endeavoured to persuade Amphiaraus the soothsayer, to go along with them to the war against Thebes; but he foreknowing he should fall in that war if he went, refused to stir. Polynices therefore presented Amphiaraus's wife with a golden chain, (which, as is reported, was bestowed upon Harmonia by Venus), to persuade her husband to join with them as one of their confederates. There being some controversy about that time between Adrastus and Amphiaraus concerning the kingdom, they agreed together to refer the whole matter in difference, both as to the kingdom and the war, to the decisive judgment of Eriphyle the sister of Adrastus, and wife to Amphiaraus. Hereupon she gave judgment for Adrastus, and that her husband should join with the rest in the war against Thebes. Amphiaraus, (though he looked upon himself to be betrayed by his wife), yet prepared to go along with the other captains: but before he went, commanded his son Alcmæon, that after he was dead, he should kill Eriphyle; who afterwards executed his father's commands, by murdering his mother; but was some time after so terrified in conscience with the horridness of the fact, that he went stark mad.

But to proceed; Adrastus, Polynices, and Tydeus, together with four other captains, Amphiaraus, Capaneus, Hippomedon, and Parthenopæus, with a great army, marched against Thebes; where Eteocles and Polynices killed each other. Capaneus, in attempting to scale the walls, was likewise slain. The earth opened and swallowed up Amphiaraus and his chariot together, and so he was never more

seen. All the rest of the generals likewise perished in this war except Adrastus, and a great slaughter there was among the common soldiers, whom the Thebans would not suffer to be carried off the ground; so that Adrastus was forced to leave them unburried, and return to Argos.

The bodies of the slain thus lying unburried at Cadmea, none daring to inter them, the Athenians (always commendable above others for their humanity) took care of this matter, and buried them all. And these were the misfortunes that befel the seven captains in the war at Thebes.

But the children of them that were slain, called Epigoni*, to revenge their fathers' deaths, all joined together, and resolved to make war upon that city. The oracle of Apollo (upon inquiry) answered them, that they should overcome Thebes, if they made Alcmæon, the son of Amphiaraus their general. Whereupon Alcmæon being accordingly (with unanimous consent) created commander-in-chief, consulted the oracle, both concerning the present intended expedition, and the revenge that he was enjoined by his father to execute upon Eriphyle his mother. The oracle commanded him to perform both, because she not only received a chain of gold for what she did, which was the occasion of his father's death, but a rich vale† likewise as a bribe, in order to the ruin of himself. Venus (they say) heretofore bestowed this chain and garment upon Harmonia, the wife of Cadmus; but both were given to Eriphyle; the chain by Polynices, and the vale by Thersandra, Polynice's son, that she might persuade Alcmæon to go to the Theban war.

Alcmæon therefore raised soldiers out of Argos, but great numbers out of the neighbouring towns, and with these he marched against Thebes: the Thebans issued out of the city against them, upon which there was a sharp engagement; but the Alcmæons at length got the day. The Thebans being thus overcome with a great slaughter of their citizens, seeing themselves too weak for the other, utterly despaired of all future success, and therefore consulted Tiresias the soothsayer what they should do; who advised them to abandon the city, as the only means left for their safety and preservation. The Cadmeans followed his advice, and in the night forsook the city, and fled to a province in Bœotia, called Tilphussus. The Epigonians afterwards entered and razed the city, and being now lords of all, (among others), possessed themselves of Daphne, the daughter of Tiresias, whom (according to their vow) they devoted (as the chief of their spoils) to the oracle at Delphos. The daughter, nothing inferior to her father in the art of divination, mightily improved it while she

* Born after. † Or garment called Peplus.

continued at Delphos; for she was endued with those parts and qualifications that were to be admired. She wrote divers sorts of prophetical verses in a most artificial dress and composure, out of which (they say) the poet Homer borrowed many verses for the adorning of his poems. Being often in an enthusiastical inspiration from the god, she uttered things that were prophetical, and therefore (they say) she was called a Sibyl; for to be so inspired is, in the Greek language, to act the Sibyl.

The Epigonians thus prosperously succeeding in their expedition, returned at length (loaden with spoil) into their own country. Among those Thebans that fled to Tilphussus, Tiresias died, and was buried by the Cadmeans with great funeral pomp, and adored afterwards as a god.

In process of time, however, after leaving Tilphussus, they invaded the Dorians, and, overcoming them in a battle, expelled them out of their country, and settled themselves for awhile in their stead; but afterwards part of them returned to Thebes, in the reign of Creon, the son of Menœceus, and the rest continued in Doris: but the expulsed Dorians at length returned into their country, and inhabited Erineus, Citinius, and part of Bœotia*. About this time Bœotus, the son of Neptune and Arne, came into the country, then called Æolis, (now Thessaly), and named those that accompanied him Bœotians.

Here it is necessary to give a distinct and particular account of those things which we have gathered out of the rubbish of antiquity, concerning these Æolians.

In former times, some of the children of Æolus (the nephew of Deucalion and Helen) inhabited the places before mentioned; but Mimas, another son, reigned in Æolis, and Hippotes, the son of Mimas, begat Æolus of Menalippe; and Arne the daughter of this latter Æolus, had a son by Neptune called Bœotus. Æolus not believing she was got with child by Neptune, judged her guilty of whoredom, and therefore delivered her to a Metapontian stranger (that was there by chance at that time) to be transported to Metapontum†; which he did accordingly, and there she was delivered of Æolus and Bœotus, whom the Metapontian, (being childless), by direction of the oracle, adopted for his own sons. When they grew to men's estate, a sedition being raised in Metapontum, they possessed themselves of the kingdom by force of arms. Afterwards Arne and Autolyte, the wife of the Metapontian, falling together by the ears, the sons of Arne, in assisting their mother, killed Autolyte; which cruel fact the Metapontian took most heinously, and

* In the Greek Eubœa for Bœotia. † A town in Italy, near Tarentum.

therefore they got on shipboard, and put to sea, with their mother Arne, and many other of their friends. Æolus possessed himself of the islands in the Tyrrhenian seas, called the Æolides, after his name, and built a city there, which he called Lipara. But Boeotus went to his grandfather Æolus, who received him as his son, and he came afterwards to the kingdom, and called the country after his mother Arne, but named the people Boeotians, after his own name.

Itonus, the son of Bœotus, begat four sons, Hippalcimus, Electryon, Archilicus, and Alegenor: Hippalcimus had Penelius, Electryon, Leitus, Alegenor, Clonius, Archilycus, Prothenor, and Arcesilaus, who were all commanders-in-chief of the Boeotians in the Trojan war.

Having now set forth these affairs, we shall endeavour to give an account of Salmoneus and Tyro, and of their progeny down to Nestor, who was one of the Grecian commanders at the siege of Troy.

Salmoneus was the son of Helen, nephew of Æolus, and nephew's son to Deucalion: he made an expedition out of Æolia, and possessed himself of a territory in Elis, upon the banks of the river Alpheus, and there he built a city, which he called after his own name Salmone: he married Alcidice, the daughter of Aleus, and by her had a daughter named Tyro, who was an extraordinary beauty. His wife Alcidice dying, he married another called Sidero*, who (after the manner of step-mothers) hated Tyro.

Afterwards Simoneus (being both cruel and unrighteous towards men, and impious towards the gods) was hated by his subjects, and at length, for his contempt of the gods, was by Jupiter struck dead with a thunderbolt.

About this time Neptune begat two sons of Tyro, Pelias and Neleus. Tyro being afterwards married to Cretheus, she had by him Amythaon, Pheretes, and Æson. After the death of Cretheus, Pelias and Neleus were at strife one with another for the kingdom. Pelias reigned as king of Iolchos and the neighbouring countries, and being joined with Melampus and Bias, the sons of Amythaon and Aglaia, together with some Achæans, Phthiots, and Æolians, made an inroad with his army into Peloponnesus. At which time, in Argos, Melampus, (being a soothsayer), restored some women to soundness of mind, that, through the anger of Bacchus, were struck with a raging madness. And for this good act he was rewarded by Anaxagoras, king of the Argives, son of Megapenthes, with two parts of the kingdom. Hereupon Melampus took his brother Bias as his associate with him in the government, and resided at Argos.

* Aderas.

Then marrying Iphianira, the daughter of Megapanthes, he had by her Antiphates, Manto, Bias, and Pronoe. Antiphates had by Zeuxippe, the daughter of Hippocoon, Oicleus and Amphales. From Oicleus and Hypermnestra, the daughter of Thespius, descended Iphianira, Polybœa, and Amphiaraus: and thus Melampus and Bias, and their posterity, enjoyed the kingdom of Argos.

Neleus likewise, with those whom he conducted, entered Messena, and built the city Pylos, which was given to him by the bordering inhabitants; who, reigning here, married Chloris the daughter of Amphion the Theban, and by her had twelve sons, of whom Periclymenus was the eldest, and Nestor the youngest, who went along with the rest to the Trojan war. But to the end we may keep within bounds, this that hath been said shall suffice concerning the ancestors of Nestor.

And now something is to be further added concerning the Lapithæ and the Centaurs; most of whom were the sons of Oceanus and Thetis (as the mythologists do report), remarkable for their giving names to rivers; amongst whom was Peneus, from whom the river in Thessaly was so called. He was familiar with the nymph Creusa, and of her begat Hypseus and Stilbes, of whom Apollo begat Lapithus and Centaurus. Lapithus risided near the river Peneus, and reigned over the neighbouring territories. He married Orsinome, the daughter of Eurynomus, and by her had two sons, Phorbas and Periphas, who afterwards reigned in those parts; and the whole nation of the Lapithæ, are so called from Lapithus. Phorbas, one of the sons of Lapithus, resided at Olenus: whence Alector the king of Elis (fearing the power of Pelops) sent for him to his assistance, and made him his associate in the kingdom. Phorbas had two sons, Egeus and Actor, who were afterwards kings of Elis.

Periphas the other son of Lapithus, married Astyage, the daughter of Hypseus, and by her had eight children; the eldest of whom Antion, had issue, Ixion, by Perimela, the daughter of Amythaon. Ixion (they say) upon promise to Hesioneus of a great dowry and rich gifts, married his daughter Dia, of whom he begat Perithous: but Ixion not performing his promise made on the behalf of his wife, Hesioneus seized his horses in lieu of a pawn. Ixion under colour of giving full satisfaction, desired his father-in law to come to him, who coming accordingly, Ixion threw him into a fiery furnace.

But because none could expiate him from the guilt of so heinous a parricide, it is said that Jupiter did it. But growing afterwards in love with Juno (they say) he was so impudent, as to court her to play the adulteress: whreupon Jupiter turned a cloud into the shape of Juno, with which Ixion gratified his lust, and begat those half

men, called Centaurs. At length, for his enormous impiety, he was fastened by Jupiter to a wheel, and after his death suffered eternal torments.

Others say, that the Centaurs were bred up by the nymphs in Pelion, and that when they grew up to men's estate, they engendered with mares, and so begat a double-shaped brood, called Hippocentaurs*. Others say, that the Centaurs were the issue of Nephele and Ixion, and because they were the first that attempted to ride upon horses, therefore they were called Hippocentaurs, and feigned to be of a double nature, both man and horse. It is said, that these Centaurs being of the same stock and origin, demanded of Perithous a share of their father's kingdom; which being denied, they made war upon the Lapithæ; and that when the war was ended, Perithous married Hippodamia the daughter of Bystus, and invited Theseus and the Centaurs to the marriage; and that the Centaurs (being drunk and inflamed with wine) attempted to ravish the women that were then at the marriage-feast: at which bold and wicked prank, Theseus and the Lapithæ were so incensed, that they killed many of them, and drove the rest as fugitives out of the city. And for this reason, the whole body of the Centaurs afterwards made war upon the Lapithæ, and killed most of them, and forced the rest that had escaped the sword, to fly into Pholoe in Arcadia: but some got into Malea, and there continued. The Centaurs lifted up with this success, often issued out of Pholoe, and robbed all the Grecians that travelled that way, and killed many of the neighbouring inhabitants.

Having now done with these occurrences, we shall next speak of Æsculapius and his posterity: they say he was the son of Apollo and Coronis, and being of an acute and sharp wit, earnestly bent his mind to the study of physic, and found out many preservatives for the health of men's bodies; and grew at length so famous, that curing many in a wonderful manner, whose distempers were looked upon to be desperate, he was judged to raise up many from the dead: and therefore it is reported by the mythologists, that Pluto complained to Jupiter of Æsculapius, that through his cures the number of the dead decreased; and accused him of weakening his empire in the shades below: at which Jupiter was so incensed, that he killed Æsculapius with a thunderbolt. At whose death Apollo was enraged to that degree, that he killed the Cyclops that made the thunderbolt for Jupiter. Whereat Jupiter was again in wrath, and for a punishment of his offences, forced Apollo to serve mankind in a piece of constant druggery. Æsculapius, it is said, had two sons,

* Both horse and man in their natures.

Machaon and Podalirius, who were skilful in their father's art, and went along with Agamemnon to the Trojan war; in which war they were very useful and serviceable to the Grecians, for they cured them that were wounded in fights with singular industry, and were in such esteem and favour among the Grecians, that by reason of their extraordinary usefulness in their art, they were exempted from hazarding their persons, and freed from all other public services.

But here we shall conclude the history of Esculapius and his sons, and shall now proceed to give an account of the daughters of Asopus, and the sons of Æacus.

Oceanus and Tethys (as some stories have it) had many other sons, which gave names to famous rivers, besides Peneus and Asopus. The residence of Peneus was that country which is now called Thessaly, who gave name to that famous river there called Peneus. Asopus dwelt at Phlias, and married Medon, the daughter of Ladon, by whom he had two sons, Pelasgus and Ismenus, and twelve daughters, whose names were Cercyra, Salamis, Ægina, Pirene, Cleone, Thebe, Tanagra, Thespira, Asopis, Sinope, Œnia, and Chalcis. Ismenus, one of his sons, came into Bœotia, and seated himself near the river called after his own name. Sinope, one of the daughters, was forced away by Apollo to that place where the city Sinope now stands, so called from her: from her and Apollo sprang Syrus, who reigned over those people, from him called Syrians. Neptune transported Cercyra into that island, now called, from her, Corcyra*. He had by her a son called Pheax, from whom the Pheans† are so named.

This Phæax was the father of Alcinous, who guided Ulysses into Ithaca: Salamis also was forced by Neptune, and carried away into the island called after her own name; by him she had Cenchreus, who was king of this island, and a brave spirited man; he killed a serpent of a vast bigness, which had destroyed many of the inhabitants. Ægina was carried away by Jupiter from Phlias, into the island Ægina, so called from her; and by her had Æacus, afterwards king of that island, whose sons were Peleus and Telamon. Peleus, by the throwing of a hand stone, unfortunately killed his half-brother Phocus, being both of the same father, but not of the same mother; for this fact he was banished by his father, and fled into Phthia, a province of that country now called Thessaly, where he was acquitted and purged of the slaughter by king Actor, and succeeded him in the kingdom, Actor dying without issue. Achilles was the son of Peleus and Thetis, and went along with Agamemnon to the war of Troy. Telamon, likewise, fled out of Ægina, and ar-

* Or Cercyra. † Phia, or Phea, a city in Elis.

rived in Salamis, where he married Glauce, the king's daughter, and by that means afterwards came to be king of that island. After the death of Glauce he married Eribœa of Athens, the daughter of Alcathous, and by her had Ajax, another associate in the Trojan war.

Having given account of these things, we shall now speak of Pelops, Tantalus, and Œnomaus. And here it will be necessary to go higher, and treat distinctly of some things in time long before.

In Pisa, a city of Peloponnesus, Mars begat Œnomaus of Harpina, the daughter Asopus; Œnomaus had one only daughter, called Hippodamia, and, consulting the oracle how long he should live, the god answered, that he should die when his daughter was married: dreading, therefore, her marriage, he resolved she should ever remain in a virgin state, conceiving by this means only he should avoid the danger foretold.

But whereas many earnestly sued to have her to wife, he made a proposal of a horse-race to the suitors, with this condition, that he who won the race should have his daughter, and that he that lost should be put to death.

The course to be run was from Pisa to the altar of Neptune in the isthmus of Corinth, and the manner of starting was thus: Œnomaus first sacrificed a ram to Jupiter, and in the mean time the suitor makes speedily away in a chariot drawn with four horses; and Œnomaus having at length finished his sacrifice, mounts his chariot, driven by one Myrtilus, and with a lance in his hand, pursues the suitor, and, overtaking him, runs him through. And in this manner, by the swiftness of his horses, always coming up to the suitors, (though they set out so long before him) he killed very many.

But Pelops, the son of Tantalus, coming to Pisa, and desiring to have Hippodamia for his wife, as soon as he saw her, bribed Myrtilus (Œnomaus's chariot-driver) to suffer him to be victor; by which means he got to Neptune's altar in the isthmus before Œnomaus, who, concluding that what the oracle had foretold was now near to be fulfilled, through grief of heart was so dejected, that he murdered himself. Pelops thus gaining Hippodamia, with her likewise gained the kingdom of Pisa; and, being a valiant and prudent man, and growing rich besides, subdued most of the countries of Peloponnesus*, and so called the whole peninsula after his own name.

Since we have made mention of Pelops, it is fit to say something of Tantalus's father, that we may not omit any thing worthy remark. Tantalus the son of Jupiter was a rich and renowned prince, and had his royal seat in that part of Asia, which is now called Paphlagonia,

* Peloponnesus signifies the island of Pelops.

and for the nobleness of his birth, being the offspring of Jove (they say) he was the very darling of the gods themselves. However, he used not his prosperity with that moderation and humility as became a mortal; but being admitted to familiarity and feasting with the gods, discovered their secrets to men; for which he was not only punished while he was living, but was thrust down among the wicked and impious (as the histories relate) to suffer eternal torments after death. This Tantalus had Pelops, and a daughter named Niobe*, who had seven sons, and as many daughters, who were extraordinary beauties: being proud of the great number of her children, she often boasted, that for her fruitfulness, she excelled Latona herself†: at which the goddess they say, was so enraged, that she commanded Apollo with his arrows, to kill the sons, and Diana with hers, the daughters; who executing their mother's commands, slew all the children at once. So that Niobe, who abounded with children, was childless at one and the same moment.

But because Tantalus being hated by the gods, was expelled out of Paphlagonia by Ilus the son of Tros, something is fit to be said concerning Ilus and his ancestors.

The first that reigned in the country of Troas, was Teucer the son of the river Scamander, and the nymph Idæa; he was a brave man, and gave the name of Teucri to the inhabitants. He had a daughter called Batia, whom Dardanus married, and succeeded Teucer in the kingdom; and ordered the people to be called from him Dardanians; and built a city near the sea shore, and called it Dardanum. He had a son named Erichthonius, a prosperous and wealthy prince; of whom the poet Homer writes thus:—

> None richer was of all men under th' sun,
> Whose brave three thousand mares in th' meads did run,

Tros was the son of Erichthonius, and of him the people were named Trojans; he had three sons, Ilus, Assaracus, and Ganymedes; Ilus built a noble city in the champain country of Troas, which he called Ilium; the son of Ilus was Laomedon, whose sons were Tithonus and Priam: Tithonus led an army into the eastern parts of Asia, and pierced as far as to Ethiopia, whence rose the story of Memnon being the son of Aurora; which Memnon brought aid to the Trojans, and was killed by Achilles.

Priam married Hecuba, and by her (besides many other sons) had Hector, who was especially remarkable for his valour in the Trojan war. Assaracus king of the Dardanians, had Capys his son, the father of Anchises, who of Venus begat Æneas, a famous man among

* By Amphion, king of Thebes. † The mother of Diana and Apollo.

the Trojans. Ganymedes lastly was extraordinarily beautiful, and is reported to be caught up to heaven by the gods to be Jupiter's cup-bearer.

And now from these, we shall proceed to Dædalus and the Minotaur, and the expedition of Minos into Sicily against king Cocalus.

CHAP. V.

Of Dædalus, and his works in Crete, Sicily, and elsewhere. His flight into Sicily: Minos invades Sicily; the manner of his death there. The famous temple of the Curetes or Corybantes in Sicily, built by the posterity of the Cretans that came there with Minos. The pedigree of Aristæus; his acts; his son Acteon. Of Eryx. Venus's temple at Æryx in Sicily; the fame of it. Of Daphnis the shepherd. A description of the Herean mountains. Of Orion. Of the striats of Messana.

DÆDALUS was an Athenian, of the family of the Erecthidæ; for he was the son of Hymetion, the son of Eupalamus, the son of Erechtheus. He was extraordinarily ingenious, and very studious in the art of architecture, and was an excellent statuary and engraver upon stone, and improved those arts with many notable inventions. He made many wonderful pieces of work in several parts of the world, and so far excelled in the framing and cutting of statues, that those that were long after him, report that the statues he made, did resemble living men even to the life. For their symmetry was so exact and perfect, that their eyes, and frame of motion, and the whole composure of the body, was a lively representation of living creatures. For he was the first that in statues expressed the direct and lively aspect of the eyes, and the progressive motion of the legs and thighs, and the stretching forth of the hands and arms, and therefore was justly admired by all: for those artists that were before him, framed their images with blinking eyes, heads hanging down, as if they were glued to their sides. But though Dædalus was thus admired for his exquisite skill in this art, yet he was forced to fly his country for a murder committed upon the occasion following. Talus*, Dædalus's sister's son, being but a young boy, was at that time bred up with his uncle, to learn his trade. This Talus for ingenuity excelled his master, and invented the potter's wheel: he got likewise a serpent's

* Called Calus, by Pausan. lib. 1. c. 21.

jaw-bone, and with it sawed a little piece of wood asunder; then, in imitation of the teeth in the jaw, he made the like in iron, and so he found out an instrument for the sawing of the greatest pieces of timber, exceedingly useful, and tending much to the furtherance and ease of all architects. He invented likewise the turning lathe, and many other tools for the use of architects; upon which account he was in great esteem and reputation. Dædalus hereat burned with rage and envy against the poor boy, and fearing he would grow far more famous than himself, secretly murdered him. Being seized upon just as he was laying the carcass in the ground, he was asked what he was burying? he answered, that he was covering a serpent with earth. Here it is very worthy of remark, that the same creature that was the occasion of making of the saw, should be also the means of discovery of the murder. Being therefore brought to his trial at the court of the Areopagites, and there condemned to die for the murder, he first fled to a sort of people in Attica*, who from him were called Dædalians: thence he got into Crete, where he was much admired for his art, and in great favour with king Minos.

Afterwards (as it is commonly reported) Pasiphae the queen, Minos's wife, burning in her lust after a bull, he framed an engine like to a cow, and helped her by that means to satisfy her lust. They say, that before that time, Minos yearly sacrificed the best and largest bull in the herd to Neptune; and once there being a most lovely beast in the herd, a worse was picked out to be sacrificed; at which Neptune was so incensed at Minos, that he caused his wife Pasiphae to go mad for love after the bull; and by the art of Dædalus, she prostituted herself to the beast, and brought forth the Minotaur so famous in ancient stories.

They ascribe a double nature to this creature, that from the head to the shoulders, he resembled a bull, and in all his lower parts was like to a man. It is said, that for the keeping and feeding of this monster, Dædalus built the labyrinth full of windings and turnings, this way and that way, impossible to be found out by any stranger before unacquainted. Here it was that the Minotaur devoured the seven boys, and the like number of girls yearly sent thither from Athens, as we have before declared.

Dædalus being informed of Minos's threats for making of the cow, fearing the rage of the king, by the help of the queen got on shipboard, and secretly escaped out of the island. Icarus his son fled away with him, and both arrived at a certain island, situated in the ocean far off from any land, where the young man being too rash,

* Of the family or tribe of Cecrops.

and hasty to land, dropt into the sea, and there perished; from whom it is called the Icarian sea, and the island, Icaria.

From hence Dædalus sailed into Sicily, and landed there where Cocalus reigned, who received him very courteously; and upon the account of his great skill, and the fame that went of him, made him his bosom friend.

Some report this story concerning him, that Dædalus continuing still in Crete, was hid by Pasiphae; Minos in the meantime making diligent search after him, in order to punish him, but not able to find him out, he promised great rewards to such as should discover him.

Dædalus utterly despairing to get away by shipping, made for himself and son, artificial wings, jointed and compacted in a wonderful manner with wax, and fastened them to his own and his son's body, and with them Dædalus suddenly flew away, and got over the Cretan sea: but Icarus soaring too high (such is the folly of young men) fell down into the sea, the sun melting the wax wherewith the feathers of the wings were joined together. But his father flying low near the surface of the sea, and sprinkling his wings in the water, passed over safe into Sicily. Though this may seem an absurd fable, yet we judged it not fit to be passed by.

Dædalus staid with Cocalus and the Sicilians a long time, and was highly honoured and esteemed by all for his excellent art and skill in his profession: there are some works of his there that remain to this day; for in the territory of Megaris, he made a fish-pond with wonderful art, through which the great river Alabus emptied itself into the sea. He built likewise a city (now called Agrigentum in Camacus) upon a rock so strong, that it was inexpugnable. The passage to it was so strait and winding, that the place might be easily defended by three or four men. Therefore Cocalus here built a palace, and treasured up all his wealth, as a place (through his architect's ingenious contrivance) wonderfully secure. In the third place, he made a cave in the territory of Selinuns, in which by fire there under ground, a warm steam was so artificially raised, that by its moderate heat, it caused a gentle sweat, and gradually cured many that resorted thither of their distempers, with a great deal of pleasure, without any uneasiness from the heat. And whereas there was a high and craggy rock in the country of Eryx, and no room to build but upon the highest and craggiest part of it, by reason of the strait and narrow passages about the temple of Venus, he drew a wall round the very top, and plained and enlarged it in a wonderful manner. They say he likewise made a golden honey-comb (dedicated to Venus Erycina) with such exquisite art, and so like to a true and real

one, that none could ever be comparable to it. He wrought many other excellent pieces in Sicily, which length of time has worn out, and consumed.

But Minos king of Crete, who had the dominion at sea, hearing that Dædalus was fled into Sicily, proclaimed war against that island. Having therefore rigged out a mighty fleet, he set sail, and arrived upon the coasts of Agrigentum, which was from him called Minoa, where he landed his men, and sent messengers to Cocalus, to demand the delivery up of Dædalus to justice. Hereupon Minos and Cocalus came to an interview, and Cocalus promised to do all that Minos required, and entertained him with all honourable respect: but when he was in a bath, Cocalus kept him there so long, that he was stifled with the steam and heat. Afterwards he delivered his body to the Cretans that came along with him, pretending he came to his death, by slipping accidentally into the hot and scalding baths. His soldiers buried him with great pomp, and built him a double sepulchre, in the lower part whereof, in a vault, they deposited his bones, and near to the higher part that was open to the view, they erected a temple to Venus, which for many ages after was so adored by the inhabitants, that they offered sacrifices there, as in a temple peculiarly consecrated to her.

In later times, when Agrigentum was built, it being then discovered that the bones were there buried, the sepulchre was wholly ruined, and the bones sent to the Cretans, at the time when Theron was sovereign lord of Agrigentum. The Cretans that were thus brought over into Sicily, after the death of Minos, having then no king, fell at odds one with another, and raised a great tumult. But their ships being all burnt by the Sicilians, Cocalus's subjects, they were out of all hope ever to return into their own country; and therefore resolved to settle themselves in Sicily. To that end, some of them built a city, which from the name of their king they called Minoa. Another part of them went up into the heart of the country, and possessing themselves of a place naturally very strong, there built Engyum, a city so called from a fountain there.

After the destruction of Troy, they received Meriones, with other Cretans that were cast upon Sicily; and because they were of the same nation, they made them members of their city. Afterwards, making frequent inroads into the neighbouring country, from so strong a fort, they subdued many of the borderers, and got some small territory; afterwards being grown wealthy, they built a temple to the Curetes or Corybantes *, and most religiously adored those goddesses, and adorned their temple with many rich gifts. They

* Called the mother goddesses in Crete.

say, these godesses came into Sicily out of Crete, where they were most especially adored and honoured. It is reported that they privately bred up and concealed Jupiter from his father Saturn. In reward of which kindness, they were taken up into the heavens and placed among the stars, where they make the constellation called Arctos*. Of whom Aratus (agreeable hereunto) in his poem of the stars, speaks thus:—

Upon their shoulders him they bore away,
If that we may believe what stories say:
From Crete great Jove advanc'd to th' heavens clear
And plac'd the Cureres in the Northern Bear.
For that from's father Saturn him they hid,
When young; and th' youth out of all danger rid.

It is not fit therefore that we should pass by in silence the piety of these goddesses, and their fame and reputation amongst all men. For they are not only adored by the inhabitants of this city, but several of the neighbouring countries worship them with pompous sacrifices, and other religious services. And the oracle at Delphos enjoined many cities to give divine honour to these goddesses; promising that by this means they should be blessed both in their private and public concerns. And at length these goddesses grew so famous, that rich gifts both of gold and silver were dedicated to them by the inhabitants, and such offerings are continued to the very time of writing this history. For they built to them a most sumptuous temple, both for greatness of structure, and costliness of ornament. For in regard there was not stone in that part of the country fit for the raising such a structure, they took care to have it brought from the Agyrineans, which was a hundred furlongs distance, and the way very rough and craggy, and hard to pass: and therefore to convey the stones, they provided waggons and a hundred yoke of oxen; being the better enabled to bear the charge, for that the sacred treasures were very large. For a little before our time, there were three thousand oxen dedicated to those goddesses, and so much land as raised a vast revenue: but having said enough of this we shall proceed to the history of Aristæus.

Aristæus was the son of Apollo and Cyrene, the daughter of Hypsæus, who was the son of Peneus. Of his birth some tell this story— They say that Cyrene was very beautiful, and brought up at Mount Pelion, and that Apollo fell in love with her, and transported her into Libya, where in later time was built a city, called after her name Cyrene. There Apollo committed his son Aristæus, begotten of Cyrene (then a young infant) to the care of the nymphs, to be

* The bear.

brought up by them; who gave him three several names, Norricus, Aristæus, and Agreus. These nymphs taught him how to curdle milk*, to order and make bee-hives, and plant olive-yards; and by this means he became the first that directed all other men in this art: for which he was so honoured, that all adored him as a god, as much as they did Bacchus.

Afterwards they say, he went to Thebes, where he married Autonoe, one of Cadmus's daughters, by whom he had Actæon, torn in pieces (as the mythologists say) by his own dogs. Some give this reason of his misfortune, because that he designed nuptial embraces with Diana in her temple†, dedicating to her what he got in hunting, for that solemnity. Others say, because he boasted that in hunting, he excelled Diana herself‡. And it is not improbable, but that the goddess might be incensed at either of these. For whether for the gratifying of his lust by his prey, he abused the goddess, who was ever averse from marriage, or that he dared to prefer himself in the art of hunting before her, who by all the gods themselves was granted to excel all others in that respect, the goddess was certainly most justly angry: it is therefore very probable, that being transformed into the likeness of those beasts he used to take, the dogs when they were in pursuit of other game, might tear himself in pieces.

After the death of Actæon, Aristæus went to his father§ the oracle at Delphos, and there it is said, he was commanded by the oracle to remove into the island Coos, who told him that he should be there highly honoured, and in great esteem with the Coons.

Thither therefore he sailed; a plague afterwards raging over all Greece, he sacrificed to the gods for the deliverance of the Grecians: When he had perfected his sacrifice about the rising of the dog star‖, at which time the Etesian winds began to rise, the plague stopped. This remarkable change (if it be seriously considered) may justly be wondered at; for he who had his son torn in pieces with dogs, allayed the evil influences of the dog star (which commonly are pernicious) and at that time restored health to many thousands.

Afterwards leaving his children behind him, he went to Libya, and from thence being furnished with shipping by the nymph his mother, he sailed into Sardinia, where being taken with the pleasantness of the island, he seated himself, and improved the ground with planting and tillage, and civilized the inhabitants, who were before rude and barbarous. Here he begat two sons, Carmus and Calæcarpus. Af-

* To make cheese. † Within the consecrated ground belonging to the temple.
‡ Others say, because he looked at her when she was bathing. See Paus. Boetic, c. 2.
§ Apollo, the oracle being called the oracle of Apollo. ‖ In August.

terwards he sailed to other islands, and staid for some time in Sicily, upon the account of its fruitfulness both in corn and cattle, where he imparted several things to the inhabitants that were of great benefit and advantage. Therefore it is said, all the Sicilians, and especially those that had olive-yards, adored Aristæus as a god.

At last, they say, he went into Thrace to Bacchus, where he learned the rites of the orgia, and through his familiar converse with that God, was instructed in many other things both useful and profitable.

After he had lived some time near mount Hæmus*, he vanished away, and was never seen more; and was afterwards honoured as a god, not only by the barbarians in those parts, but by all the Grecians: but concerning Aristæus, this shall suffice.

Now, to say something concerning Daphne and Eryx: it is reported that Eryx was the son of Venus a native of Sicily, and Butes†, a most famous prince. This Eryx for the nobleness of his birth on the mother's side, was of great esteem among the inhabitants, and became king of part of the island‡, and built a city called after his own name, upon a high and lofty hill, upon the top of which, within the city, he built a temple to Venus, adorned with rich oblations, and all other stately furniture. The goddess in reward of the piety of the inhabitants, and the devotion of her son the founder, expressed a special love and kindness for this city, and upon that named herself Venus Erycina.

When any seriously considers the majesty of this temple, he cannot but greatly admire it; for all other sacred structures, after they have been famous for some time, have often, by the adverse blasts of fortune, been at length ruined and destroyed; but this has been so far (from the very first dedication of it) from decreasing in its glory, that it has grown still more and more in reputation and esteem. For after the consecration of it by Eryx, Æneas, another son of Venus, when he arrived in Sicily, in his voyage to Italy, beautified it with many rich oblations, because it was consecrated to his mother; and after him the Sicilians for many ages together (at great cost and expence) adored this goddess with magnificent sacrifices, and further adorned her temple with many great oblations. The Carthaginians also, in later times, when they conquered part of the island, still continued the splendid worship of this goddess. And lastly, the Romans, when they became masters of the whole island, surpassed all that were before them in the worship of this deity; and this they did upon good ground, for they derived their origin from

* Between Thrace and Thessaly.

† Butes, king of Bithynia, called formerly Bebrycia in Asia ‡ Sicily.

her, and by her means were prosperous in all their affairs, and therefore in gratitude for so many benefits, they returned her the greater honour and esteem. For the consuls and prætors, and all that came as governors into this island, as soon as they came to Eryx, offered most magnificent sacrifices, and dedicated rich gifts for the beautifying of this temple; and by little and little laid aside their austerity, and pleasantly conversed both with the women and children in their jollity, looking upon this to be the only way to ingratiate themselves into the favour of the goddess. The Roman senate likewise, out of their singular respect to this goddess, decreed that seventeen of the most confiding cities they had in Sicily, should make an offering in gold to Venus, and that the temple should be continually guarded by two hundred soldiers.

And thus though we have treated something largely of Eryx, yet the account is not impertinent to the history of Venus.

We shall now endeavour to relate what the mythologists report concerning Daphnis: in Sicily, they say, are mountains called Herei, so pleasant for situation, and of so sweet an air, that no place can be better pitched upon than they for pleasure and diversion in the summer-time: for there are many springs of admirable sweet water, and decked with trees of all sorts. There are whole woods of tall and stately oaks, which bear acorns of a vast bigness, twice as many, and twice as big, as in any other part of the world.

There likewise grows abundance of roots and herbs, natural vines, and unspeakable number of melons*, so that a Carthaginian army once ready to starve for want of provision was there relieved and preserved; and though so many thousands were there fed, yet plenty remained in the mountains still. In this region there is a pleasant valley, graced with rows of trees, affording a most ravishing prospect to the eye, and likewise a grove dedicated to the nymphs: here they say Daphnis was begotten by Mercury upon one of the nymphs, and gained that name from the multitude of laurels* that grow there. Being bred up by the nymphs, and having many herds of cattle, he diligently followed the shepherd's life, upon which account he was also called Bubulcus‡; and being very skilful and ingenious in composing songs and tunes, he found out the Bucolic poems, and harmonious notes, which are much used, and highly esteemed amongst the Sicilians at this day. They say, likewise, that he often hunted with Diana, and by his dutiful observance and attendance upon the goddess, mightily gained her favour, and with his piping and singing wonderfully delighted her. It is likewise said, that a nymph falling in love with him, told him, that if he lay with any other woman but her, he should be struck blind; which afterwards proved true, for,

* Apples. † Daphne, a laurel, in Greek. ‡ The Cow-herd.

lying with a king's daughter who had made him drunk, he forthwith lost his sight.

But this concerning Daphnis shall suffice. Now we proceed in short to the story of Orion. It is said, that he was the biggest and strongest man of all the heroes, and was much given to hunting; and being so very strong, for the sake of vain glory, performed many great actions.

Amongst other things, by casting up a mound, he made the harbour called Acte, for Zanclus, the Sicilian king, from whom the city was antiently called Zancle, but afterwards Messana, and now Messina.

But since we make mention of Messina, we conceive it no digression if we here subjoin what is related concerning the narrow sea, whereon it is seated.

Some antient writers say, that Sicily was once a peninsula, and afterwards became an island, in the manner following—

The sea beating violently upon each side of the narrowest part of the isthmus, at length cut through and disjoined one part from the other, and the place, from thence, was called Rhegium, where, many years after, was built the city now so called. Others say, that that narrow neck of the continent was rent asunder by an earthquake, and by that means the sea burst into that part where the convulsion was made. But the poet Hesiod affirms the contrary; for he says, that the sea being formerly broader, Orion raised up in the open sea the promontory Pelorus, and built upon it a temple to Neptune, religiously adored by the inhabitants. After the performing of these things, they report that he sailed into Eubœa, and there resided. Afterwards, for the glory of his actions, being fixed as a constellation among the stars, his name became famous to eternity, of whom the poet Homer makes mention in his poem of the dead, in these words:

> Next vast Orion his appearance made,
> Hunting wild beasts within a fruitful mead,
> Which on th' vast mountains he had killed before,
> When once a brazen knotted club he bore.

Where, likewise, he takes notice of his great bulk; and a little after, making mention of Aloides, he adds, that at nine years of age he was four yards and a half* in thickness, and eighteen yards in height.

> His mother earth his body did so rear,
> That none for height and beauty might compare
> With him, except Orion who excell'd
> In both, and so him more than paralleled.

Having now treated sufficiently of the heroes and demi-gods, according as we at first designed, we shall here put an end to this book.

* Nine cubits make four yards and a half. Nine *Orgia* make eighteen yards.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

BOOK V.

PREFACE.

IT ought to be the special care of all historians, not only in their writings to observe whatever may be useful and profitable, but also to keep to a due order and method in the several parts of their history. This not only conduces much to direct and caution private persons how to get and keep estates, but is an extraordinary help to writers, in composing of their historical treatises. For some there are that, though they are justly in high esteem for their eloquent stile, and variety of learning discovered in their writings, yet have been too careless in distributing their matter under proper heads; so that, though the readers may easily discern their great pains and industry, yet their manner of writing deserves justly to be censured. Timæus, indeed, was very exact in his chronology, and extraordinarily industrious to abound in variety of relations; but for his unseasonable and immoderate censures of others, may be justly taxed and reprehended himself; who, for his unbounded liberty that he takes in this bitter censuring, is called by some the Detractor*.

But Ephorus, on the contrary, in his Universal History, acts the part of an able historian, both as to the elegance of his stile, and his accurate method: for he divides his books according to their several subjects, keeping close in every book to things of one and the same nature; which way and order of writing I approve above all others, and therefore shall endeavour to imitate him as well as I can.

* Epitimeus.

CHAP. I.

A description of Sicily. The Æolides, or Lipara Islands. Of Malta, Gaulus, Cercina, Corsica, Sardinia, Pityusa, and the Baleares.

HAVING designed this book for a description of the islands, we shall first begin with Sicily, being the chiefest and most remarkable for antient and memorable actions.

It was antiently called *Trinacria**, from its shape. Afterwards, by the Sicanians, the first inhabitants, it was called Sicania; and at last it was called Sicily, from the Sicilians, who, with all their people, entirely transported themselves thither out of Italy.

In circuit it is four thousand three hundred and sixty furlongs†; for one of the three sides, from the promontory Pelorus to Lilybæum, is a thousand and seven hundred furlongs; the other, from Lilybæum to Pachinum, a promontory of Syracuse, runs out in length a thousand and five hundred furlongs. The rest contains a thousand one hundred and forty furlongs.

The Sicilians, the inhabitants, (from old tradition, continued down to them from their forefathers), say, that this island is dedicated to Ceres and Proserpine. Some of the poets feign, that at the marriage of Pluto and Proserpine, this island was given to the new bride by Jupiter, for a present‡. The most approved authors say, that the Sicanians, who were the antient possessors, were the first natural inhabitants of this isle, and that the goddesses which we have before mentioned appeared first in this island; and that the fatness of the soil was such, that corn first grew here of itself, which the most eminent of all the poets confirms in these words—

> Within this island all things grow,
> Without the help of seed or plough,
> As wheat and barley, with the vine,
> From whence proceeds both grapes and wine,
> Which with sweet showers from above
> Are brought to ripeness by great Jove.

For in the territory of Leontium, and in many other parts of Sicily, there grows up wild wheat at this very day. If it be asked in

* Three-cornered, like a wedge. † About five hundred and forty-five miles.

‡ For an Anacalypterium. These were gifts bestowed upon the bride by the husband and his friends, when she plucked off her veil at her first being brought to her husband. See Archæolog. Att. lib. 4, c. 7.

what part of the world these grains were first known, before the use of corn was found out; it is most probable that they were first brought to the best and richest country, and therefore upon that account we see that the Sicilians most especially worship those goddesses who were the first discoverers of these fruits. That the rape of Proserpine was in this country (they say) is most clear and evident from hence, that neither of these goddesses* ever resided in any other place but in this island, wherein they delighted above all others. The rape, they say, was in the meadows of Enna, not far from the city, a place decked with violets, and all sorts of other flowers, affording a most beautiful and pleasant prospect. It is said, that the fragrancy of the flowers is such, that the dogs sent out to hunt the game thereby lose the benefit of their sense, and are made incapable by their scent to find out the prey. This meadow-ground, in the middle and highest part of it, is champaign and well watered, but all the borders round are craggy, guarded with high and steep precipices, and is supposed to lie in the very heart of Sicily, whence it is called by some the navel of Sicily: near at hand are groves, meadows, and gardens, surrounded with morasses, and a deep cave, with a passage under ground opening towards the north, through which, they say, Pluto passed in his chariot when he forced away Proserpine. In this place the violets and other sweet flowers flourish continually all the year long, and present a pleasant and delightsome prospect to the beholders all over the flourishing plain.

They say, that Minerva and Diana, who had both vowed virginity as well as Proserpine, were bred up together with her, and all three wrought a gown for Jupiter their father of the flowers they had gathered in company one with another; and that they were exceedingly delighted in the island upon the account of the familiar converse they enjoyed one with another; so that each of them chose out a particular place for their several residences. Minerva made choice of those parts near Himera, where the nymphs, for the sake of Minerva, opened the hot baths about the time of Hercules's coming thither. The inhabitants likewise dedicated the city to her, (to this day called Athenæum) with the country round about. To Diana was allotted by the goddesses the island at Syracuse, which from her was called both by the oracles of the gods and by men *Ortygia*. The nymphs likewise, to ingratiate themselves the more with Diana, made a mighty great fountain in this island, called Arethusa, wherein were bred many great fishes, not only in antient times, but there they remain to this very day, as sacred and never touched by any.

* Ceres and Proserpine. This rape, the ground of this fable, was Ann. Mund. 2673, before Christ 1275.

But when some in time of war have made bold to feed upon them, they have suddenly, by the apparent anger of the goddess, been afflicted with some remarkable calamity, of which we shall write more fully in its proper time and place.

Proserpine enjoyed the pleasant meadows about Enna in common with the other two goddesses, and had a great fountain called Cyane, in the territories of Syracuse, consecrated to her: for they say that Pluto, after the rape, carried away Proserpine in a chariot to Syracuse, and there, the earth opening, both of them descended into hell together, from which time in that place arose the spring and lake called Cyane, where the Syracusans every year celebrate a solemn festival, at which they privately sacrificed the lesser victims, but publicly and openly they threw bulls into the lake; which manner of sacrifice Hercules introduced when he went over all Sicily with the herds of Geryon. After the rape of Proserpine, they say, Ceres (not being able to find out her daughter) lighted firebrands at the irruptions of Ætna, and wandered through divers parts of the world to seek her, and did much good where she came, especially where she was courteously received, bestowing wheat upon the inhabitants in a grateful return of their civility. And because the Athenians entertained this goddess with the greatest civility, therefore, next to Sicily, they were the first upon whom she bestowed this grain; for which the people of Athens honoured this goddess above all others, with splendid sacrifices and sacred mysteries at Eleusis, which for their antiquity and sanctity are greatly esteemed every where.

The Athenians generously communicated this blessing of corn to many others, and they imparted the seed to their neighbours, so that by degrees the whole world was full of it.

The Sicilians, therefore, being the first that had the use of corn, by reason of their familiar converse with Ceres and Proserpine, who dwelt amongst them, instituted sacrifices and solemn festivals to both these goddesses, whose names gave reputation to the things; which festivals were solemnized at such a time as was most proper to point at the great benefit they had received: for they celebrated the rape of Proserpine in the time of wheat harvest, and performed these sacrifices and solemnities with that sanctity and application of mind as became them, who were obliged to be thankful for being preferred before all other people in the world with the first reception of so great a blessing.

They had another festival which they celebrated to Ceres at the time of wheat seedings; it continued for the space of ten days, and was remarkable for the name of the goddess; and during this time every thing was celebrated with great pomp and splendour, but the

rest of the worship was after the old way and fashion. But it is a custom among them during all these ten days to use obscene and filthy language in their converse one with another, because the goddess, being put into dumps of melancholy for the loss of her daughter, is put to the smile, they say, by smutty discourse. That the rape of Proserpine was in this manner as we have before declared, many of the antients, both poets and historians, do generally affirm. For Carcinus the Tragedian, who came often to Syracuse, observing how zealous the citizens were in celebrating the sacred mysteries of Ceres, has these verses in his poems:

Ceres' most lovely daughter, as they say,
By Pluto's crafty snares was snatch'd away,
Who under ground through darksome caves convey'd
To th' gloomy shades below, the harmless maid.
Her mournful mother wept and wrung her hands,
Seeking her ravished daughter in all lands.
Then Ætna's flames through all the land did roar,
And flakes of fire spread all the island o'er;
And while the noble maid was thus bemoan'd,
For want of corn the fainting country groan'd:
And hence it is, that to this very day,
Devoutly to these goddesses they pray.

It is not fit we should here omit giving an account of the kindness and bounty of this goddess to mankind; for besides that she found out corn, she taught the art of husbandry, and instituted laws, whereby men governed their actions according to the rules of justice and honesty; for which reason, they say, she was called the law-maker. And certainly none can bestow greater benefits than these imparted by her, which include both being and well-being. But this concerning the antiquities of Sicily shall suffice.

But it is necessary to say in brief something of the Sicanians, the first inhabitants of Sicily, because several historians differ in their relations concerning them. For Philistus says they were a colony transplanted from Iberia into this island, and came thither from the river Sicanus, from whence they were called Sicani. But Timæus (condemning the ignorance of this writer) proves clearly and evidently that they were the original inhabitants; whose reasons to prove their antiquity being many, we conceive it needless to recite. The Sicanians antiently dwelt in villages, and built little towns upon hills that were naturally strong, for their better security against thieves and robbers. For they were not under one general monarch, but every town had each a several prince. And at first they enjoyed the whole island, and lived by tillage and improvement of the ground: but after that Ætna burst out into flames in many parts of it, and

streams of fire even overflowed the neighbouring territory, the country lay waste and ruined for a great space and tract of ground together. And in regard the fire thus continued to spoil the country for many years together, the inhabitants in a consternation forsook the eastern parts of Sicily, and went down into the west. At length after many ages, the Sicilians with all their families transported themselves out of Italy, and settled in that part of the island before forsaken by the Sicanians. Where out of a covetous desire to gain more, they encroached still farther, and made incursions into the neighbouring countries, so that there were frequent wars between them and the Sicanians, till by a mutual compact and agreement, they settled the boundaries of each others territories; of which we shall give a particular account in their proper place and time. The last that sent colonies into Sicily were the Grecians, and those very considerable, who built cities upon the sea coasts. By the multitude of Grecians that resorted thither, and the frequent and ordinary commerce with them, they learned both the language of the Grecians, and their way of living, and lost (together with their own barbarous dialect) their very name likewise, and were called Sicilians. Having said enough of these, we shall now pass to the islands called the Æolides, which are seven in number, called Strongyle, Euonymos, Didyme, Phœnicusa, Hiera, Ericusa, and Lipara; in which last there is a city of the same name: these lie between Sicily and Italy in a direct line from east to west, and are distant from Sicily about a hundred and fifty furlongs: they are much of an equal bigness; the greatest of them is in circuit a hundred and fifty furlongs: they have been all subject to great eruptions of fire, the passages of which, by the openings of the earth, are apparent and visible at this day. But in Strongyle and Hiera, to this very time, violent vapours burst out of the earth, with a roaring dreadful noise; abundance likewise of sand and fiery stones are vomited out of the ground; the like to which may be seen about mount Ætna; for some affirm, that from these islands there are caverns within the earth that run out as far as Ætna, and so there is a communication one with another, and therefore both these, and those breaches and chasms of the earth at Ætna, cast forth their flames at certain seasons by turns. They say that these islands antiently were desert and uninhabited; and that afterwards Liparus, son of king Auson, upon a sedition raised against him by his brothers with a fleet well manned, fled out of Italy into the island, from him called Lipara, where he built a city of the same name, and tilled and cultivated the rest of the islands. When he was old, Æolus the son of Hippotas, with some other of his associates, arrived in the island, and married Cyane the daughter of Liparus; and investing

the rest that he bro it al g with him with the same rights and privileges that the natural inhabitants enjoyed, he became supreme lord of the island. Liparus afterwards having a desire to return into Italy, Æolus assisted him in possessing the country about Syrrentum, where (after he had reigned with general applause) he died, and was buried in great state and funeral pomp, and honoured by the inhabitants as a demi-god. This is that Æolus (which they say) entertained Ulysses in his wanderings; and was reported to be pious towards the gods, righteous towards men, and kind and courteous to strangers.

It is likewise reported that he taught mariners the use of sails; and by the diligent observance of fire, foretold the rising of winds; whence he was feigned to have a sovereign power over the winds; and for his piety was called the friend of the gods. He had six sons, Astyochus, Xuthus, Androcles, Pherœmon, Jocastes, and Agathyrnus, who were all in great reputation and esteem upon the account of the fame of their father's virtues.

Amongst these sons, Jocastes reigned as king over those parts, lying upon the sea coasts of Italy, as far as Rhegium. Pherœmon and Androcles enjoyed that part of Sicily from the narrow cut of the sea to Lilybæum. That part of the country that lies eastward was inhabited by the Sicilians; the other towards the west by the Sicanians, which several people were continually quarrelling one with another: but they freely submitted to the sons of Æolus, for the sake of their father's eminent piety, and their own gentle and sweet dispositions. —Xuthus reigned in the territory of Leontium, called from him Xuthia to this day. Agathyrnus possessed the region now called Agathyrnites, and built the city called Agathyrnum, after his own name.

Astyochus was sovereign lord of Lipara; and all of them imitating their father's justice and piety, were in great honour and esteem. After the posterity of Æolus had reigned successively for many ages together, at last the royal line in Sicily was extinct. After which, the Sicilians were under an aristocratical government: but the Sicanians fell to odds one with another about the sovereignty, and for a long time together were embroiled in a civil war.

Many years afterwards, when the other islands (through the severity of the kings of Asia) were more and more emptied of their inhabitants, some of Cnidus and Rhodes determined to transplant themselves; to which end they created Pentathlus, a Cnidian, their captain, (who derived his pedigree from Hippotes the son of Hercules) and under his conduct they transported themselves into Sicily, and arrived at Lilybæum.

This fell out in the fiftieth olympiad* in which Epitilidas the Laconian was victor. At which time likewise it happened, that Ægesta and Selinuntis were at war one with another; in which war (joining with the Selinuntines) in one battle they lost many of their men, and among the rest their general Pentathlus. The Selinuntines being thus routed, those of these strangers that survived, determined to return home; to which purpose they chose Gorgus, Thestores, and Epitherides, of the household of Pentathlus, to be their captains, who sailed through the Tyrrhenian sea, to Lipara, where they were kindly received, and easily persuaded to enter into a league with the inhabitants, and dwell among them, who were then scarcely five hundred that remained of those that came over with Æolus.

Afterwards when the Tyrrhenians infested the seas with their piracies, (being vexed with their incursions) they prepared a fleet for their defence; and divided themselves into several parts, some to till the ground, and others to guard the seas against the pirates.

Then enjoying their estates in common, and feeding together in societies, they continued for some time in this community of life. Afterwards they divided Lipara (wherein was situated the Metropolitan city) among themselves; the rest of the islands they tilled and improved for the use of them all in common.

At last they divided all the islands for the space of twenty years; and when that time was expired, they again made a division by lot. Afterwards they overcame the Tyrrhenians in many sea-fights, and devoted the tenths of the best of their spoils to the oracle at Delphos.

It remains we should shew by what means the city of Lipara in succeeding ages grew to that height of wealth, that they were not only happy in themselves, but renowned and glorious abroad.

This city is beautified by nature with very large and fair harbours, and furnished with famous baths; for they are not only medicinal, but by reason of their singular properties and qualities, afford much pleasure and delight; and therefore many in Sicily that are taken with strange and unusual diseases, pass over into this island, and by washing themselves in the hot baths, are restored presently to perfect health, even to admiration.

And the island itself to this day, abounds in that famous mineral called allum, which brings in a great revenue both to the Liparians and the Romans; for being in no other part of the world, and so very useful, the inhabitants (upon good reason) have the sole vending of this commodity, and by setting what rate they please on it, they grow prodigiously rich. Only indeed in the isle of Melos, there

* About seven years after the taking and destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. Ant. Chr. 585 years.

grows a sort of small allum, but not sufficient to supply any considerable number of cities. This island of Lipara is not large, but reasonably well stored with fruit, and abounds with every thing necessary for the sustenance of man's life; for it plentifully supplies the inhabitants with all sorts of fish, and bears fruit most delicious to the taste. But this may suffice to be said of Lipara, and the rest of the Æolic islands.

Next to Lipara westward, lies a small island uninhabited, called (from a remarkable accident) Osteodes. For at the time when the Carthaginians were engaged in great wars with the Syracusans, they were furnished with considerable forces both at sea and land; amongst whom were many mercenaries out of several countries, which were always a turbulent sort of men, and commonly accustomed to raise many horrid mutinies in the army, especially when they received not their pay at the day when it was due. Some therefore there were at that time (about the number of six thousand) according to their usual insolence and rude behaviour (not receiving their pay) first got into a body together, and then with rude shouts and clamours, assaulted their commanders. And when for want of money, they still delayed to pay them, they threatened they would prosecute their right against the Carthaginians with force of arms, and thereupon laid hold upon their officers; and though they received a check from the senate for their unruliness, yet they were the more furious and outrageous. Whereupon the senate privately ordered the colonels and officers to put all the mutineers to death; upon which orders, they forthwith got them all on shipboard, (and under colour of some military service to be performed) transported them to the island before-mentioned, and there landed them and left them: and though they stormed and raged at this misfortune, yet they were in no capacity to revenge themselves upon the Carthaginians, but at length were all famished to death: and being that so great a number (as if they had been captives of war) perished in so small an island, this strait place was filled with the multitude of dead mens' bones; and for this reason the island was called as aforesaid.

And in this manner these mercenaries (by the fraud of their own officers) were brought into these extremities, and miserably perished for want of food.

Having now gone through the Æolides, we shall next view those islands that lie on both sides of them.

Southward over against Sicily, lie three islands, which have all safe and commodious harbours, and each of them a city.

The first is Malta, about eight hundred furlongs from Syracuse, furnished with very good harbours: and the inhabitants are very rich;

for it is full of all sorts of artificers, amongst whom there are excellent weavers of fine linen. Their houses are very stately and beautiful, adorned with graceful eaves, and pargeted with white plaster. The inhabitants are a colony of Phœnicians, who, trading as merchants as far as the western ocean, resorted to this island upon the account of its commodious ports, and convenient situation for a sea-trade; and by the advantage of this place, the inhabitants presently became famous both for their wealth and merchandise.

The next is Gaulus, furnished with several safe harbours, and first inhabited by the Phœnicians.

Then follows Cercina, lying to the coasts of Africa, in which is a handsome city, and most commodious ports, wherein may ride not only merchantmen, but men of war.

Having spoken of the southern islands, we shall return to the rest near to the Lipari, which lie in the Tyrrhenian sea; for near to Populonium (as it is called) a city of Etruria, lies Æthalia, distant from Lipara near a hundred furlongs, so called from the great mists and fogs that rise there. This island abounds with iron stone, which they dig and cut out of the ground to melt, in order for the making of iron; much of which metal is in this sort of stone. The workmen employed, first cut the stone in pieces, and then melt them in furnaces built and prepared for the purpose. In these furnaces, the stones, by the violent heat of the fire, are melted into several pieces, in form like to great spunges, which the merchants buy by truck and exchange of other wares, and transport them to Dicæarchia, and other mart towns.

Some of these merchants that buy of these wares, cause them to be wrought by the coppersmiths, who beat and fashion them into all sorts of tools, instruments, and other shapes and fancies; as some they neatly beat into the shape of birds, others into spades, hooks, and other sorts of utensils. All which are transported and carried about into several parts of the world by the merchants.

There is another island, by the Greeks called Cyrnus, and by the Romans and natural inhabitants, Corsica, three hundred furlongs distant from Æthalia. It is an island of an easy access, and has a beautiful large harbour, called Syracusium. There are in it two cities, Calaris and Nicæa.

The Phocians built Calaris, at the time they were possessors of the islands, but were afterwards ejected by the Tyrrhenians. Nicæa was built by the Etrurians, when they lorded it as masters at sea, and subdued all the islands that lie near adjoining to Etruria.

During the time the cities of Corsica were subject to them, they exacted a tribute from the inhabitants of rosin, wax, and honey, of

which great plenty is produced in this island. Corsican bond-slaves are naturally of such a temper and qualification, that for usefulness they are to be preferred before all others whatsoever. The island is large, a great part of it mountainous and woody, and watered with several small rivers.

The inhabitants feed upon milk, honey, and flesh, which this country affords plentifully, and exceed all other barbarians in justice and humanity one towards another: for where any find honey in hollow trees in the mountains, it is certainly his that finds it without any further dispute. The sheep have all their owner's mark set upon them, and that certainly secures the property of their masters, though there be no shepherd to look after them. And in all other respects, in their converse and way of living, every one of them in their several stations observe the rules of common right and justice. A very strange thing there is among them concerning the birth of their children; for when the woman is in labour, there is no care taken of her in the time of her travel; but the husband goes to bed as if he were sick, and there continues for certain days, as if he were under the pains of a woman in travail.

There grows in this island abundance of extraordinary box-trees, which is the reason that the honey produced here is oftentimes very bitter. It is possessed by barbarians, whose language is very strange and difficult to be understood; they are above the number of thirty thousand.

Next to this lies Sardinia, an island as big as Sicily; it is inhabited by barbarians, whom they call Iolaeians, sprung (as they themselves suppose) from those few that inhabited the country with Iolaus and Thespiadæ. For at that time that Hercules instituted those so much celebrated games, having many children by the daughters of Thespius, by the command of the oracle, he sent them with a numerous train, both of barbarians and Grecians into Sardinia, to settle themselves in new habitations.

Their captain Iolaus (Hercules's nephew, on his brother's side) possessed himself of the island, and built in it several famous cities; and dividing the country by lot, called the people from himself, Iolaeians. He built likewise public schools and temples, and left other monuments for public use and general advantage, which remain to this day.

For the most pleasant fields of the country are called after him, the fields of Iolaus, or the Iolaeian fields; and the people are still called Iolaeains from him. It was foretold likewise by the oracle concerning his colony, that if they were called after his name, their freedoms and liberties should be secured to them for ever; and ac-

cordingly their laws and government have been preserved firm and unshaken to this day. For though the Carthaginians, when they were in the height of their power, took this island, yet they could not enslave the people; for the Iolaeians fled to the mountains, and made them habitations under ground, and kept and maintained many herds and flocks of cattle, which afforded them food sufficient, both as to milk, cheese, and flesh. And thus leaving the champaign parts of the country, they were both freed from the toil of ploughing and tilling the ground; and besides, lived at ease in the mountains, contented with a mean and moderate provision, as we before said.

And although the Carthaginians often assaulted them with great armies, yet the difficulties of the places were such, and the windings and turnings within these subterraneous caves were so inexplicable, that they were ever the security of these inhabitants from bondage and slavery. And lastly, the Romans, since they became masters of the place, have often attempted to reduce them by force of arms, but were never able to prevail, for the reasons before alleged. But to return to the antient times; Iolaus, after he had settled all the concerns relating to the colony, returned into Greece. The Thespiadæ, after they had been lords of the islands for many ages, were at length expelled, and driven into Italy, and seated themselves in the parts and places about Cuma: the rest of the people returned to their former barbarism, and making choice of the best captains from among their own countrymen, have defended their liberties to this day.

Having said enough of Sardinia, we shall now go on with the other islands.

Next to the before-mentioned island, is Pityusa, so called from the multitude of pine-trees growing there, lying in the midst of the sea, three days, and as many nights sail from Hercules's pillars, one day and night's sail from the coast of Africa, and only a day's sail from Spain, as large as Corcyra, and reasonably fruitful. It bears some few vines and wild olive-trees. Amongst other things it produces, it is most esteemed for fine wool. It is chequered with pleasant champaign fields, and lovely hills. There is a city in it called Eresum, inhabited by a colony of Carthaginians; and is graced with famous ports, and high walls, and a great number of stately houses. Barbarians of several nations inhabit there, but most are Carthaginians, a colony of whom settled there about a hundred and sixty years after the building of Carthage,

There are other islands over against Spain, which the Grecians call Gymnesiæ, because in summer-time the inhabitants go naked. By the natives and the Romans they are called Baleares, from casting

of huge massy stones out of slings, wherein the inhabitants excel all other people.

The greater of these islands is larger than all the rest of the islands, except these seven, Sicily, Sardinia, Cyprus, Crete, Eubœa, Corsica and Lesbos. It is one day's sail distant from Spain.

The lesser lies more eastward, and breeds and feeds all sorts of fine and large cattle, especially mules, which for the bigness of their bodies, and the exceeding noise they make in their braying, are remarkable above all others. Both these islands are of a good and fertile soil, and are peopled with above thirty thousand inhabitants.

As to the fruits of the earth, they are altogether destitute of wine; the want therefore of it makes them the more eager after it. Neither have they any oil amongst them; to supply which, they press out the oily part of mastic, and mix it and swine's grease together, and with this composition anoint their bodies.

They love women exceedingly, whom they value at such a rate, that when the pirates bring any women they have taken thither, they will give as a ransom, three or four men for one woman. They live in caves hewn in the rocks, and spend all their days in these holes, dug up and down in the steepest part of the rocky mountains, by which means they provide for themselves both shelter and security.

They make no use either of silver or gold coin, but prohibit the importation of it into the island; for which they give this reason: that Hercules, in former times, made war upon Geryon the son of Chrysaor, for no other reason but because he was rich in silver gold and, therefore, that they may live more securely, and quietly enjoy what they have, they have made it a standing law to have nothing to do with that wealth which consists in those metals.

According, therefore, to this decree, when once heretofore in a war they assisted the Carthaginians, they brought nothing of their pay into their own country, but laid it all out in wine and women.

They have a filthy custom likewise amongst them concerning their marriages; for in their marriage-feasts, all their friends and household servants, as they are in seniority of age, one after another, carnally know the bride, till at length it comes to the bridegroom's turn, who has the honour to be last.

They have another strange custom likewise about burying of their dead; they cut the carcase in pieces with wooden knives or axes, and so put up all the parts into an urn, and then raise up a great heap of stones over it.

Their arms are three slings, one they wind about their heads, another they tie about their loins, and the third they carry in their hands. In time of war they throw much larger stones than any other peo-

ple and with that violence, as if they were shot out of an engine; and, therefore, in the time of assaults made upon towns, they grievously gall those that stand upon the bulwarks and in field-fights break in pieces their enemies' shields, helmets, and all other defensive armour whatsoever; and are such exact marksmen, (that for the most part) they never miss what they aim at: they attain to this skill by continual exercise from their very childhood; for while they are very young, they are forced, under the tutorage of their mothers, to cast stones out of slings. For they fasten a piece of bread for a mark to a pole, and till the child hit the bread, he must fast, and then at length the mother gives him the bread to eat.

CHAP. II.

Of Madeira, Britain, Gallia, Celtiberia, Iberia, Tyrrhenia, and of the inhabitants, and their laws and customs.

SINCE we have gone through the islands lying eastward, on this side within the pillars of Hercules, we shall now launch into the main ocean to those that lie beyond them; for over against Africa, lies a very great island in the vast ocean, of many days sail from Libya, westward. The soil here is very fruitful, a great part whereof is mountainous, but much likewise champaign, which is the most sweet and pleasant part of all the rest; for it is watered with several navigable rivers, beautified with many gardens of pleasure, planted with divers sorts of trees, and abundance of orchards, interlaced with currents of sweet water. The towns are adorned with stately buildings, and banquetting-houses up and down, pleasantly situated in their gardens and orchards. And here they recreate themselves in summer-time, as in places accommodated for pleasure and delight.

The mountainous part of the country is cloathed with many large woods, and all manner of fruit-trees; and for the greater delight and diversion of people in these mountains, they ever and anon open themselves into pleasant vales, watered with fountains and refreshing springs: and indeed the whole island abounds with springs of sweet water: whence the inhabitants not only reap pleasure and delight, but improve in health and strength of body.

There you may have game enough in hunting all sorts of wild

beasts, of which there is such plenty, that in their feasts there is nothing wanting either as to pomp or delight. The adjoining sea furnishes them plentifully with fish, for the ocean there naturally abounds with all sorts.

The air and climate in this island is very mild and healthful, so that the trees bear fruit (and other things that are produced there are fresh and beautiful) most part of the year; so that this island (for the excellency of it in all respects) seems rather to be the residence of some of the gods than of men.

Antiently, by reason of its remote situation, it was altogether unknown, but afterwards discovered upon this occasion.

The Phœnicians in antient times undertook frequent voyages by sea, in way of traffic as merchants, so that they planted many colonies both in Africa and in these western parts of Europe. These merchants succeeding in their undertaking, and thereupon growing very rich, passed at length beyond the pillars of Hercules, into the sea called the ocean: and first they built a city called Gades, near to Hercules's pillars, at the sea-side, in an isthmus in Europe, in which, among other things proper for the place, they built a stately temple to Hercules, and instituted splendid sacrifices to be offered to him after the rites and customs of the Phœnicians. This temple is in great veneration at this day, as well as in former ages; so that many of the Romans, famous and renowned both for their births and glorious actions, have made their vows to this god, and after success in their affairs, have faithfully performed them. The Phœnicians therefore, upon the account before related, having found out the coasts beyond the pillars, and sailing along by the shore of Africa, were on a sudden driven by a furious storm afar off into the main ocean; and after they had lain under this violent tempest for many days, they at length arrived at this island; and so, coming to the knowledge of the nature and pleasantness of this isle, they were the first that discovered it to others; and therefore the Etrurians (when they were masters at sea, designed to send a colony thither; but the Carthaginians opposed them, both fearing lest most of their own citizens should be allured (through the goodness of the island) to settle there, and likewise intending to keep it as a place of refuge for themselves, in case of any sudden and unexpected blasts of fortune, which might tend to the utter ruin of their government: for, being then potent at sea, they doubted not but they could easily (unknown to the conquerors) transport themselves and their families into that island. Having now spoken sufficiently of the African ocean, and the islands belonging to it, we shall pass over to Europe.

For over against the French shore, opposite to the Hercynian

mountains (which are the greatest of any in Europe) there lie in the ocean many islands, the greatest of which is that which they call Britain, which antiently remained untouched, free from all foreign force; for it was never known that either Bacchus, Hercules, or any of the antient heroes or princes, ever made any attempt upon it by force of arms: but Julius Cæsar in our time (who by his great achievements gained the title of Divine) was the first (that any author makes mention of) that conquered that island, and compelled the Britons to pay tribute. But these things shall be more particularly treated of in their proper time; we shall now only say something concerning the island, and the tin that is found there.

In form it is triangular, like Sicily, but the sides are unequal. It lies in an oblique line, over against the continent of Europe; so that the promontory called Cantium, next to the continent (they say) is about a hundred furlongs from the land: here the sea ebbs and flows: but the other point, called Belerium, is four days sail from the continent.

The last, called Horcas, or Orcades, runs out far into the sea. The least of the sides facing the whole continent is seven thousand and five hundred furlongs in length; the second, stretching out itself all along from the sea to the highest point, is fifteen thousand furlongs; and the last is twenty thousand: so that the whole compass of the island is forty-two thousand five hundred furlongs. The inhabitants are the original people thereof, and live to this time after their own antient manner and custom; for in fights they use chariots, as it is said the old Grecian heroes did in the Trojan war. They dwell in mean cottages, covered for the most part with reeds or sticks. In reaping of their corn, they cut off the ears from the stalk, and so house them up in repositories under ground; thence they take and pluck out the grains of as many of the oldest of them as may serve them for the day, and, after they have bruised the corn, make it into bread. They are of much sincerity and integrity, far from the craft and knavery of men among us; contented with plain and homely fare, strangers to the excess and luxury of rich men. The island is very populous, but of a cold climate, subject to frosts, being under the Arctic pole. They are governed by several kings and princes, who, for the most part, are at peace and amity one with another. But of their laws, and other things peculiar to this island, we shall treat more particularly when we come to Cæsar's expedition into Britain.

Now we shall speak something of the tin that is dug and gotten there. They that inhabit the British promontory of Belerium, by reason of their converse with merchants, are more civilized and cour-

teous to strangers than the rest are. These are the people that make the tin, which with a great deal of care and labour they dig out of the ground; and that being rocky, the metal is mixed with some veins of earth, out of which they melt the metal, and then refine it; then they beat it into four-square pieces like to a dye, and carry it to a British isle near at hand, called Ictis. For at low tide, all being dry between them and the island, they convey over in carts abundance of tin in the mean time. But there is one thing peculiar to these islands which lie between Britain and Europe: for at full sea, they appear to be islands, but at low water for a long way, they look like so many peninsulas. Hence the merchants transport the tin they buy of the inhabitants to France; and for thirty days journey, they carry it in packs upon horses' backs through France, to the mouth of the river Rhone. But thus much concerning tin. Now something remains to be said of amber.

Over against Scythia above Gaul, in the ocean, lies an island called Basilea, upon which there is cast, by the working of the sea, abundance of amber, not to be found in any other part of the world.

Many of the antient historians have written incredible stories of this amber, which since have been experienced to be false: for many poets and other writers report, that Phaeton the son of Sol, while he was but as yet a young boy, prevailed with his father to give him liberty to drive his chariot for one day: which request obtained, the youth not being able to manage the reins, the horses scorned the charioteer, and forsook their antient course, and ran wildly and disorderly through the heavens, and first set them on fire, and by that means caused that track called the milky way; then burning up a great part of the earth, many countries were laid waste; at which Jupiter was so enraged, that he threw a thunderbolt at Phaeton, and commanded Sol to guide his steeds into their wonted course: and that Phaeton himself fell down into the river Po, antiently called Eridanus; and that his sisters greatly bewailing his death, (through excessive grief) changed their nature, and were tranformed into poplar trees, which yearly to this day distil their tears, and by concretion (they say) becomes this *electrum* or amber, which for beauty and brightness, excels all others of its kind, and is distilled most in that country, when the deaths of young men are solemnly bewailed. But forasmuch as they that have invented this story, have turned their backs upon truth, and that later ages have disproved it by experience of the contrary, regard is rather to be had to true and faithful historians. For amber is gathered in this island before-mentioned, and transported by the inhabitants into the opposite continent, from whence it is brought over to us in these parts as is before declared.

After this account given of the western islands, we conceive it not impertinent, if we briefly relate some things which were omitted in the former books concerning the neighbouring nations in Europe.

In Celtica (they say) once ruled a famous man, who had a daughter of a more tall and majestic stature than ordinary, and for beauty far beyond all others of her sex. This lady glorying much both in her strength and beauty, despised all that courted her, as judging none worthy of her bed. It happened that Hercules at the time he was engaged in the war against Gallia, marched into Celtica, and there built Alesia. When this young virgin saw him, admiring both his valour and stately proportion, she readily admitted him to her bed; yet not without the consent of her parents. Of this lady he begat Galatæ, who, for virtues of mind, and strength of body, far excelled the rest of his nation. When he came to man's estate, and was possessed of his grandfather's kingdom, he subdued many of the neighbouring countries, and performed many notable achievements by his sword. His valour being every where noised abroad, he called his subjects after his own name, Galatians, and the the country Galatia, Gaul.

Having shewn the original of the name, something is to be said of the country itself. Gaul is inhabited by several nations, but not all alike populous: the greatest of them have in them two hundred thousand men, the least but fifty thousand. Of these there is one that has been an antient ally of the Romans, and continues so to this day.

In regard it lies for the greatest part under the Arctic pole, it is very cold, and subject to frosts; for in winter in cloudy days, instead of rain the earth is covered with snow; in clear weather, every place is so full of ice and frost, that the rivers are frozen up to that degree, that they are naturally covered over with bridges of ice. For not only a small company of travellers, but vast armies, with their chariots and loaden carriages, may pass over without any danger or hazard.

There are many great rivers run through Gaul, which by their various windings and turnings cut through and parcel the champaign grounds, some of which have their spring-heads from deep lakes, others issue out from the mountains, and empty themselves either into the ocean, or into our seas.

The greatest that falls into our sea, is the Rhone, which rises out of the Alps, and at five mouths disgorges itself into the sea. Of those that empty themselves into the ocean, the greatest are the Danube and the Rhine; over the last of which Cæsar, called Divus,

(in our time) to admiration, cast a bridge, and passed over his forces, and subdued the Gauls on the other side.

There are many other navigable rivers in Celtica, to write of which particularly would be tedious: almost all of them are frequently frozen up, as if bridges were cast over their channels. But the ice being naturally smooth, and therefore slippery to the passengers, they throw chaff upon it that they may go the more firmly.

In many places of Gaul, there is something strange and very remarkable, which is not fit to be passed over in silence. For the west and north winds in summer are so fierce and violent, that they fling into the air great stones as big as a man can grasp in his hands, together with a cloud of gravel and dust. Nay, the violence of this whirlwind is such, that it forces men's arms out of their hands, rends their clothes off their backs, and dismounts the rider from his horse.

This excessive cold and immoderate temper of the air, is the cause why the earth in these parts produces neither wine nor oil; and therefore the Gauls, to supply the want of these fruits, make a drink of barley, which they call Xythus: they mix likewise their honeycombs with water, and make use of that for the same purpose. They are so exceedingly given to wine, that they guzzle it down as soon as it is imported by the merchant, and are so eager and inordinate, that making themselves drunk, they either fall dead asleep, or become stark mad. So that many Italian merchants (to gratify their own covetousness) make use of the drunkenness of the Gauls to advance their own profit and gain. For they convey the wine to them both by navigable rivers, and by land in carts, and bring back an incredible price: for in lieu of a hogshead of wine, they receive a boy, giving drink in truck for a servant.

In Gaul there are no silver mines, but much gold, with which the nature of the place supplies the inhabitants, without the labour or toil of digging in the mines. For the winding course of the river washing with its streams the feet of the mountains, carries away great pieces of golden ore, which those employed in this business gather, and then grind and bruise these clods of golden earth: and when they have so done, cleanse them from the gross earthy part, by washing them in water, and then melt them in a furnace; and thus get together a vast heap of gold, with which not only the women, but the men deck and adorn themselves. For they wear bracelets of this metal about their wrists and arms, and massy chains of pure and beaten gold about their necks, and weighty rings upon their fingers, and croslets of gold upon their breasts. The custom observed by the higher Gauls in the temples of their gods, is admirably remarkable; for in the oratories and sacred temples of this country, in

honour of their gods they scatter pieces of gold up and down, which none of the inhabitants (their superstitious devotion is such) will in the least touch or meddle with, though the Gauls are of themselves most exceeding covetous.

For stature they are tall, but of a sweaty and pale complexion, red-haired, not only naturally, but they endeavour all they can to make it redder by art. They often wash their hair in a water boiled with lime, and turn it backward from the forehead to the crown of the head, and thence to their very necks, that their faces may be more fully seen, so that they look like satyrs and hobgoblins. By this sort of management of themselves, their hair is as hard as a horse's mane. Some of them shave their beards; others let them grow a little. The persons of quality shave their chins close, but their mustachios they let fall so low, that they even cover their mouths; so that when they eat, their meat hangs dangling by their hair; and when they drink, the liquor runs through their mustachios as through a sieve. At meal-time they all sit, not upon seats, but upon the ground, and instead of carpets, spread wolves or dogs skins under them. Young boys and girls attend them, such as are yet but mere children. Near at hand they have their chimnies, with their fires well furnished with pots and spits full of whole joints of flesh meat; and the best and fairest joints (in a way of due honour and regard) they set before the persons of best quality: as Homer introduces the Grecian captains entertaining of Ajax, when he returned victor from his single combat with Hector, in this verse—

> But Agamemnon as a favouring sign,
> Before great Ajax set the lusty chine.

They invite likewise strangers to their feasts, and after all is over, they ask who they are, and what is their business. In the very midst of feasting, upon any small occasion, it is ordinary for them in a heat to rise, and without any regard of their lives, to fall to it with their swords. For the opinion of Pythagoras prevails much amongst them, that men's souls are immortal, and that there is a transmigration of them into other bodies, and after a certain time they live again; and therefore in their funerals they write letters to their friends, and throw them into the funeral pile, as if they were to be read by the deceased. In their journeys and fights they use chariots drawn with two horses, which carry a charioteer and a soldier, and when they meet horsemen in the battle, they fall upon their enemies with their saunians*; then quitting their chariots, they to it with their swords. There are some of them that so despise death, that they will fight naked, with something only about their loins. They carry along with

* A kind of dart.

them to the wars for their servants, libertines, chosen out of the poorer sort of people, whom they make use of for waggoners, and pedees. When the army is drawn up in battalia, it is usual for some of them to step out before the army, and to challenge the stoutest of their enemy to a single combat, brandishing their arms to terrify their adversary. If any comes forth to fight with them, then they sing some song in commendation of the valiant acts of their ancestors, and blazon out their own praises: on the contrary they vilify their adversary, and give forth slighting and contemptuous words, as if he had not the least courage. When at any time they cut off their enemies' heads, they hang them about their horses' necks.

They deliver their spoils to their servants, all besmeared with blood, to be carried before them in triumph, they themselves in the meantime singing the triumphant pæan. And as the chief of their spoils, they fasten those they have killed, over the doors of their houses, as if they were so many wild beasts taken in hunting. The heads of their enemies that were the chiefest persons of quality, they carefully deposit in chests, embalming them with the oil of cedars, and shewing them to strangers, glory and boast how that some of their ancestors, their fathers, or themslves, (though great sums of money have been offered for them), yet have refused to accept them.

Some glory so much on this account, that they refuse to take for one of these heads its weight in gold; in this manner exposing their barbarous magnanimity. For it is brave and generous indeed not to sell the ensigns of true valour; but to fight with the dead bodies of those that were men like ourselves, resembles the cruelty of wild beasts.

Their garments are very strange; for they wear party coloured coats, interwoven here and there with divers sorts of flowers; and hose which they call Bracæ. They make likewise their cassocks of basket-work joined together with laces on the inside, and chequered with many pieces of work like flowers; those they wear in winter are thicker, those in summer more slender.

Their defensive arms are a shield, proportionable to the height of a man, garnished with their own ensigns.

Some carry the shapes of beasts in brass, artificially wrought, as well for defence as ornament. Upon their heads they wear helmets of brass, with large pieces of work raised upon them for ostentation sake, to be admired by the beholders; for they have either horns of the same metal joined to them, or the shapes of birds and beasts carved upon them. They have trumpets after the barbarian manner, which in sounding make a horrid noise, to strike a terror fit and proper for the occasion. Some of them wear iron breast-plates, and

booked; but others, content with what arms nature affords them, fight naked. For swords, they use a long and broad weapon called Spatha, which they hang across their right thigh by iron or brazen chains. Some gird themselves over their coats with belts gilt with gold or silver. For darts they cast those they call Lances, whose iron shafts are a cubit or more in length, and almost two hands in breadth.

For their swords are as big as the saunians of other people, but the points of their saunians are larger than those of their swords; some of them are strait, others bowed and bending backwards, so that they not only cut, but break the flesh; and when the dart is drawn out, it tears and rents the wound most miserably.

These people are of a most terrible aspect, and have a most dreadful and loud voice. In their converse they are sparing of their words, and speak many things darkly and figuratively. They are high and hyperbolical in trumpeting out their own praises, but speak slightly and contemptibly of others. They are apt to menace others, self-opiniated, grievously provoking, of sharp wits, and apt to learn.

Among them they have poets that sing melodious songs, whom they call bards, who to their musical instruments like unto harps, chant forth the praises of some, and the dispraises of others.

There are likewise among them philosophers and divines, whom they call *Saronidæ**, and are held in great veneration and esteem. Prophets likewise they have, whom they highly honour, who foretel future events by viewing the entrails of the sacrifices, and to these soothsayers all the people generally are very observant.

When they are to consult on some great and weighty matter, they observe a most strange and incredible custom; for they sacrifice a man, striking him with a sword near the diaphragm, cross over his breast, who being thus slain, and falling down, they judge of the event from the manner of his fall, the convulsion of his members, and the flux of blood; and this has gained among them (by long and antient usage) a firm credit and belief.

It is not lawful to offer any sacrifice without a philosopher; for they hold that by these, as men acquainted with the nature of the deity, and familiar in their converse with the gods, they ought to present their thank-offerings, and by these ambassadors to desire such things as are good for them. These Druids and Bards are observed and obeyed, not only in times of peace, but war also, both by friends and enemies.

Many times these philosophers and poets, stepping in between two

* Druids; for Saronidæ, or Sarnuids, are of the same signification with Druids, the one of an oak, the other of an hollow oak.

armies near at hand, when they are just ready to engage, with their swords drawn, and spears presented one against another, have pacified them, as if some wild beasts had been tamed by enchantments. Thus rage is mastered by wisdom, even amongst the most savage barbarians, and Mars himself reverences the Muses.

And now it will be worth while to declare that which multitudes are altogether ignorant of. Those who inhabit the inland parts beyond Massilia*, and about the Alps, and on this side the Pyrenean mountains, are called Celts; but those that inhabit below this part called Celtica, southward to the ocean and the mountain Hyrcinus, and all as far as Scythia, are called Gauls. But the Romans call all these people generally by one and the same name, Gauls.

The women here are both as tall and as courageous as the men. The children, for the most part, from their very birth are grey-headed; but when they grow up to men's estate, their hair changes in colour like to their parents. Those towards the north, and bordering upon Scythia, are so exceeding fierce and cruel, that (as report goes) they eat men, like the Britains that inhabit Iris†.

They are so noted for a fierce and warlike people, that some have thought them to be those that anciently overran all Asia, and were then called Cimerians, and who are now (through length of time) with a little alteration, called Cimbrians.

Anciently they gave themselves to rapine and spoil, wasting and destroying other countries, and slighted and despised all other people. These are they that took Rome, and robbed the temple at Delphos. These brought a great part of Europe and Asia under tribute, and possessed themselves of some of the countries of those they subdued. Because of their mixture with the Grecians, they were at last called Gallo-Grecians. They often routed and destroyed many great armies of the Romans.

According to their natural cruelty, they are as impious in the worship of their gods; for malefactors, after that they have been kept close prisoners five years together, they impale upon stakes, in honour to the gods, and then, with many other victims, upon a vast pile of wood, they offer them up as a burnt sacrifice to their deities. In like manner they use their captives also, as sacrifices to the gods. Some of them cut the throats, burn, or otherwise destroy both men and beasts that they have taken in time of war: though they have very beautiful women among them, yet they little value their private society, but are transported with raging lust to the filthy act of sodomy; and, lying upon the ground on beast's skins spread under them, they there tumble together, with their catamites lying on both

* Marseilles. † Some part of Britain, then so called. Steph.

sides of them: and that which is the most abominable is, that without any sense of shame, or regard to their reputation, they will readily prostitute their bodies to others upon every occasion. And they are so far from looking upon it to be any fault, that they judge it a mean and dishonourable thing for any thus caressed to refuse the favour offered them.

Having spoken of the Celts, we shall now give an account of their neighbours the Celtiberians. The two nations Celts and Iberians, heretofore breaking forth into a war about the boundaries of their countries, at length agreed to inhabit together promiscuously, and so marrying one with another, their issue and posterity (they say) afterwards were called Celtiberians. Two potent nations being thus united, and possessed likewise of a rich and fertile country, these Celtiberians became very famous and renowned; so that the Romans had much ado to subdue them after long and tedious wars with them. These Celtiberians bring into the field not only stout and valiant horsemen, but brave foot, both for strength and hardiness able to undergo all manner of labour and toil. They wear black rough cassocks made of wool, like to goat's hair. Some of them are armed with the Gaulish light shields, others with bucklers as big as shields, and wear greaves about their legs made of rough hair, and brazen helmets upon their heads, adorned with red plumes. They carry two-edged swords exactly tempered with steel, and have daggers beside, of a span long, which they make use of in close fights. They make weapons and darts in an admirable manner; for they bury plates of iron so long under ground, till the rust hath consumed the weaker part, and so the rest becomes more strong and firm. Of this they make their swords and other warlike weapons; and with these arms, thus tempered, they so cut through every thing in their way, that neither shield, helmet, nor bone can withstand them. And because they are furnished with two swords, the horse, when they have routed the enemy, alight and join with the foot, and fight to admiration.

There is another strange and wonderful custom they have amongst them; for, though they are very nice and curious in their diet, yet they have a very sordid and filthy practice, to wash their whole bodies over with urine, and rub their very teeth with it, which is counted a certain means of health to their bodies. As to their manners, they are very cruel towards their enemies and other malefactors, but very courteous and civil to strangers; for to all such, from what place soever they come, they readily and freely entertain them, and strive who shall perform the greatest office of kindness and respect. Those who are attended upon by strangers they commend and esteem them

as friends of the gods. They live upon all sorts of flesh in great plenty, and their drink is made of honey, their country abounding therewith: but they buy wine also of the merchants that traffic thither.

Of those that border upon them, the most civilized nations are the Vaccæi*, who every year divide the lands among them, and then till and plough it, and after the harvest, distribute the fruits, allotting to every one their share; and therefore it is death to steal, or underhandedly to convey away any thing from the husbandman. Those they call Lusitanians† are the most valiant of all the Cimbri. These, in times of war, carry little targets made of bowel strings, so strong and firm, as completely to guard and defend their bodies. In fights they manage these, so nimbly whirling them about here and there, that with a great deal of art they avoid and repel every dart that is cast at them.

They use hooked saunians made all of iron, and wear swords and helmets like to those of the Celtiberians. They throw their darts at a great distance, and yet are sure to hit their mark, and wound deeply: being of active and nimble bodies, they can easily fly from, or pursue their enemy, as there is occasion: but when they are under hardships, they cannot endure near so much as the Celtiberians. In time of peace, they have a kind of a light and airy way of dancing, which requires great agility and nimbleness of the legs and thighs. In time of war they march observing time and measure; and sing the pæans when they are just ready to charge the enemy.

The Iberians, especially the Lusitanians, are singular in one thing that they do; for those that are young and pressed with want, but yet are strong and courageous, get together upon the tops of the mountains, and furnish themselves with arms; and having made up a considerable body, make incursions into Iberia, and heap up riches by thieving and robbery; and this is their constant practice in despite of all hazard whatsoever; for being lightly armed, and nimble of foot, they are not easily surprised. And indeed steep and craggy mountains are to them as their natural country, and to these they fly for shelter, because there is no way in those places for great armies to pass. And therefore though the Romans often set upon them, and in some measure have curbed them, yet they were never able wholly to put an end to their thieving and robbing.

Having related what concerns the Iberians, we conceive it not impertinent to say something of their silver mines. For almost all this country is full of such mines, whence is dug very good and pure silver; from whence those that deal in that metal, gain great profit.

* People of the higher province of Spain. † Portuguese.

And in the former book we have spoken of the Pyrenean mountains in Iberia, when we treated of the acts and achievements of Hercules: these are the highest and greatest of all others; for from the south sea, almost as far as to the northern ocean, they divide Gaul from Iberia and Celtiberia, running out for the space of three thousand furlongs. These places being full of woods, and thick of trees, it is reported, that in antient time this mountainous tract was set on fire by some shepherds, which continuing burning for many days together, (whence the mountains were called Pyrenean*), the parched superfices of the earth sweated, abundance of silver and the ore being melted, the metal flowed down in streams of pure silver, like a river; the use whereof being unknown to the inhabitants, the Phœnician merchants bought it for trifles given for it in exchange, and by transporting it into Greece, Asia, and all other nations, greatly enriched themselves; and such was their covetousness, that when they had fully loaded their ships, and had much more silver to bring aboard, they cut off the lead from their anchors, and made use of silver instead of the other.

The Phœnicians for a long time using this trade, and so growing more and more wealthy, sent many colonies into Sicily and the neighbouring islands, and at length into Africa and Sardinia, but a long time after, the Iberians coming to understand the nature of the metal, sunk many large mines, whence they dug an infinite quantity of pure silver, (as never was the like almost in any other place of the world), whereby they gained exceeding great wealth and revenues.

The manner of working in these mines, and ordering the metal among the Iberians is this: there being extraordinary rich mines in this country, of gold as well as silver and brass, the labourers in the brass take a fourth part of the pure brass dug up, to their own use, and the commom labourers in silver have an Euboic talent for their labour in three days time; for the whole soil is full of solid and shining ore, so that both the nature of the ground, and the industry of the workmen, is admirable. At the first every common person might dig for this metal; and in regard the silver ore was easily got, ordinary men grew very rich: but after that Iberia came into the hands of the Romans, the mines were managed by a throng of Italians, whose covetousness loaded them with abundance of riches; for they bought a great number of slaves, and delivered them to the task-masters and overseers of the mines. These slaves open the mouths of the mines in many places, where digging deep into the ground, are found massy clods of earth, full of gold and silver; and in sinking

* Signifying fiery in Greek.

both in length and depth, they carry on their works in undermining the earth many furlongs distance, the workmen every way here and there making galleries under ground, and bringing up all the massy pieces of ore (whence the profit and gain is to be had) even out of the lowest bowels of the earth.

There is a great difference between these mines and those in Attica; for besides the labour, they that search there are at great cost and charge; and besides are often frustrated of their hopes, and sometimes lose what they had found, so that they seem to be unfortunate to a proverb: but those in Iberia that deal in mines, according to their expectations, are greatly enriched by their labours; for they succeed at their very first sinking, and afterwards by the extraordinary richness of the soil, they find more and more resplendent veins of ore, full of gold and silver; for the whole soil round about is interlaced on every hand with these metals. Sometimes at a great depth they meet with rivers under ground, but by art give a check to the violence of their current; for by cutting of trenches under ground, they divert the stream; and being sure to gain what they aim at, when they have begun, they never leave off till they have finished it; and to admiration they pump out those floods of water with those instruments called Egyptian pumps, invented by Archimedes the Syracusan, when he was in Egypt. By these, with constant pumping by turns, they throw up the water to the mouth of the pit, and by this means drain the mine dry, and make the place fit for their work. For this engine is so ingeniously contrived, that a vast quantity of water is strangely with little labour cast out, and the whole flux is thrown up from the very bottom to the surface of the earth.

The ingenuity of this artist is justly to be admired, not only in these pumps, but in many other far greater things, for which he is famous all the world over, of which we shall distinctly give an exact narration, when we come to the time wherein he lived.

Now though these slaves that continue as so many prisoners in these mines, incredibly enrich their masters by their labours, yet toiling night and day in these golden prisons, many of them by being overworked, die under ground. For they have no rest nor intermission from their labours; but the task-masters by stripes force them to intolerable hardships, so that at length they die most miserably. Some that through the strength of their bodies, and vigour of their spirits are able to endure it, continue a long time in those miseries, whose calamities are such, that death to them is far more eligible than life.

Since these mines afforded such wonderful riches, it may be great-

ly admired that none appear to have been sunk of later times: but in answer hereunto, the covetousness of the Carthaginians, when they were masters of Spain*, opened all: and hence it was they grew so rich and potent, and hired so many valiant soldiers, by whose assistance they carrried on so many great wars, that they neither trusted to the soldiers raised from among their own citizens, nor to those of their confederates, but involved the Romans, Sicilians, and Africans, in extreme hazards, almost to their utter ruin, by conquering all with their monies dug out of the mines. For the Carthaginians were ever of old excessively thirsting after gain, and the Italians came not one jot behind any of them, but were as eager to engross all.

In many places of Spain there is found also tin; but not upon the surface of the ground, as some historians report, but they dig it up, and melt it down as they do gold and silver. Above Lusitania there is much of this tin metal, that is, in the islands lying in the ocean over against Iberia, which are therefore called Cassiterides; and much of it likewise is transported out of Britain into Gaul, the opposite continent, which the merchants carry on horseback through the heart of Celtica to Marseilles, and the city called Narbo, which city is a Roman colony, and the greatest mart town for wealth and trade in those parts.

But now having done with the Gauls and Celtiberans, we shall pass to the Ligurians†. They inhabit a rough and barren country, and live a toilsome and troublesome life in their daily labour for their common sustenance; for the country being mountainous and full of woods, some are employed all day long in cutting down trees, being furnished with strong and great hatchets for that purpose. The husbandman's business for the most part lies in hewing and breaking rocks, the soil is so very rough and craggy; for there is not a clod of earth they can dig up without a stone; and though they continually thus conflict so many hardships, yet custom has turned it to a second nature; and after all their labour and toil, they reap but very little fruit, scarce sufficient to supply their necessities. Daily toil therefore, and scarcity of food, is the reason they are so lean, and nothing but sinews. The women share in these laborious tasks as much as the men: these people hunt often, and take many wild beasts, by which they supply the want of bread. Being therefore accustomed to range the snowy mountains, and climb the rough and craggy hills, their bodies are very strong and brawny. Some of them for want of corn and other fruits, drink water; and feed upon locusts and wild beasts, and cram their bellies with such herbs as the

* Iberia. † The Genoese.

land there produces; their country being altogether a stranger to those desirable deities, Ceres and Bacchus.

In the night they lie in the fields, and very seldom so much as in the meanest huts or cottages; but most commonly in hollow rocks, and natural caves, wheresoever they judge there may be a convenient shelter for them; and much after this manner they do in all other things, living after the old sordid and barbarous manner.

In short, the women here are as strong as men, and the men as beasts; and therefore it is reported, that in their wars, sometimes the biggest men among the Gauls, have been foiled and slain in a single combat upon a challenge, by a little slender Ligurian.

They are lighter armed than the Romans, for they defend themselves with a long shield, made after the fashion of the Gauls, and their cassocs are girt about them with a belt: they wear wild beasts' skins, and carry a sword of an ordinary length: but some of them conversing much with the Romans, have changed their antient manner of arming themselves, and have imitated their lords and masters. They are bold and daring, not only in times of war, but upon all other occasions. For in their traffic they sail through the Sardonian* and African seas, exposing themselves to great hazards in little skiffs, less than the ordinary ships, without the help of any other vessels; in which, notwithstanding they will boldly (to admiration) venture to weather out the greatest storms and tempests.

Now it remains we should speak of the Tyrrhenians†: they were antiently very valiant, and enjoyed a large country, and built many famous cities; and having a great navy, were long masters at sea, and called the sea lying under Italy the Tyrrhenian sea‡, after their own name. Amongst other things wherewith they furnished their land army, they found out the most useful instrument for war, the trumpet, which from them is called Tyrrhena. To the generals of their army they gave these badges of honour; they allowed them an ivory throne, and a purple robe. They were the first that invented portico's or galleries to their houses, to avoid the trouble and noise of a croud of servants, and other hangers on; most of which being imitated by the Romans, and brought into their commonwealth, were afterwards improved to a great degree of curiosity. They gave themselves much to learning, especialy to the study of natural philosophy; and amongst natural events, mightily intent (above all others)

* Adriatic, from Sardona, a city of Liburnia, now Croatia.

† Etrurians, or Tuscans, in Italy, now under the great duke of Tuscany.

‡ Between Sicily and Sardinia, formerly the lower sea on the south-west side of Italy; the Adriatic, or Gulf of Venice, being called the higher sea, on the north-east of Italy.

to find out the nature of thunder and lightning: and therefore to this day, they are admired by the princes all the world over, who make use of them to interpret the prodigious effects of thunder.

They enjoy a very rich country, and well tilled and improved; and so reap abundance of all sorts of fruits, not only for their necessary food, but for pleasure and delight.

They had their tables spread twice a-day, furnished with all sorts of varieties, even to luxury and excess.

Their foot-carpets are interwoven with flower works, and abundance of silver cups, and great variety of them they make use of. Of household servants they have great numbers, some of whom are very beautiful, and others exceeding rich in apparel, above the condition of servants.

Both servants and freemen have several apartments allowed them, completely furnished with all manner of adornments. At last they threw off their former sobriety, and now live an idle and debauched life, in riot and drunkenness; so that it is no wonder that they have lost the honour and reputation their forefathers gained by warlike achievements. The goodness of the soil does not a little add fuel to their luxury, for they enjoy a most fertile country, rich land, whence they reap abundance of all sorts of fruits: for Etruria is second to none for fertility of soil, being a large champaign country, yet distinguished with rising hills here and there, fit and commodious likewise for tillage: it is watered also with moderate showers, not only in the winter, but in the summer season.

CHAP. III.

Of Gredosia. Of the isles of the Arabian sea. Of the holy island. Of Panchæa. Of Samothracia. Of Naxus, Syme, Nausus, Calydna, Nisyrus, Carpathus. Of Rhodes, and of Chersonesus.

HAVING gone through the western and northern countries, and the islands of the ocean, we shall now describe the southern islands lying in the Arabian ocean, on the east part of Arabia next to Gredosia*. This part of Arabia is a country full of villages, and considerable towns, some of which are situated upon high hills, others upon rising grounds, or something higher than champaign fields. Their greatest cities have stately royal palaces, and are very wealthy and

* A country of Asia now called Tarse, a province of Perisa.

populous: the country abounds with all sorts of cattle, and is of a very fruitful soil, affording plenty of rich pasture for the flocks and herds: many rivers run through it, watering the fields, to the great increase of the fruits of the earth. And therefore this part of Arabia which excels the rest in richness of soil, is justly called Arabia the Happy.

Over against the utmost point of this country, near the ocean, lie many islands, but there are but three that are worth remark: the first is called the Holy Island, wherein it is unlawful to bury the dead: but not far from this, about seven furlongs distant, there is another wherein they bury: the sacred isle chiefly produces frankincense, and in that abundance, as suffices for the service and worship of the gods all the world over; it has likewise plenty of myrrh, with other odoriferous spices of several sorts, which breathe out a most fragrant smell. The nature of frankincense, and the manner of getting it, is thus: the tree is very small, like to the white Egyptian thorn, and bears a leaf like to the willow: it puts forth a flower of a golden colour; from the bark of this tree by incision made, distils the frankincense in drops like tears.

The myrrh tree is like to the mastic tree, but bears a more slender leaf, and grows thicker on the branches. The myrrh flows forth, by digging up the earth round about the roots. Those that grow in a rich soil, bear twice a-year, that is, in the spring and summer: that in the spring time is of a deep red colour, caused by the dew; the other, nearer winter, is white.

There they got likewise the fruit of the Paliurus tree*, very wholesome both in meat and drink, and good against a dysentery. The land is divided amongst the inhabitants, of which the best part is allotted to the king, who has likewise the tenths of the fruits.

They say, the breadth of this island is about two hundred furlongs, inhabited by them they call Panchæans, who transport the myrrh and frankincense into foreign parts, and sell it to the Arabian merchants, from whom others buy these and other such like merchandise, and convey them to Phœnicia, Cælosyria, and Egypt; and from those places they are carried by the merchants over all parts of the world.

Besides these, there is another large island about thirty furlongs distance from this last-mentioned, lying to the east many furlongs in length. For they say, from a promontory thereof running out towards the east, may be seen India, like a cloud in the air, the distance is so great.

There are many things observable in Panchæa, that deserve to be

* It grows in Africa, bears a red fruit. Vid. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 13. c. 19.

taken notice of. The natural inhabitants are those they call Panchæi; the strangers that dwell among them are people of the western parts, together with Indians, Cretans, and Scythians. In this island there is a famous city, called Panara, not inferior to any for wealth and grandeur. The citizens are called the suppliants of Jupiter Triphylius, and are the only people of Panchæa, that are governed by a democracy, without a monarch. They choose every year the presidents or governors, that have all matters under their cognizance, but what concerns life and death; and the most weighty matters they refer to the college of their priests. The temple of Jupiter Triphylius is about sixty furlongs distant from the city, in a champaign plain. It is in great veneration because of its antiquity and the stateliness of the structure, and the fertility of the soil.

The fields round about the temple are planted with all sorts of trees, not only for fruit, but for pleasure and delight; for they abound with tall cypresses, plane trees, laurels, and myrtles, the place abounding with fountains of running water: for near the temple there is such a mighty spring of sweet water rushes out of the earth, as that it becomes a navigable river: thence it divides itself into several currents and streams, and waters all the fields thereabouts, and produces thick groves of tall and shady trees; amongst which, in summer, abundance of people spend their time, and a multitude of birds of all sorts build their nests, which create great delight, both by affecting the eye with the variety of their colours, and taking the ear with the sweetness of their notes. Here are many gardens, sweet and pleasant meadows decked with all sorts of herbs and flowers, and so glorious is the prospect, that it seems to be a paradise worthy of the gods themselves.

There are here likewise large and fruitful palms, and abundance of walnut trees, which plentifully furnish the inhabitants with pleasant nuts.

Besides all these, there are a multitude of vines of all sorts, spiring up on high, and so curiously interwoven one amongst another, that they are exceeding pleasant to the view, and greatly advance the delights of the place.

The temple was built of white marble, most artificially jointed and cemented, two hundred yards in length, and as many in breadth, supported with great and thick pillars, curiously adorned with carved work. In this temple are placed huge statues of the gods, of admirable workmanship, and amazing largeness. Round the temple are built apartments for the priests that attend the service of the gods, by whom every thing in that sacred place is performed. All along from the temple, is an even course of ground, four furlongs in

length, and a hundred yards in breadth; on either side of which are erected vast brazen statues, with four-square pedestals; at the end of the course, breaks forth the river from the fountains before mentioned, from whence flows most clear and sweet water, the drinking of which conduces much to the health of the body. This river is called the water of the sun.

The whole fountain is lined on both sides and flagged at the bottom with stone at a vast expense, and runs out on both sides for the space of four furlongs. It is not lawful for any but the priests to approach to the brink of the fountain. All the land about for two hundred furlongs round, is consecrated to the gods, and the revenues bestowed in maintaining the public sacrifices, and service of the gods: beyond these consecrated lands, is a high mountain, dedicated likewise to the gods, which they call the throne of Cœlus and Triphylius Olympus; for they report that Uranus*, when he governed the whole world, pleasantly diverted himself in this place; and from the top of the mount observed the motion of the heavens and stars, and that he was called Triphylius Olympus, because the inhabitants were composed of three several nations, Panchæans, Oceanites, and Doians, who were afterwards expelled by Ammon; for it is said, that he not only rooted out this nation, but utterly destroyed all their cities, and laid Doia and Asterusia even with the ground. The priests every year solemnize a sacred festival in this mountain, with great devotion.

Behind this mount, in other parts of Panchæa, they say there are abundance of wild beasts of all kinds, as elephants, lions, leopards, deer, and many other wonderful creatures both for strength and proportion. In this island there are three chief cities, Hyracia, Dalis, and Oceanis. The whole country is very fertile, and especially in the production of all sorts of wine in great plenty,

The men are warlike, and use chariots in battles, after the antient manner. The whole nation is divided into three parts: the first class is of the priests, with whom are joined the artificers. The other tribe consists of the husbandmen; and the third are the militia and the shepherds.

The priests govern all, and are the sole arbitrators in every matter; for they give judgment in all controversies, and have the power and authority in all public transactions of state. The husbandmen till the land, but the fruit is brought into the common treasury, and who is judged the most skilful in husbandry, receives the largest share of the fruits for a reward in the first place; and so the second, and the rest in order to the tenth, as every one merits less or more,

* Called Cœlum in Latin.

receives his reward by the judgment of the priests. In the same manner the shepherds and herdsmen carefully bring into the public stock, the victims and other things both by number and weight, as the nature of the things are; for it is not lawful for any to appropriate any thing to themselves particularly, except a house and a garden. For all the young breed of cattle, and other things, and all the revenues, are received by the priests, and they justly distribute to every one as their necessity does require; only the priests have a double proportion.

They wear soft and fine garments; for their sheep's wool is much finer here than any where else; both men and women likewise deck themselves with golden ornaments; for they wear necklaces of gold, and bracelets about their arms, and like the Persians have rings hanging in their ears. Their shoes are such as others wear, but richly beautified with divers sorts of colours.

Their soldiers, for ordinary pay, defend the country, fortifying themselves within camps and bulwarks; for there is a part of the island infested with most daring thieves and robbers, who often lurch and surprise the husbandmen.

To conclude, these priests for delicacy, state, and purity of life, far excel all the rest of the inhabitants: their robes are of white linen, and sometimes of pure soft wool. They wear likewise mitres, embroidered with gold. Their shoes are sandals curiously wrought with exquisite workmanship, and in their ears hang golden ear-rings like to the women's.

They attend chiefly upon the service of the gods, singing melodious songs in their praises, setting forth their glorious acts and benefits bestowed upon men. The priests say they came orginally from Crete, and were brought over into Panchæa by Jupiter, when he was upon earth, and governed all the world; and allege their language for a confirmation of this assertion, inasmuch as they retain many words of the Cretan speech among them. And further say, that they derived from their ancestors that civility and kindness wherewith they entertain the Cretans, the fame and report of their antient consanguinity descending continually in a perpetual succession to their posterity: they shew likewise a record written, as they say, by Jupiter's own hand, at the time when he was on earth, and laid the foundation of the temple.

There are in this island likewise mines of gold, silver, brass, and iron, but not lawful for any to export them. Nay, it is not lawful for any of the priests to go out of the verge of the consecrated ground; and if any do, it is lawful for any man that finds them to kill them. They have under their charge innumerable vast vessels, and other

consecrated things, both of gold and silver, which have been laid up there in honour of the gods for many ages. The gates of the temple are of admirable workmanship, beautified with gold, silver, ivory, and thyine wood.

The bed of the god is six cubits long, and four broad, of massy gold, most curiously wrought in every part; near adjoining, stands the table, as large, and of the like materials and workmanship with the other in every respect.

In the middle of the bed, is placed a great golden pillar, whereon are letters inscribed, called by the Egyptians, sacred writing, expressing the famous actions of Uranus, Jupiter, Diana, and Apollo, written, they say, by Mercury himself. But this may suffice concerning the islands lying in the ocean over against Arabia.

We shall now speak of those in the Ægæan sea, near to Greece, beginning with Samothracia. It is said this island was anciently called Samos, and afterwards Samothracia, to distinguish it from one near to it, called Samos, built by Samus.

The inhabitants are those that have ever been originally there, so that there is nothing certain handed down to posterity, concerning the first inhabitants and governors of this place. Some there are notwithstanding, that report, that it was anciently called Samos, and afterwards Samothracia, from colonies that settled there out of Samos and Thrace.

The natural inhabitants had anciently a peculiar kind of speech; some marks whereof remain in the worship of their gods at this day. The Samothracians themselves report, that before there was any flood in any other nation, there was a great one amongst them.

The first irruption was at the mouth of the Cyneæ*, and the other made through the Hellespont: for they say, that the Pontic sea being once a standing pool, was so swelled by the falling in of rivers, that being overcharged with water, it emptied itself into the Hellespont, and overflowed a great part of the coasts of Asia, and laid a considerable part of the champaign country of Samothracia under water. And as a manifestation of this, some fishermen of later times have brought up with their nets the heads of stone pillars, certain signs of the cities having been overflowed and ruined by the waters. The inhabitants that escaped, they say, fled to the higher parts of the island, but the sea rising still higher, they made their addresses to their gods, and thereupon being delivered from the imminent danger they were in, they compassed in the bounds of those places wherein they were preserved throughout the whole island, and

* Two rocks in the Thracian Bosphorus.

there erected altars, where they sacrifice to their gods at this day: whence it is apparent, that they inhabited Samothracia before the last deluge.

Afterwards one Saon, an islander, the son, (as some say), of Jupiter and Nympha, but (as others, of Mercury and Rhena), gathered the inhabitants (before living scattered and dispersed) into a body; and made laws for their better government, and divided them into five tribes, calling them after the names of his sons, but named himself Saon, after the name of the island. The government being thus settled, it is said, that Dardanus, Jasion, and Harmonia, the children of Jupiter and Electra, one of the daughters of Atlas, were born among them. Of these, Dardanus, (being a bold and brave-spirited man) passed over in a pinnace into Asia, and first built the city Dardanus, and erected the kingdom of Troy, (so called, from Troy built afterwards), and called the people Dardanians. He reigned, they say, over many other nations besides in Asia and that the Dardanians above Thrace, were a colony settled there by him.

It is further said that Jupiter, desiring likewise to advance his other son to a high degree of honour and reputation, discovered to him the rites of the sacred mysteries antiently observed in that island, but then newly revived, which it was not lawful for any to hear, but those that are initiated.

But he seems to be the first that initiated strangers: whence these rites and ceremonies became more noted and famous.

About this time, Cadmus the son of Agenor, came thither to seek Europa, and being initiated in these sacred mysteries, married Harmonia the sister of Jasion, not the daughter of Mars, as the Greeks report: they say, that this was the first marriage that was celebrated in the presence of the gods, where Ceres, in love with Jasion, presented him with corn; Mercury with a harp; Minerva bestowed that famous necklace, vail, and pipe. Electra taught him to celebrate the sacred mysteries of the great mother of the gods with cymbals, timbrels, and dancing. Apollo played upon his harp, and the muses upon wind instruments; and the rest of the gods celebrated the nuptials with joyful acclamations.

Cadmus afterwards (as he was commanded by the oracle) built Thebes in Bœotia; and Jasion married Cybele, of whom they say he begat Corybas; after Jasion was received into the number of the gods, Dardanus, Cybele, and Corybas, travelling into Phrygia, brought over the sacred mysteries of the mother of the gods into Asia; then Cybele married Olympus the first, and bore Alces, and called this goddess Cybele, after her own name. Corybas called those that celebrated the sacred mysteries of his mother, (in a furious rage like

madæus), after his own name, Corybantes, and married Thebe, the daughter of Cilix; and thus pipes were brought over into Phrygia, and Mercury's harp into Lyrnessus; which, when the city was taken, was carried away by Achilles. It is reported, likewise, that Pluto was the son of Jasion and Ceres, which rose from this real truth, that Ceres, at the marriage of Harmonia, bestowed upon Jasion upon the account of her familiarity with him, rich presents of corn: but what are particularly acted in the celebration of these sacred mysteries, it is granted are only known by those that are initiated.

It is commonly said, that these gods are always present, and afford their help and assistance to those that are initiated, and call upon them when they fall into any sudden and unexpected distress; and that these worshippers grow more and more pious and righteous, and still exceed themselves in goodness; and therefore the most famous of the antient heroes and demi-gods greatly coveted to be initiated into these sacred rites and ceremonies: for it is believed, that Jasion, Dioscurus, Hercules, and Orpheus, (who were members of this society), through the favour of these gods, prospered in all their wars.

Having now finished what concerns Samothracia, the course of the history leads us to Naxus.

This island was formerly called Strongyle. The Thracians were the first that settled here, upon the occasion following.—It is said, that Boreas had two sons, Butes and Lycurgus, of several mothers. Butes, the younger, plotted to murder his brother, which being plainly discovered, the father appointed no greater a punishment to be executed upon his son, but only commanded him, with his accomplices, to take shipping and be gone, and seek out for themselves some other habitations: upon which, Butes, with a number of Thracians, his fellow-criminals, went aboard, and in a direct course made their way through the Cyclade islands, and arrived at Strongyle; and thus possessed of the island, robbed all by their piracies that passed that way. But being in want of women, they roved about here and there, and forcibly carried them away wherever they could find them. Some of the Cyclade islands at that time were wholly desolate, and others of them but very thinly inhabited. Running out therefore a long way off, and being repulsed at Eubœa, they arrived at Thessaly; and there landing, they met with the nurses of Bacchus, at the mountain called Diros, celebrating the mysteries of the gods in Achaia Phthiotis; being then ready to seize upon the women, some of them cast away their offerings and fled to the sea, and others to the mountain before mentioned: but Butes seized up-

on Coronides, and ravished her, which dishonour she bore so heinously, that she called upon Bacchus to revenge her disgrace, and thereupon he struck Butes with madness, who in his mad mood cast himself into a pit and so perished. The rest of the Thracians seized upon other women, amongst whom were two noble ladies, Iphimedia, the wife of Aloeus, and his daughter Pancratis; with these they returned to Strongyle. In the room of Butes they created Agassamenus king of the island, and married him to Pancratis, the daughter of Aloeus, a lady of an admirable beauty: for whom, (before he took her to be his wife), Siculus and Hecaterus, two of the most eminent commanders, fought a duel, and wounded one another. Agassamenus bestowed Iphimedia upon one of his intimate friends, whom he had made general of his army. In the mean time Aloeus sent his two sons, Otus and Ephialtes, to seek after his wife and daughter, who invading Strongyle, fought with the Thracians, routed them, and took the city by storm. Not long after Pancratis died, Otus and Ephialtes possessed themselves of the island, and ousted the Thracians, and called it Dia. Shortly after they fell out and fought a set battle, wherein many were killed on both sides, and the two brothers killed one another, whom the inhabitants afterwards adored as demi-gods. After the Thracians had held the island for above two hundred years, at length a drought and famine forced them to leave the place. After them the Carians (being expelled from Lamia) possessed themselves of it, whose king Naxus, the son of Polemon, afterwards ordered the island should be called Naxus, after his own name. This Naxus was a very famous and good man, and left behind him a son, called Leucippus, whose son Smardius afterwards reigned in the island; in whose reign Theseus coming out of Crete with Ariadne, landed here, and in his sleep saw Bacchus threatening him with ruin, if he did not forsake Ariadne; with which vision being terrified, he left her, and withdrew himself out of the island. Then Bacchus in the night led away Ariadne to the mountain Arius, and then immediately disappeared, and not long after Ariadne was no more seen.

The Naxians have many stories amongst them concerning this god; for they say he was bred up with them, and therefore that this island was loved by Bacchus more than any other, and by some called Dionysiades. For Jupiter, as the story goes, (Semele, before the birth of Bacchus, being struck with a thunderbolt), took the infant Bacchus out of his mother's womb, and clapped him within his thigh: but when the full time of his birth was at hand, to conceal him from Juno, he was brought forth in Naxus, and there committed to the care of the nymphs, Philias, Coronidis, and Cleidis, to be

educated by them; and that Semele was therefore before his birth killed by lightning, to the end that Bacchus, not being born of a mortal, but of two immortal deities, might from his birth be of an immortal nature. Upon account therefore of the kindness shewed him in his education, he expressed his gratitude to the inhabitants so far, as that he advanced them to a high degree of wealth and power, and furnished them with a large fleet of ships; and that they being the first that made a defection from Xerxes, (they say) he assisted them to vanquish the barbarians in a sea-fight, and that he gave a clear evidence and token of his concern with them in the battle at Platea; and that the excellency of their wine, was an apparent demonstration of the kindness of this god to their island.

The first that inhabited Syme (which before lay waste and desolate) were those that came thither with Triops, under the conduct of Chthonius, the son of Neptune and Symes, from whom the island was so called.

Nireus, the son of Charops and Aglaia, was, in after times, king of this island; he was a very comely and beautiful man, and went along with Agamemnon to the war against Troy; and, together with this island, was lord of Cnidus.

After the end of the Trojan war, the Carians possessed themselves of this place at such a time as they were masters at sea; afterwards, forced thence by an excessive drought, they settled themselves in Uranium. From that time it lay desolate, till the fleet of the Lacedæmonians and Argives arrived there, and then it was planted with new colonies in this manner—

Nausus, one of the companions of Hippotas, taking along with him those that came too late, at the time that the country was divided by lot, possessed himself of Syme, which then lay desolate, and afterwards received others (that came there under the conduct of Xuthus) to share with him both in the privileges of the city, and commodities of the country, and possessed the island equally among them. They say, that both Cnidians and Rhodians made up part of this colony.

The Cares antiently possessed Calydna and Nisyrus; and afterwards Thessalus, the son of Hercules, was lord of both the islands; and therefore Antiphus and Philippus kings of Coos, (when they were engaged in the war of Troy), were generals of those forces that were sent out of these islands. In their return from the Trojan war, four of Agamemnon's ships were by a storm cast upon Calydna, and the men that were on board, continued there intermixed with the other inhabitants. But the antient inhabitants of Nisyrus, were swallowed up by an earthquake. After which, the Coons added it

to their dominion, as they had done Calydna before. After them, the Rhodians sent a colony thither; all the former inhabitants being wholly swept away with a plague.

As for Carpathus, that was first seized upon by some of Minos's soldiers, at such time as he was master at sea, and lorded it over the Grecians. Many ages after, Ioclus, the son of Thymoleon of Argos, by the command of the oracle, brought over a colony thither.

The island of Rhodes was antiently inhabited by those called Telchines; who, (as an old story goes), were the offspring of Thalassa, and with Caphira, the daughter of Oceanus, brought up Neptune, who was committed to their care by Rhea. It is said they invented several arts, and found out many other things useful and conducive to the well-being of man's life. It is reported, they were the first that made statues of the gods, and that some of the antient images were denominated from them; for amongst the Lindians, Apollo is called Apollo Telchinius: amongst the Ialysians, Juno and the nymphs were called Telchiniæ; and amongst the Camiræans, Juno was called Juno Telchinia. But these Telchines were likewise reported to be conjurers, for they could raise storms and tempests, with rain, hail, and snow, whenever they pleased; which the magicians, (as is related in history), were used to do. They could likewise transform themselves into other shapes, and were envious at all who learned their art.

Neptune, they say, fell in love with Halia, the sister of the Telchines, and of her begat several children, six sons, and one daughter, called Rhode, from whom the island was called Rhodes.

In those days there were giants in the western parts of the island. Then, likewise, Jupiter having conquered the Titans, fell in love with a nymph named Hamalia, and of her begat three sons, Spartæus, Cronius, and Cytus. About the time they were grown up to men's estates, Venus, in her passage from Cythera to Cyprus, arrived at this island; but being hindered from landing by the sons of Neptune, together with proud and impious language, the goddess was so provoked, that she struck them mad, and caused them in their raging mood to ravish their own mother, and commit many other outrages upon the inhabitants. Neptune coming to the knowledge of this vile fact, sunk his sons under ground for their wickedness. Whence they were called the eastern dæmons. Halia threw herself into the sea, and afterwards was adored by the inhabitants as a goddess by the name of Leucothea. Afterwards the Telchines foreseeing an inundation coming upon Rhodes, forsook the island, and were dispersed and scattered abroad. Of whom Lycus went

into Lycia, and built the temple of Apollo Lycius, near to the banks of the river Xanthus.

When the flood came, it rose so high, that besides destroying those that remained in the island, all the flat and champaign part of the country, (with showers that poured down continually), was like a standing pool of water: some few that fled to the higher grounds were preserved, amongst whom were the sons of Jupiter. But Sol, (as the story is), falling in love with Rhode, called the island after her name Rhodes, and cleared the island of the inundation. But the truth couched in the fable is this—In the first generation of all things, when the island lay in mud and dirt, the sun dried up the moisture, and made the land productive of living creatures; whence sprang the seven Heliades, so called from the sun, and other men, the original inhabitants. And hence it is, that they account the island to be consecrated to the sun, and the Rhodians, in after-times, constantly worshipped the sun above all other gods, as the parent from whence they first sprang. The names of his seven sons are Ochimus, Cercaphus, Macir, Actis, Tenages, Triopas, and Candalus; he had only one daughter, called Electryo, who dying a virgin, became ever after adored by the Rhodians as a demi-goddess. When the Heliades attained to men's estate, Sol told them, that whichsoever of them first sacrificed to Minerva, should ever enjoy the presence of the goddess. The same thing, it is said, was promised and foretold at the same time to the Athenians. Hereupon, it fell out, that the Heliades, through too much haste, forgot to put fire under the altars, before they laid the sacrifices upon them: Cecrops, they say, then reigned in Athens, and was later than the others in slaying the burnt-offering, but was before them in burning the victim; for which reason there is a peculiar ceremony used in Rhodes in their sacred mysteries to this day, and the image of the goddess is set up there*.

These things some have related concerning the antiquities of the Rhodians, among whom is Zenon, who wrote their history.

The Heliades, as they were in station above other men, so they excelled others in learning, and especially in astrology. They were the perons that first found out the art of navigation, and the dividing of the day into hours. Tenages was the most ingenious of any of them, and therefore through envy was murdered by his brothers; upon discovery of the fact, both the principal authors and their accomplices fled for it.

Macir got to Lesbos, and Candalus to Coos. Actis fled into Egypt,

* That is, laying the victim upon the altar before the fire.

and there built Heliopolis, calling it after the name of his father; and from him the Egyptians learned the science of astrology.

Afterwards, when most of the inhabitants of Greece were destroyed by the flood, and all records and antient monuments perished with them, the Egyptians took this occasion to appropriate the study of astrology solely to themselves; and whereas the Grecians (through ignorance) as yet valued not learning, it became a general opinion that the Egyptians were the first that found out the knowledge of the stars.

And so even the Athenians themselves, though they built the city Sais, in Egypt, yet by reason of the flood, were led into the same error of forgetting what was before. And therefore it is believed, that, many ages after, Cadmus the son of Agenor brought the knowledge of letters out of Phœnicia first into Greece; and after him, it is supposed the Grecians themselves added some letters to those they learned before; but a general ignorance, however, still prevailed amongst them.

Triopas, another son, passed over into Caria, and possessed himself of the promontory there, called from him Triopium. The rest of Sol's sons, having had no hand in the murder, staid behind in Rhodes; and afterwards built the city Achaia, and dwelt in Ialysia. But the regal power was in Ochimus the eldest son, who married Hegetoria, one of the nymphs, and of her begat a daughter called Gydippe, who afterwards went by the name of Cyrbias, by marrying of whom Cercaphus his brother came to the kingdom; after whose death, three of the sons, Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus reigned together; in whose time a great inundation laid Cyrbe waste and desolate. These three brothers divided the country amongst themselves, and each built a city, and called them after their own names.

At this time Danaus fled out of Egypt with his great number of daughters, and landed at Lindus in Rhodes; where being received by the inhabitants, he built a temple to Minerva, and consecrated to her an altar. During this travel of Danaus, three of his daughters died in Lindus, and the rest passed over with their father to Argos.

Not long after, Cadmus, the son of Agenor, being commanded by the king to seek after Europa, made for Rhodes; and in the voyage, being overtaken with a violent storm, made a vow to build a temple to Neptune. Having therefore escaped the danger, according to his vow, he dedicated a temple to this god in the island, and left some of the Phœnicians to be overseers of the sacred mysteries, who were made members of the city with the Ialysians, and out of their families, they say, from time to time, were chosen the priests. Cadmus, at that time devoted many rich gifts to Minerva Lindia, amongst

which was a brass caldron, a most excellent piece of curious antient workmanship; it had an inscription upon it in Phœnician letters, which were therefore called Phœnician, because, they say, they were first brought out of Phœnicia into Greece.

In after-times vast serpents bred in Rhodes, which destroyed many of the inhabitants; those therefore that remained, sent to Delos, to consult the oracle what was to be done for the removal of the present calamity they suffered under, who returned answer—That they should admit Phorbas and his followers to share with them in the island. He was the son of Lapithas, and was then with many of his friends in Thessaly, seeking for a convenient place wherein to settle themselves. The Rhodians, hereupon (according to the direction of the oracle) sent for Phorbas, and received him as a proprietor with them in the island, who destroyed all the serpents, and freed the country from their former fears, and from thenceforth continued in Rhodes; and was after his death adored as a demi-god, having approved himself a good man in several other respects.

Afterwards Althæmenes, the son of Catreus king of Crete, consulting the oracle concerning some affairs, was answered, that it would be his fate to kill his own father; to avoid which misfortune he voluntarily forsook Crete, with many others, who of their own accord went along with him, and passed over to Camirus, the metropolis of Rhodes, and there built a temple upon mount Atamirus, to Jupiter Atamirus, which is in great veneration and esteem at this day. It is situated upon the very top of the mountain, whence may be had a clear prospect of Crete. Althæmenes, with his followers, thus settled in Camirus, lived in great honour and esteem among the citizens. But his father Catreus having no issue male, and exceedingly loving his son, undertook a voyage to Rhodes, longing to find out his son, and to bring him back to Crete.

And now his unalterable destiny was near at hand, for landing at Rhodes in the night, with some others of his attendants, forthwith there was a conflict between them and the islanders; whereupon Althæmenes ran in hastily to their assistance, and (unknown to him) killed his father with a dart; which when he came to understand, he was so overwhelmed with sorrow, that he ever after avoided all manner of society, and wandered up and down in the deserts, and at last died of grief: but by the command of the oracle he was afterwards honoured by the Rhodians as a demi-god.

After this, a little before the Trojan war, Tlepolimus the son of Hercules, fled voluntarily from Argos, by reason of his killing Licymnius, whom he slew unawares; and upon inquiry having received an answer from the oracle concerning the planting of a

colony, he passed over with a few people into Rhodes, where being received, he settled: and being afterwards created king of the island, he divided the country into equal shares by lot; and during his reign, ordered all other matters according to the rules of justice and equity. At length preparing to go along with Agamemnon, in the expedition against Troy, he committed the government into the hands of Butas, who fled with him from Argos. And after he had gained much glory and renown in that war, he died in the country of Troas.

Now because some things of Chersonesus are intermixed with the affairs of Rhodes, over against which it lies, we conceive it not amiss here to give an account of it. Some are of opinion it is called Chersonesus, from the nature of the place, being like to an isthmus; or, as others write, from one Chersonesus, once a petty prince there. Not long after whose time, it is said, five of the Curetes came there; which Curetes were the posterity of those that brought up Jupiter (born of the mother goddess Rhea) in the mountains of Ida in Crete. After their arrival in Crete (with a considerable navy) they expelled the Cares, the antient inhabitants, and divided the country into five parts, and each of them built a city, and called them after their own names.

Not long after, Inachus king of Argos, sent Cyrnus, one of his noblemen and commanders, with a considerable fleet, to find out his daughter Io, and not to return till he found her. After he had roved about into several parts of the world, and could not find her, he at length arrived at Caria in Chersonesus, and there settled himself, despairing ever to return to his own country; and afterwards, partly by force, and partly by persuasions, he reigned as king over part of the country, and built a city, and called it Cyrnus, after his own name; and governed so well, to the advancement of the public good, that he was greatly beloved and honoured by the citizens.

Afterwards Triopas, one of the sons of Sol and Rhode, fled into Chersonesus, for the killing of his brother: but being cleared and acquitted by king Melisseus, he sailed into Thessaly, to the assistance of Deucalion's sons, and assisted in expelling the Pelasgians thence, and they divided the country called Dotion among them. He there cut down the grove of Ceres, and made use of it for the building of himself a palace; for which he was hated of the people, and forced to fly out of Thessaly, and sailed away with some of his followers to Cnidia, where he built a city called after his own name, Triopium. Leaving this place, he gained Chersonesus, and a great part of Caria adjoining to it.

Many writers, and especially the poets, differ much about the descent of Triopas. Some derive his descent from Canace (the daughter of Æolus) and Neptune; others say, his parents were Lapitha, the son of Apollo, and Stibes, the daughter of Pîneus. In Castabus, in Chersonesus, there is a temple dedicated to Hemithea; what is remarkable concerning her, is not fit to be omitted. Although there are various stories related of her, yet we shall only give an account of what is generally granted and agreed upon by the inhabitants to be true.

Staphylus and Chrysothemides had three daughters, Molpadia, Rhœo, and Parthenos. Rhœo was got with child by Apollo, at which her father was so incensed, thinking she had played the whore with some mortal man, that he locked her up in a chest, and threw her into the sea, and the chest was afterwards cast up upon the island Delos, where she was delivered of a son, whom she named Arrius. Being thus wonderfully preserved, she laid the child upon the altar of Apollo, and prayed to him, that if he was the child's father, he would save and defend the infant: upon which the story goes, that Apollo hid the child, but afterwards took care to have him carefully brought up, and endued him with a prophetic spirit, and advanced him to great honour and reputation.

Molpadia and Parthenos, the other sisters, having the charge of their father's wine, (the use of which was then but newly found out), with drinking too much, fell fast asleep; in the mean time, a sow which they fed, coming into the place, threw down the hogshead, and spilt all the wine. When the poor ladies perceived what was done, they so dreaded the severity of their father, that they fled to the sea shore, and threw themselves headlong from the top of a high rock into the sea: but Apollo, for the sake of their sister, took them up safe, and brought them to some cities in Chersonesus; where Parthenos, at Bubastus, was adored as a goddess, and had a temple erected in honour of her.

Molpadia was brought to Castabus, and for the special revelations she had from the god, she was called Hemithea*, and was in great honour and esteem among all the Chersonesians. In the celebration of her mysteries, (in remembrance of the misfortune concerning the wine) they offer drink-offerings of water and honey mixed together; and he that has touched a swine, or eaten of swine's flesh, is not permitted to enter into her temple.

This temple of Hemithea in following times grew so famous, that not only the inhabitants adored it, but strangers far and near resorted to it with great devotion, and with many rich presents and magnifi-

* Half a goddess.

cent sacrifices; and that which is most observable is, that the very Persians themselves, when they destroyed all other temples throughout all Greece, spared only the temple of Hemithea. Thieves and robbers likewise, who spoil and waste all before them, have still from time to time spared this temple, though it stands open and naked, without the defence of a wall to secure it. They say that the cause of the flourishing condition of this place is, the great kindness of this goddess to all men whatsoever; for she appears to those that are sick, in their sleep, and directs them to proper remedies for the recovery of their health; such as are in desperate distempers, and resort thither, she perfectly cures and restores. Women likewise that are in hard labour, she safely delivers, and frees from the pains and hazards of child-bearing, and therefore that temple is full of antient relicts and donations safely kept and preserved to this day, not by guards or walls, but only by the religious devotion observed in this place.

But let this suffice concerning Rhodes and Chersonesus; it remains we should now treat of Crete.

CHAP. IV.

Of Crete: the first inhabitants. Of the Idæi Dactyli: of Jupiter, Saturn, Hyperion, Prometheus, Mnemosyne, Themis, Ceres, Neptune, Pallas. Jupiter's race; as the Muses, Vulcan, Mars, &c. Of the antient Hercules, Britomartis, Pluto. Rhadamanthus's justice. Of Lesbos. Deucalion's flood. Of the blessed islands. Of Tenedos and the Cyclades.

THE inhabitants of Crete affirm, that the most antient people of Crete are the Eteocretæ, whose king, whom they call Creta, found out many very useful things, conducing much to the support and comfort of man's life. They say, likewise, that many of the gods were born amongst them, who, for the benefits they conferred upon mankind, were eternally honoured as deities: of which things we shall here distinctly treat, as they are delivered to us by the most approved authors who have written the history of Crete.

The first inhabitants of Crete (of whom we have any record) were the Idæi Dactyli, in mount Ida: some say, there were a hundred others, but ten in number, called Dactyli, from the ten fingers on men's hands.

Some affirm, and amongst those Ephorus, that the Idæi Dactyli had their origin from mount Ida in Phrygia, and passed over with Minos into Europe; and that they were conjurors, and gave themselves to enchantments, and sacred rites and mysteries; and abiding in Samothracia, greatly amused and astonished the people of the island: at which time it is said, Orpheus (who was naturally of a prompt wit to music and poetry) was their scholar, and the first that brought over the rites and ceremonies of their mysteries into Greece. The Dactyli, moreover, as is said, found out the use of fire, and discovered the nature of iron and brass to the inhabitants of the Antisapterians, near to the mountain Berecynthus, and taught the manner of working it: and because they were the first discoverers of many things of great use and advantage to mankind, they were adored and worshipped as gods: one of them, they say, was called Hercules, who was a person of great renown, and who instituted the Olympic games, which were thought by posterity to have been appointed by Hercules the son of Alcmena, led into that error by the identity of names.

An evidence of these things, they say, remains to this day, in that the women chant the songs formerly sung by this god, and wear about them certain amulets, in imitation of him who was a magician, and taught sacred rites and ceremonies: all which were different from the manners of Hercules the son of Alcmena.

After the Idæi Dactyli, they say, there were nine Curetes, some of which are feigned to be the offspring of the earth, and the rest to descend from the Idæi Dactyli. They dwelt in the mountains, under the shade of thick trees, and in caves and other places that naturally afforded them a shelter and covering, the building of houses not being then found out. They were very ingenious, and therefore invented many things very useful and profitable; for they were the first that taught how to manage flocks of sheep, and to tame and bring up other cattle, and how to gather honey; and that they first explained how to cast darts, and to hunt; and ordered men into societies and communities, and sociably eating one with another, and brought men to a peaceable and orderly course of life: they likewise invented swords and helmets, and dancing in arms, and by the great noise they made, deceived Saturn. For it is said that by them Jupiter (whom his mother Rhea, to hide him from his father Saturn, committed to their care) was secured and brought up: but being willing to treat of this more particularly, we must go a little higher with our relation.

The Cretans say, that the Titans were contemporary with the Curetes: they dwelt in the country of the Gnossians, where now may

be seen the antient foundations and courts of the house where Rhea inhabited, and an old sacred grove of cypress trees. They were in number six men and five women, the issue of Uranus and Terra, as some affirm; but as others say, the offspring of one of the Curetes and Titæa, and called Titans after the name of their mother. The sons were called Chronos*, Hyperion, Cœus, Japetus, Crius, and Oceanus; the sisters were Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Phœbe, and Thetis; every one of whom were the inventors of something useful and profitable to man's well-being; and, as a reward of their deserts, are by all men honoured with an everlasting remembrance.

Saturn, the eldest, obtained the kingdom, and reduced his subjects from a wild and barbarous, to a more civil course of life, both as to food and manners: having therefore upon that account gained much honour and reputation, he went into many parts of the world, and persuaded all, wherever he came, to justice and integrity of heart; and therefore it is brought down as a certain truth to posterity, that in the times of Saturn, men were plain and honest, free from all sorts of wicked designs or practices; yea, that they were then happy and blessed. He chiefly reigned over the western parts of the world, and was advanced to the highest pinnacle of honour and renown; and therefore of later times, both the Romans and Carthaginians, (while their city stood), and other neighbouring nations, adored this god with magnificent and splendid festivals and sacrifices; and many places up and down are called after his name: and because at that time the laws were strictly observed, no act of injustice was committed, but all submitting to his authority, lived happily, and enjoyed pleasure and content without any molestation; which is attested by the poet Hesiod in these verses—

> While Saturn reign'd, those then his subjects were,
> Who liv'd the lives of gods without all care;
> Whom sorrow, labour, nor old age opprest,
> But soundness both in hands and feet them blest;
> With joyful vigour to their feasts they went;
> Free from all ills, their deaths did represent
> Sound sleep; to them flow'd down whate'er was good,
> And without toil the earth did yield them food,
> And from her fruitful womb did them afford
> Her fruits most freely of her own accord.
> Rich in their flocks, and to the gods most dear,
> During this reign, these happy people were.

And these are the things they reported of Saturn.

As to Hyperion, they say that he was the first, who by his own

* Saturn.

industry found out the motions of the sun and moon, and other stars, and the seasons and distinctions of time measured out by them, and afterwards imparted his knowledge to others. And therefore he was called the father of those planets, as he that first taught the knowledge and nature of them.

Latona, they say, was the daughter of Cœus and Phebe; and that Prometheus was the son of Japetus, who (as some feign) stole fire from the gods, and bestowed it upon men.

But the truth of the story is, he found out the way to strike fire out of flint or stone. Mnemosyne, they say, found out the art of logic, and gave proper names to every thing, by which, whatever is discoursed of, might be distinctly known and understood: but some attribute this to Mercury. They ascribe likewise to this goddess every thing conducing to the help of man's memory, from whence she has her name.

Themis taught the art of divination, and instructed men in holy rites, and prescribed laws for the service and worship of the gods, and for preservation of peace and good government amongst men; and therefore we call those who keep and preserve the sacred laws both of gods and men, Thesmophylacæ, and Thesmothetæ. And when Apollo himself is to give his answer at the oracle, we say, Themisteuein, because he was the first that practised divination. These gods therefore having thus greatly benefited mankind, were not only adored with divine honours, but were accounted to be the first that after their deaths were translated to heaven. Vesta, Ceres, Juno, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, are said to be the children of Saturn and Rhea.

Vesta invented the building of houses, and upon this account almost every body sets up her statue in their houses, and adore her with divine honours.

Ceres was the first that discovered the use of bread corn, finding it by chance, growing of itself amongst other plants and herbs; and taught the way of housing and baking it, and how to sow it. For she found out corn before Proserpina was born; after whose birth, and rape by Pluto, she was so incensed at Jupiter, and in such grief for the loss of her daughter, that she set all the corn on fire. But when she had found out Proserpina, she was reconciled to Jupiter, and gave seed corn to Triptolemus, with orders to impart it to all people, and teach them how to order it, and make use of it.

Some say she made laws to direct men to deal justly and truly one with another, and from hence she was called Thesmophora: for these great advantages to mankind she was likewise highly

honoured; and not only Grecians, but the barbarians almost every where, that partook of these fruits, adored and worshipped her with solemn and magnificent festivals and sacrifices.

There are many controversies and differences concerning the first finding out of this fruit, for some say, this goddess first saw it, and taught the nature and use of it before any other. For the Egyptians say, that Isis and Ceres were one and the same person, who first brought seed-corn into Egypt, the river Nile watering the fields, and washing the country at proper seasons, much advancing thereby the growth and increase thereof.

But the Athenians say, that although corn was first found out amongst them, yet it was transported from other places into Attica. The place where it was first seen they call Eleusina, because that seed corn was first brought thither.

The Sicilians likewise, who inhabit the island* especially dedicated to Ceres and Proserpina, say, it is most reasonable to conclude, that this great gift was first bestowed upon those who tilled and improved that country which was most beloved by this goddess. For it is a most unreasonable thing that this place should be reported the richest island of the world, and yet to judge it the last in sharing of this great blessing, as if it had been no part of their fertility, especially when Ceres resided there herself; and all agree that Proserpina was ravished in this place; and that this island is a country most proper for corn of any other in the world, as the poet testifies:

> Within this island all things grow,
> Without the help of seed or plough,
> As wheat and barley.....
> Of Ceres therefore thus they say
> In stories of her.....

As to the other deities, they say that Neptune was the first that used navigation, and rigged out a navy, and was appointed admiral by Saturn; and therefore it was a common tradition afterwards, that all sea-affairs were under his rule and government, and upon that account mariners worship him with solemn sacrifices. They say, moreover, that Neptune was the first that managed horses, and taught the art of horsemanship, whence he was called Hippius.

Pluto, they say, first shewed the way of sepulchres and pompous funerals, whereas, before, no regard was paid to any of these; which was the reason he was accounted lord of the dead, and prince of the infernal shades.

There are many different opinions concerning the genealogy and kingdom of Jupiter. There are some of opinion, that after the death

* Sicily.

of Saturn, he succeeded in the kingdom, not advanced to that dignity by a forcible expulsion of his father, but by a just and lawful succession. Others report, that Saturn, being forewarned by the oracle concerning Jupiter, that a son of his to be afterwards born, would deprive him of his kingdom by force, killed his children one after another, as soon as they were born; at which Rhea was so grieved, (not being able to work upon her husband's obstinate humour), that she forthwith, upon his birth, hid Jupiter in Ida, recommending his education to the care of the Curetes, who inhabited that mountain: and that they again lodged him in a cave, and intrusted him with the nymphs, entreating them to be very careful of him; who fed him with milk and honey mixed together, and for his better nourishment suckled him at the paps of a goat, called Amalthæa: for there are many tokens of his birth and education in this island to this day.

For when he was a young infant, and carried away by the Curetes, they say, that the navel-string fell from him at the river Triton, whence that part of the country, sacred to this god, is called Omphalium, and the region adjoining, Omphaleus. In Ida, likewise, where this god was educated, the cave wherein he was hid, is not only consecrated to him, but the ports near to that promontory are under his guard and protection.

But here is not to be omitted a wonderful story that is related concerning the bees: for they say, the god, to preserve an eternal memory of his familiarity with the bees, changed their colour into that of brass or copper, washed over with gold: and, whereas, the place is exceeding high, and subject to stormy winds, and used to be covered over with depths of snow, he fortified the bees with an impassibility, so that they were able to feed and gather honey in the most stormy and coldest places.

Amongst other honours attributed to the goat that gave him suck, he bestowed this, that he himself from her, assumed the name of Ægiochus. When he was grown up to man's estate, he first built a city at Dictæ, where he was born, the ruins whereof are to be seen at this day.

This god excelled all the others in valour, prudence, justice, and all other virtues: and, therefore, after the death of his father, when he came to reign, he conferred many and great benefits upon mankind. For he was the first that instructed men how to punish injuries, and to deal justly and honestly one with another, to forbear force and violence, and bring their differences and controversies orderly before tribunals and courts of justice, there to be ended and decided. In fine, he did whatsoever was necessary for the making

of good laws, and preservation of peace among men; stirring up the good by wholesome advice to their duty, and restraining the bad through fear of severe and due punishment for their offences,

It is reported, that he travelled through the whole world, putting to death thieves, robbers, and other impious persons; establishing commonwealths and democracies in every place wherever he came.

About that time he slew several giants with their adherents, as Mytinus in Crete, and Typhon in Phrygia.

Before the battle with the giants in Crete, upon Jupiter sacrificing of oxen to Sol, Cœlus, and Terra, in all the entrails appeared evident signs of what was decreed by the gods; their victory especially was portended, and a defection of some from the enemy, as it proved in the issue of the war; for Musæus fled and revolted from them, for which he was highly honoured.

At length, all that fought with the gods were every one cut off, and destroyed: but he was afterwards engaged in a new war against the giants at Pallene in Macedonia, and antiently in the plains of Italy, called Phlegra, from the conflagration the country once suffered, but now called Cumæ.

The reason why Jupiter destroyed the giants, was their violence and oppression, making use of their strength and massy bodies to enslave their neighbours; and for that they were lawless, and not to be kept within any bounds of justice, made war upon them; who, for their doing good, and being beneficial to mankind, were reputed for gods by all people whatsoever. And he not only rooted up the wicked and impious, but rewarded the best of the gods, heroes, and men, with due honours according to their several deserts. The great authority, therefore, and good deeds of Jupiter were such, that to him was attributed an eternal habitation and kingdom in Olympus. And more splendid sacrifices, by his command, are offered to him than to any other of the gods: and since his passing from earth to heaven, a strong persuasion is fixed in the hearts of all those he was kind unto, that he has the command and government of all that is done in heaven; and is supreme lord of storms, thunder and lightning; and therefore they call him Zena, because he seemed to be the preserver of men's lives, by affording fruitful seasons to ripen the fruits of the earth. They call him likewise Father, not only upon account of his care and kindness to all mankind, but likewise for that it is generally believed that all men were originally his offspring.

He is called also the Supreme King, by reason of the majesty and excellency of his kingdom; and moreover Eubulus, and Metietes, by reason of his wisdom and prudence in counsel.

It is said also, that Minerva was the daughter of Jupiter, born in Crete, at the spring-heads of the river Triton, and therefore she was called Tritogenia; and now at this day there stands a little chapel dedicated to this goddess at the place where she is said to have been born. They say, likewise, that the marriage of Juno and Jupiter was solemnized in the country of the Gnossians, near the river Therone, where there is now a temple, in which the priests offer an anniversary sacrifice and festival with great devotion, imitating the nuptial rites according as by tradition they have received them.

The daughters of Jupiter, it is said, were the goddesses Venus, the Graces, Lucina, and her servant Diana, together with those called Horæ, that is to say, Eunomia, Dice, and Irene.

The gods he begot, were Vulcan, Mars, Apollo, and Mercury: to every one of these, they say, Jupiter imparted the knowledge of things invented and perfected by himself, and attributed the honour of the invention to them, desirous to perpetuate their memories, and advance their reputation and eternal praise amongst all men.

To Venus he committed the care of the mature age of virgins; at which time they ought to marry, and the oversight of other things used at nuptials, together with sacrifices and drink-offerings, which are solemnly offered to this goddess; but all first sacrifice to Jupiter the Perfecter, and to Juno the Perfectress, because they are the authors and inventors of all, as we have before declared.

To the Graces was given power to beautify the face, and to give a comely shape and proportion to all the members of the body, and to do good wherever they pleased, and to cause the persons to be grateful and thankful for what they received.

To Lucina he committed the care of them that were in travail and child-bearing, and easing of them in their pains; and therefore women in these hazards chiefly at that time called upon her for help and assistance.

Diana shewed the way how to nurse up little infants, and to provide food for them suitable to their tender age; upon which account she was called the children's nurse.

To every one of the Horæ, is allotted an office agreeable to their several names, to the great advantage of mankind, for the government of themselves in the course of their lives: for there is no greater blessedness in this life, than good laws, peace, and justice.

To Minerva he committed the care of olive-yards, and planting of olive-trees, and extracting the oil: for before the birth of this goddess, this tree grew wild, disregarded among other trees of the wood, the use and culture of it, (as is now practised), not then being known.

The making of garments likewise, and architecture, and many other arts, was discovered to men by this goddess: she invented pipes, and the manner of wind-music, and many ingenious tools and instruments for handicrafts; whence she was called Ergane,

To the Muses their father allotted the invention of letters, and the composing of verses, called poetry.

But there are some who attribute the invention of letters to the Syrians, from whom the Phœnicians learned them, and communicated them to the Grecians when they came with Cadmus into Europe: whence the Grecians called them Phœnician letters. To these that hold this opinion, it is answered, that the Phœnicians were not the first that found out letters, but only changed the form and shape of them into other characters, which many afterwards using, the name of Phœnician grew to be common.

Vulcan, they say, found out the working of iron, brass, silver, and gold, and all other metals that require forging by fire; and that the general use of fire in all other cases, was found out by him, and discovered not only to artificers, but to all other men: and therefore all the masters of these arts pay their devotions, and offer their sacrifices chiefly to this god; and both they and all others call fire Vulcan, to the end that this great good bestowed upon mankind might be for ever remembered, to his eternal honour and praise.

Mars, they say, first taught the making of all sorts of weapons, and how to furnish soldiers both with offensive and defensive arms, and to fight with courage and resolution, destroying all them that were enemies to the gods.

To Apollo is attributed the invention of the harp, and that sort of music; and it is said, he discovered the art of physic, which is practised by revelation from him, by which the sick were commonly restored to health: he found out likewise the use of the bow, and taught the inhabitants to shoot; and therefore the Cretans delight much in shooting, and call the bow Scythicus.

Æsculapius was the son of Apollo and Coronis; he was instructed by his father in the art of physic, and found out chirurgery, and the making up of medicines, the virtues of roots and plants, and improved to that degree in his art, that he was reputed the first founder and author of it, and likewise the prince of physicians.

To Mercury they attribute the invention of messages in times of war, by trumpets and heralds, of truces and leagues; and as a sign they were sent to treat with the enemy, they carried a rod before them; and therefore were suffered safely to come and go. Hence they were called the common Mercury, because both sides enjoyed the equal benefit of peace after a war.

They say, he was the first that invented weights and measures, and getting of wealth by merchandise, and the way of cheating and cozening of others. He was accounted the herald of the gods, and the best messenger, because he was quick and ingenious in declaring particularly every thing he had in command. Whence he was called Hermes.

He was not the inventor of names and words, as some say, but excelled in clear and eloquent expression, and delivery of his message. He was likewise the author of the games of wrestling, and invented the harp made of a tortoise-shell, after the contest between Apollo and Marsyas; in which, they say, Apollo was victor, and revenged himself of his adversary to a greater degree than was fit; for which he was afterwards so grieved, that they say, he broke the strings of his harp, and for some time forbore to play upon that instrument.

The Cretans say, that Bacchus found out the use of the vine, and the manner of planting and pruning of it, and the making of wine, and the way of laying up the summer fruits; by which means they were preserved for men's use and sustenance for a long time.

It is further reported, that this god was the son of Jupiter and Proserpina, and born in Crete; and Orpheus in his sacred rites and mysteries, says, he was torn in pieces by the Titans: but there were many of this name, Bacchus, of which we have more largely and particularly given an account already; but of this Dionysius or Bacchus's being born in Crete, they endeavour to shew evident signs, as arguments to prove it; for they say, there are two islands formed by him, near Crete, in a part of the sea called the Double Gulfs: to which islands he gave the denomination of Dionysides, which he never did in any other part of the world.

As to Hercules, it is said, that there was one of that name, the son of Jupiter, born many years before him, that was begotten of Alcmena in Argos; but who was the mother of this Hercules is uncertain: only this is certain, that there was no man comparable to him for strength; that he travelled through the whole world, inflicting just and deserved punishment upon the wicked, and destroying wild beasts that infested the countries and made them desolate; that he delivered men every where out of bondage and slavery, and that yet he himself, (notwithstanding so many hazards and difficulties) was never worsted, remaining still unconquerable and invulnerable; for which renowned actions, he is by all men adored with eternal honours. But that Hercules, who was the son of Alcmena, was much later: but because he was like unto this antient Hercules*

* This Hercules is held to be Joshua. Gale's Court of the Gentiles. Part 1. l. 2. c. 5.

in his noble acts, he likewise attained immortal glory, and in after ages (being of the same name) was accounted to be the same person, and (through the ignorance of the vulgar) the deeds of the former were ascribed to the latter. They say, that the praise and renown of this elder god, for his famous actions, continues in Egypt to this day, where he built a city.

Britomartis, otherwise called Dictynna, they say, was born in Cænon in Crete, and was the daughter of Jupiter, begotten on Carme, the daughter of Eubulus, the son of Ceres. It is said she invented the hunters' toils and nets, and thence was called Dictynna: she was very familiar with Diana, and therefore it was thought by some, that Dictynna and Diana were one and the same person, which goddess is adored and honoured in Crete both with temples and sacrifices. Those are very much mistaken, who say that Dictynna was so called from her flying and hiding herself in the fisher's net to avoid Minos, who would have forced and ravished her: for it is not reasonable to imagine, that a goddess, the daughter of the most Supreme God, should be reduced to so low a condition, as to stand in need of human help; nor is it just to imagine that Minos, who, by the general consent of all, was reputed a righteous and upright man, and lived a good life, should be guilty of such an horrid impiety and grand piece of wickedness.

Pluto, they say, was the son of Jasion and Ceres, and born in Tripolus in Crete; and of his descent there is a double relation in history.

For some say, that Jasion so improved and cultivated the land, that it brought forth fruit in that abundance, that they that saw it, imposed upon it a name proper to the abundance of the fruits, and called it Pluto; and therefore posterity afterwards used to say, *That he who had more than enough, had Pluto.*

Others say, that Jasion and Ceres had a son named Pluto, who first taught men a more orderly and careful manner of living, and how to gain and treasure up wealth. Whereas a provident care of getting and keeping of estates, was altogether neglected. And these are the things which the Cretans say of those gods which they pretend were born among them. Moreover, they say, the manner of worshipping and sacrificing to the gods, and other rites and sacred mysteries came from them to other nations, and they bring in this, as a most certain and undeniable argument, as they suppose. For they say, the rites and initiations practised by the Athenians in Eleusis, which are almost the most famous of any other, and those in Samothracia, and in Thracia among the Sidonians, (of all which Orpheus was the institutor), are celebrated darkly and mystically;

but in Crete, at Gnossus, by antient law, the very same sacred mysteries are celebrated plainly and openly, and whatever is done in secret by others, none amongst them conceals from any that have a desire to know them; for many of the gods, they say, went out from Crete, and travelled through many parts of the world, and were benefactors to all sorts of men, and communicated to them the benefit and advantage of such things as they themselves had found out and invented. For Ceres sailed into Attica, and from thence into Sicily, and at length into Egypt: in which places, after she had delivered them corn, and taught them how to sow it, she was highly honoured amongst them; so Venus dwelt near Eryx in Sicily, in the island Cythera, at Paphos in Cyprus, and in Syria in Asia; and because she was often seen, and continued long amongst the inhabitants of these places, she was called Venus Erycina, Cytheria, Paphia, and Syria. Apollo likewise continued long in Delos, Lycia, and Delphos; and Diana in Ephesus, Pontus, Persia, and Crete; and therefore, from the places and things done there by them, Apollo was called Apollo Delius, Lycius, and Pythius; and she was stiled Diana Ephesia, of Cresia, Tauropolia, and Persia; although both of them were born in Crete.

This goddess Diana is highly honoured by the Persians, and the same mysteries and sacrifices that are celebrated and offered to her by others, the barbarians themselves, at this very day, celebrate in honour of Diana Persia. To this purpose they give an account of the rest of the gods, which as they are easy for the reader to understand, so they are too tedious for us to recite.

Moreover, they say, that many ages after the birth of the gods, there were many heroes among them, of whom the most eminent were Minos and Rhadamanthus, who were the progeny of Jupiter and Europa, the daughter of Agenor, whom, they report, by the providence of the gods, to be carried over into Crete upon the back of a bull. Minos, they say, who was the elder, obtained the kingdom, and built in the island many cities: amongst which, three were most famous; Gnossus, situated in that part of the island that looked towards Asia; Phæus, lying southward upon the shore; and Sidonia, situated in the western part, over-against Peloponnesus. Many laws, they say, were made by him for the government of the Cretans, receiving them from Jupiter his father, who used to converse with him privately in a cave. He had a great fleet, and conquered many of the islands, and was the first of the Greeks that gained the dominion of the seas; and after he had arrived to a high pitch of glory and honour, by reason of his justice and valour, he died in Sicily,

in undertaking a war against Cocalus, of which we have before given a particular narrative, when we treated of the affairs of Dædalus, who was the occasion of this war.

Rhadamanthus, they say, was the most just man in the world, for, in executing of justice upon thieves, robbers, and other impious and wicked persons, he was inexorable.

They report, likewise, that he gained several islands; and many of the maritime coasts of Asia, voluntarily submitted to him upon the account of his eminent justice. He gave the kingdom to Erythro, one of his sons, who called themselves Erythri, from him. To Œnopion, the son of Minos and Ariadne, they say he allotted Chios: others say, he was the son of Bacchus, and was taught how to make wine by his father.

He rewarded likewise each of his captains, either with some island or city: upon Thoas he bestowed Lemnos; on Engyeus, Cyrnus; to Pamphilus he gave Peparethos; to Euambeus, Maronea; to Alcæus, Paros: to Arrion, Delos; to Andros, the island Andros; so called after his name.

And because he was so remarkably just, he is feigned to be the judge of hell; and to distinguish between the pious and impious, the good and the bad. They say likewise that Minos is co-partner with him in that dignity, upon the account of his uprightness, and his just and righteous reign.

Sarpedon, the third brother, they say, passed over with an army into Asia, and possessed himself of Lycia and the neighbouring territories. His son Evander succeeded him in the kingdom of Lycia, who marrying Deidamia, the daughter of Bellerophon, of her begat Sarpedon, who went to the Trojan war with Agamemnon, and is called by some the son of Jupiter. Deucalion and Molus, they say, were the sons of Minos: Deucalion had a son called Idomeneus, and Molus another named Meriones, who, as is said, assisted Agamemnon against Troy with a fleet of fourscore sail, and afterwards returned and died in their own country, and were honourably buried and adored as gods: they show their sepulchre in Gnossus, whereon is this inscription —

> Idomeneus in this tomb doth lie,
> Who born in Gnossus was; and him hard bye,
> I, son of Molus, Meriones call'd.

These two are adored as demi-gods by the Cretans, for they offer sacrifice to them; and in their wars call upon them for aid and assistance.

Having given an account of these things, it remains we should now

speak of the nations that are intermixed with the Cretans. That the Æteocretans were the first inhabitants of this island, and reputed to have been there from the beginning, we have before declared. Many ages after, the Pelasgi planted among them a nation inured continually to arms, and wandering up and down from their antient habitations, seized upon that part of the island where they landed.

The third nation that came thither, they say, were the Dorienses, under the conduct of Teutamus, one of the posterity of Dorus. It is said the greatest part of his colony he brought from the neighbouring parts of Olympus, and some part from the Achaians in Laconia: for that Dorus gathered his colony out of the parts and territories near to Malia.

A fourth sort of people that poured into Crete, were a promiscuous company of barbarians from several parts round about, who, notwithstanding, in process of time, spoke the same language with the antient Cretans, the natural inhabitants. But after the power of Minos and Rhadamanthus became prevalent and considerable, all these nations were reduced into one body, as one people throughout the whole island. And at length, after the return of the Heraclidæ, the Argives and Spartans sent colonies, and possessed themselves likewise of other islands; and both in this, and those other, built several cities, of which we shall speak more fully in due and proper time.

But since that almost all the historians of the Cretan affairs differ among themselves, it is not to be wondered at if we do not agree with them all in every thing we relate; for we follow them who give the most probable account, and are esteemed to be of most credit. For sometimes we follow Epimenides, the theologist, and sometimes Dosiades, Sosicrates, and Leosthenidas.

Having therefore treated thus largely of Crete, we shall now apply ourselves to speak of Lesbos.

This island was antiently inhabited by many several nations one after another, by which reason it was often left and forsaken. The first that seized upon it were the Pelasgi, when it lay desert and uninhabited: for Xanthus the son of Triopas, prince of the Pelasgians that came from Argos, seated himself in a part of Lycia, which he had possessed himself of, and there reigned over the Pelasgians that came thither with him; whence he sailed over to Lesbos, which at that time lay desolate, and divided the country amongst the people, and called the island Pelasgia, which before was called Issa.

In process of time, after the seventh generation, many people were destroyed by Deucalion's flood, and Lesbos likewise at that

time, was by cataracts of showers laid waste and desolate*. But afterwards Macareus happening to touch there, and considering the pleasantness of the island, there seated himself.

This Macareus was the son of Crinacus, the son of Jupiter, (as Hesiod and some others of the poets say), and dwelt in the city Olanus, then called Jados, and now Achaia.

He got together a great company of Ionians, and multitudes from several other nations flocked to him; in the first place he possessed himself of Lesbos; afterwards growing more powerful, through the richness of the island, and his own justice and humanity, he gained many neighbouring islands, and divided the lands amongst his countrymen and followers.

About that time Lesbos, the son of Lapithas, the son of Eolus, the son of Hippotas, by the direction of the oracle at Delphos, arrived in this island with new colonies, and marrying Methymna, the daughter of Macareus, seated himself and his followers there, and enjoyed an equal interest with those that were there before him; and afterwards becoming a man of great renown, he called the island Lesbos, after his own name, and the people Lesbians: for Macareus had two daughters, Mitylene and Methymna, from whom two of the chiefest cities of the island were so called.

Macareus having a design to possess himself of some of the neighbouring islands, ordered one of his sons to carry over a colony first into Chios; afterwards he sent another into Samos, named Cycholaus, who seated himself there, and divided the lands by lot amongst those of his colony, and ruled over them as king. The third island peopled by Macareus, was Coos, over which he appointed Neander king.

After this he sent a large colony with Leucippus into Rhodes, whom the Rhodians (by reason of the small number of inhabitants that were left among them) willingly received, and suffered them to have and enjoy the lands equally with them.

But about that time, the continent over against these islands lay under most pressing and grievous calamities, by reason of the late flood; for in regard all the fruits of the earth by the inundation and excess of rain were rotted and spoiled for a long time together, famine exceedingly prevailed; and through the corruption of the air, a great plague and pestilence depopulated and laid waste the towns and cities. But in the mean time the islands lying more open to the winds, and so partaking of their healthful gales, were loaded with

* Deucalion's flood, An. Mund. 2436, eighteen years before the Israelites departed out of Egypt. Orige's flood, 248 years before this, while Jacob was with Laban, An. Mund. 2189.

the fruits of the earth, and the inhabitants had plenty of all things, and in a short time were in a happy and prosperous state and condition; and by reason of the great plenty that was among them, they were called the Islands of the Blessed, or the Blessed Islands. But some say, that they were called the Macarean islands, from Macareus and Ion, two sons of one of the princes that formerly ruled there. And indeed these islands for richness of soil, and plenty of all things, did not only excel all the neighbouring countries in antient time, but do so even to this day. For the fertility of the soil, the pleasantness of the situation, and the healthfulness of the climate is such, that they are not without cause called, but are really and in truth, blessed and happy islands.

Lastly, Macareus king of Lesbos, made the first law among them, which was so beneficial and advantageous to the public, that he gave it the name of the Lion, because of the strength and force of that beast.

A considerable time after this colony was planted in Lesbos, another was brought into the island Tenedos in this manner.

Tenes was the son of Cycnus, king of Colonæ in Troas, and was a man renowned for his valour; he brought over a colony out of the opposite continent, and possessed himself of the island Leucophrys, at that time desolate.

After he had divided the country by lot among his subjects, and had built a city, he called it Tenedos, after his own name. By his good and upright government he gained upon the hearts of his people, and was highly honoured while he lived, and after his death was adored as a demi-god; for they built a temple in honour of him, and offered sacrifices to him as a god, which religious veneration was continued to times not long since. But we are not here to omit what the islanders report concerning Tenes, the founder of the city Tenedos. They say that Cycnus, the father of Tenes, giving ear to the false suggestions and calumnies of his wife, locked his son in a chest, and caused him to be thrown into the sea, and that the chest was cast up by the waves upon Tenedos; and being thus strangely preserved by the special providence of God, became king of the island, and afterwards growing renowned for his justice, and other eminent virtues, he was at length honoured and adored as a god. And because his step-mother hired a piper by a false oath to support her own calumny, it is a law amongst them of Tenedos, that no piper shall come into the temple.

Afterwards, when Tenes was killed by Achilles in the time of the Trojan war, and Tenedos then laid waste by the Grecians, the Tenedeans made another law, that it should not be lawful so much as

once to name Achilles in Tenes's temple. These are the things related of Tenedos and its antient inhabitants.

Having now given an account of the most considerable islands, we shall proceed in the next place to the lesser.

The islands called Cyclades were formerly desolate and uninhabited: but Minos, son of Jupiter and Europa, king of Crete, having a strong army at land, and, with a powerful navy, master at sea, sent many colonies out of Crete, and peopled many of the islands of the Cyclades, and divided the lands to the people by lot, and subdued a great part of the sea-coasts of Asia; and therefore the sea-ports and havens of Asia, and of the islands, have the same names with those in Crete, and are called Minoi. Minos being now grown great and powerful, began to envy his brother Rhadamanthus, his copartner in the kingdom, for the honour and reputation he had gained by his justice. Willing therefore to remove him as far from him as he possibly could, he sent him into the farthest part of his dominions. Whereupon Rhadamanthus abiding in the islands over against Ionia and Caria, caused Erythrus to build a city in Asia after his own name, and made Œnopion, the son of Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, lord of Chios.

These things were all done before the Trojan war; but after the destruction of Troy, the Cares, grown rich and wealthy, gained the dominion at sea, and subdued the Cyclades, some of which they took into their own hands, and rooted out the Cretans; others they enjoyed in common with the antient Cretan inhabitants. But in process of time the Grecians growing strong and powerful, the barbarous Carians were ejected out of most of the Cyclades, and the islands fell into the hands of the Greeks, of which we shall give a more particular account hereafter, in proper time and place.

D. G.

The following five books are lost.

THE

LAST TEN BOOKS

OF

DIODORUS SICULUS.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

BOOK XI.

PREFACE.

THE book next before this, being the tenth in the whole composure of our history, ends with things done in the year immediately before the descent of Xerxes into Europe, and with those debates in the general assemblies of the Grecians at Corinth, concerning the admission of Gelo into the Grecian confederacy.

In this to proceed, (as things were done), in a continued series of the history, we shall begin with Xerxes's expedition into Greece, and end the year immediately before the army of the Athenians, under Cymon their general, invaded Cyprus.

CHAP. I.

Of Xerxes's expedition into Greece, and the battle of Thermopylæ, and the sea-fight at Salamis.

CALLIAS being archon or chief magistrate of Athens, Spurius Cassius and Proclus Virginius Tricostus, consuls at Rome, in the seventy-fifth olympiad, celebrated at Elis, (in which Asyllus, the Syracusan was victor), Xerxes, (for the reason after mentioned), raised an army against the Grecians. Mardonius, the Persian, was cousin-german, and by marriage, likewise, nearly related to Xerxes, of great esteem among the Persians for his valour and prudence. This man, prompted forward by the greatness of his spirit, and the heat of his youth, burned with ambition to be general of so great an army as that expedition required; and therefore persuaded Xerxes, that he would bend all his power to subdue the Grecians, those implacable enemies of the Persians.

Being brought over to close with this advice, he determined ut-

terly to destroy and root them up: and to that end sent ambassadors to Carthage, to treat with them concerning the joining of their forces together; whereupon it was thus agreed between them— That Xerxes should land his forces in Greece, and that the Carthaginians at the same time should, with a great army, invade the Greeks in Italy and Sicily.

According to which compact the Carthaginians raised a great sum of money, and hired many soldiers out of the provinces of Liguria in Italy, Gallia, and Iberia; and raised men of their own throughout all Libya, and out of Carthage itself. In which peparations were spent three years, and an army of three hundred thousand men were mustered, and two hundred ships fitted out.

On the other part Xerxes, stirred up by the industry of the Carthaginians, by way of emulation, as far exceeded them in warlike preparations, as he did in dominion and empire. He commanded ships to be built every where upon the sea-coasts within his dominions, as Egypt, Phœnicia, and Cyprus, and likewise through Cilicia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Lycia, Caria, Mysia, Troas, the cities of the Hellespont, Pontus, and Bithynia, and in three years time, as the Carthaginians had done, set forth above twelve hundred gallies. And this was the better accomplished by means of the preparations of those great forces raised by Darius's father in his life time. For Datis, Darius's general, being not long before overcome by the Athenians in the battle of Marathon, Darius ever afterwards bore an implacable hatred against them: but just as he was ready to pass over into Greece, he was prevented by death.

Xerxes, therefore, encouraged both by his father's assistance, and the advice of Mardonius (as is before related) resolved to invade the Grecians.

When all things were prepared, he commanded the officers of his navy to rendezvous his fleet at Cyma and Phocæa. And he himself with the whole army, both of horse and foot, raised out of every province of his dominions, marched from Susa; and advancing to Sardis, forthwith sent heralds into Greece, commanding them to go to all the cities, and demand in the name of the king, earth and water.

There dividing his army, part he sent, (sufficient as was conceived) to make a bridge over the Hellespont, and another part to cut a way though the mountain Athos, both judging it safe for his soldiers to have so short a cut for their march, and hoping likewise by such an extraordinary work upon the first attempt, to strike a terror into the Grecians. They therefore that were sent, having so great a multitude of hands at work, speedily despatched the business.

But the Grecians being now alarmed with the vast army of the Persians, sent ten thousand men at arms into Thessaly, to possess themselves of the passages or posts of Tempe. The general of the Lacedæmonians was Synetus, and of the Athenians, Themistocles: these sent messengers to all the cities, to require them to raise soldiers for the defence of the passages at the common charge; for they made it their business, with all expedition, to interest all the cities of Greece in the war, that so the Persians might be opposed by the combined force of all Greece together.

But when they heard that the greatest part of the Thessalians, and those that inhabited the straits, had submitted to the king's delegates or commissioners, they returned home, despairing to make any effectual defence at Tempe.

And here it will not be from the purpose to declare what part of Greece assisted the barbarians, that, (deservingly branding them with disgrace), traitors to the common liberties of their country may, out of a sense of shame and dishonour, be deterred from the like practice. We say, therefore, that the Dolopes, Ænians, Milesii, Perrhæbians, and Magnesians, sided with the barbarians; and even while the guards were in Tempe, the Achæans, Phthiotians, Locrians, and Thessalians, joined with them; and after they were withdrawn, most of the Bœotians went over to the Persians. Hereupon the Grecians, in a common assembly at the isthmus, decreed, that if they should be victorious, those Grecians that sided with the Persians, should be sacrificed to the gods, every tenth man. And they ordered ambassadors to be sent to such as at present stood neuter, to stir them up forthwith to take up arms for the common liberty.

Of these, some without delay heartily joined themselves to the common interest; others promised to do it in due time, though in truth, by delay, they were willing to have some prospect of the issue of the war before they hazarded themselves. Those of Argos, by their ambassadors in the common council, declared, that they were ready to join in arms with the rest of Greece, if they might have some share in the supreme command of the army: to whom answer was given by the council—That if they thought it a greater grievance to fight under a Grecian general for the common liberty, than to be slaves to a barbarian, they do wisely to forbear to take up arms: but if through their ambition, they aspire to the command of Greece, it were just that they should first signalize themselves by such noble actions, as might justly deserve so great an honour. After this the Grecian cities, generally gave answer to the king's ambassadors, (that went through Greece), in such a manner as plainly demon-

strated at how high a rate they prized the common liberty of the country.

When Xerxes understood that the bridge over the Hellespont was finished, and a passage made through mount Athos, he forthwith marched from Sardis, determining to make his way to the Hellespont. And when he came to Abydos, he passed his army over the bridge into Europe; then marching through Thrace, he increased his army by the Thracians and other borderers. When he came to Doriscus, he commanded his fleet should sail thither, that his forces both by sea and land might join.

There he numbered his army, in which it is reported there were enrolled above eight hundred thousand foot, and more than twelve hundred gallies, three hundred and twenty of which were Greek ships. The ships themselves were provided at the charge of the king, but furnished with soldiers and mariners by the Grecians within his dominions. All the rest were ships fitted out by the barbarians. Of these, two hundred were built and manned by the Egyptians; three hundred by the Phœnicians; the Cilicians fourscore; the Pamphylians forty; and the Lycians as many: besides, the Carians fourscore; and from Cyprus one hundred and fifty. As to those from the Grecians, the Dorians inhabiting about Caria, together with them of Rhodes and Coos, sent forty; the Ionians, with them of Samos and Chios, one hundred; the Æolians, with Lesbos and Tenedos, forty; they of the Hellespont, with them that inhabited about Pontus, fourscore; and the islanders fifty: for the king had secured to himself all the islands between Cyaneus, Triopium, and Sunium.

Such was the number of the men of war in the navy besides eight hundred and fifty prepared for transporting of horses, and three thousand ships of burthen, of thirty oars a-piece. Thus Xerxes was employed at Doriscus in numbering his army: but the general council of Greece being informed that the forces of the Persians approached, it was ordered that the Grecian fleet should forthwith sail to Artemisium in Eubœa, judging that to be the most convenient place to oppose the enemy: and a guard of men at arms were sent to Thermopylæ, sufficient, as was conceived, to secure the straits and passages, and repel the barbarians: for it was determined, with all haste and speed, to defend on every side all those that took part with the Grecians, and with their forces every way to preserve their confederates. Eurybiades, a Lacedæmonian, was admiral of the whole fleet; Leonidas, general of Sparta, commanded the forces sent to Thermopylæ, a brave man and an excellent soldier.

Leonidas, taking upon him the command, chose only a thousand men out of the army to follow him in this expedition. But the E-

phori, or common council, advising him to take a greater number against so powerful an enemy, yea, commanding him so to do, he, in an intricate and perplexed speech, made answer—That in truth, that number was too few to keep the pass against the barbarians, but that he needed no more to accomplish that design which they were going about to effect. Receiving this dark answer, they asked him—Whether he led out the army upon any slight and inconsiderable attempt? He returned in answer—That in words and talk he was to lead them to defend the passages: but in truth, and in the event, to die for the common liberty. Therefore, if these thousand which he had chosen might go along with him, the fame of Sparta would be advanced even by their destruction: but if all the Lacedæmonians should go thither, the very Lacedæmonian name would be utterly extinct, they being men never used to fly to save themselves.

Upon this there were allotted to him a thousand Lacedæmonians, three hundred Spartans, and three thousand out of the rest of the army: so that he marched with four thousand soldiers to Thermopylæ. But the Locrians who inhabited near the passages, had given earth and water to the Persians, and had promised to seize the passes.

But when they perceived Leonidas to advance to Thermopylæ, they revolted and joined themselves to the Grecian army; and so a thousand Locrians, as many Milesians, and near a thousand Phocians marched with him to Thermopylæ; besides four hundred Thebans, of a different faction sided now with Greece: for the Thebans that were in a confederacy with the Persians were divided amongst themselves.

This then is the utmost number of the army which under Leonidas their general came to Thermopylæ, and there prepared themselves to bear the brunt of the whole strength of the Persians.

Xerxes having now numbered his forces, marched with his whole army to the city Acanthus, his fleet sailing near at hand over against him; thence his navy passed through the ditch or sluice cut through the isthmus, and by that means he passed his fleet into the other sea by a short and safe cut.

When he came to the bay of Malea, he was informed that all the passages were possessed by the enemy: upon which he again increased his forces, and joined to them little less than two hundred thousand men more, which he had raised as his confederates out of Europe. So that besides his naval forces, his land army consisted of no less than a hundred myriads*. And the rest that were in his fleet, (what in his men of war, and what in his transport ships, and shipping for other necessaries), were judged to be no way inferior in

* A million.

number to his land forces. Therefore, what we find reported concerning the number he brought with him is not to be wondered at.

For it is said, that great rivers were drank up by that multitude, and that the sea itself was even covered over by the spreading forth of the sails of the ships: so that the forces of Xerxes have been by all reputed the greatest that ever any history made mention of.

The Persian army now encamping at the river Sperchius, Xerxes sent messengers to Thermopylæ, both to find out with what resolution he was likely to be opposed, and likewise to declare that the king commanded them to lay down their arms, and return in safety to their own countries, and become friends and confederates to the Persians; which if they yielded to, then he faithfully promised that he would bestow upon them both larger and richer countries than those they then inhabited.

This message being heard, those with Leonidas returned this answer—That they were in a better posture to be the king's confederates being armed, than if they were disarmed; and if it happened that they must fight, then they could more gallantly and courageously venture their lives for their liberties. As for the countries which the king promised them, they bid them tell him, that it was not the manner of the Grecians, by any base or dishonourable means to plant themselves in any country, or to gain lands and estates but by virtue and valour; and being so gained, by the same valour to defend them.

Xerxes having received this answer, presently sent for Demaratus the Spartan, who was banished from his country, and fled to him, and in a scoffing manner asked the Laconian—Whether the Grecians could run faster than his horses? or whether they durst engage with so great an army? Demaratus is reported to have answered the king thus—You are not, O king, unacquainted with the valour of the Grecians, forasmuch as your majesty ever made use of them to reduce your rebellious subjects upon all occasions: and do not think that these, who have done more than the Persians in defence of your majesty's sovereignty, will prove themselves of less valour for the preservation of their own liberties against the Persians.

At which words, Xerxes laughing him to scorn, commanded him to follow him, that he might presently see the Lacedæmonians taking to their heels.

And now Xerxes dislodging his army, marched to the straits of Thermopylæ, placing the Medes in the front of the battle, either because they were esteemed men of greatest courage, or that he desired to have them all cut off, for they were still proud and haughty in regard that the sovereign power was not long before wrested from their

ancestors; and many there were likewise in the army whose kindred perished in the battle of Marathon. Xerxes therefore orders the brothers and children of those that were slain in that battle, to be placed in a body in view of the Medes, conceiving this would be a means to exasperate them to a fiercer revenge upon the Grecians.

The Medes therefore being put in the front (as before said) made a fierce charge upon the Thermopylæan guards. But Leonidas, being well prepared, had placed his men in a close body, in the straitest part of the passages: now both sides are hotly engaged, for the barbarians having their king both the spectator and witness of their valour on the one hand, and the thoughts of danger of losing of liberty, together with the commands of the general firing the Grecians on the other, the fight was amazing. And now setting foot to foot, fighting close at hand, and being locked together, wounds were given on both sides, insomuch as the battle was doubtful a long time, till at length the Grecians, through their resolution, and the greatness of their shields, getting ground, the Medes with much ado fell off, and began to flag, a great part of them being killed, and many others wounded. The Medes thus baffled, the Cæsii and Sacæ, (counted excellent soldiers) continued the fight; and although they were fresh men and untouched, against men almost tired out, yet they were hewed down and quickly put to flight, and many killed by Leonidas's soldiers: for the barbarians being guarded with short shields and bucklers, were fitter for fighting in the open field, (where they could, by reason of the lightness of their arms, move as they pleased), than in a narrow passage, where they could not well touch the bodies of their enemies standing so close together, and being likewise defended with large shields. On the other hand, the barbarians being but lightly armed, lay the more open to all the darts and blows of the assailants.

Xerxes now seeing the passages strewed with the carcases of his soldiers, and that the barbarians were not able to withstand the Grecian valour, sent against them the chiefest of the Persians, such as were called immortal and invulnerable, men of far stronger bodies than any of the rest of the army. Of these the Grecians made a quick despatch, for they fled presently, and night now coming on, gave a present cessation of arms, with a great slaughter of the barbarians, few being lost on the side of the Grecians.

Xerxes fretting at the late misfortune of his arms, so cross to his hopes and expectations, the next day chose out of all his regiments, such as were most approved for strength and valour; and after many earnest entreaties, he told them that if they broke in upon the Grecians, and drove them out of the passages, he would remunerate

them with large rewards, but that death should be the wages of them that fled. Upon which they made a fierce and violent charge in one body upon the army of the Grecians. The soldiers of Leonidas on the other hand closing together in a body like a strong wall, with great resolution resisted the furious shock of their adversaries, and were so earnest in fight, that they would not suffer the usual fresh aids to succeed to their assistance; but overcoming all difficulties by resolution, they beat down and destroyed most of the choicest of the barbarians; every one striving who should spend most of the day in signalizing his own valour: for the courage of the young men stimulated the old and experienced soldiers to a higher strain of valour than ordinary; and the glory formerly gained by the old, stirred up the young men to emulation of honour.

At length this brave and choice army of the barbarians was routed and put to flight: in their flight they were stopped by a strong body of men appointed for that purpose, who drove them back upon the enemy, and so forced them to renew the action. But the king being astonished, and in great fear, conceiving none durst make any further attempt upon the Grecians, one Trachinius*, an inhabitant of the country, (to whom all the secret and by-ways in the mountains were by use very well known), came to Xerxes, and promised him to lead the Persians through a certain strait and difficult pass, that the troops sent along with him might come upon the back of Leonidas and his soldiers, and by this means the Grecians being engaged both in front and rear, might easily be cut off.

At the hearing of this, the king greatly rejoiced, and amply rewarded the Trachinian, and forthwith sent along with him in the night, twenty thousand men. But one Tyrastiades of Cuma, in the Persian army, an upright man of honest principles, privately conveyed himself in the night from the watch or centinels of the Persians, and came to Leonidas, and discovered what the Trachinian had contrived; which being known, a council of war was called at midnight, where they consulted what was best to be done in the present imminently dangerous state of affairs. There were some who were of opinion, that it would be best forthwith to leave the passages, and to return to the rest of their associates, while it was yet well with them, for that they had no hopes of safety if they continued there.

But Leonidas, the Lacedæmonian general, anxious to obtain immortal honour for himself and his Spartans, commanded all the rest to depart, and reserve themselves for better times, and further assistance to the Greeks hereafter, enjoining only the Lacedæmonians

* Or rather a Trachinian called Ephialtes. Pausan. l. 1, c. 4.

to stay, and not to desert the defence of the straits, for that it became the generals and commanders of Greece resolutely to be victorious, or valiantly to die upon the spot.

The council then breaking up, all the rest presently marched away; and Leonidas being now left upon the place with only his citizens, was resolved with them to perform wonderful and heroic actions: for the Lacedæmonians being but very few, (for he kept the Thespians only with him, so that all of them together did not exceed five hundred men), he prepared himself bravely to die for the liberty and glory of Greece.

In the mean time those who were sent with Trachinius, led about through the steep passes, had beset those with Leonidas on every side: but the Grecians, who had before cast off all thoughts of deliverance, and had preferred honour before life, with one voice desired their general that he would lead them out against their enemy, before it were known to the Persians that they were surrounded.

Leonidas hereupon commending the courage of his soldiers, commanded them to go with all speed to their dinners, with that cheerfulness as those that must be with the gods at supper; and he himself presently commanded meat to be brought to him, and began eating: for by this means he said they would be more able to endure, and longer to continue the dangers and toils of such an engagement.

After they had all refreshed themselves, and were ready attending upon their general, he commanded them to follow him, and breaking into the enemy's camp, to kill all that they met, and proceed to the king's pavilion: at which word of command, in one body, in the night, under their general Leonidas, they rushed into the camp of the Persians.

The barbarians being amazed at so sudden and unexpected an alarm, every where ran out of their tents in great disorder and confusion; and supposing that all those who were sent with the Trachinian were cut off, and that all the Grecian forces were amongst them, they were every where seized with fear and astonishment: a great slaughter was therefore made amongst them by the soldiers of Leonidas, but much more by the Persians among themselves, they not knowing who was friend or foe: the mistake likewise being increased by the darkness of the night, in which none could be distinguished, dread and horror prevailed throughout the camp, therefore it was no wonder that a terrible slaughter was made amongst them: for they killed one another, since there was now neither time nor place to be at any certainty, for none knew whose commands, or what captain to follow, or what colours or ensigns to hasten to; but

their minds were in a continual distraction: and if the king had then been in his pavilion, he had been easily destroyed amongst the rest by the Grecians, and in that moment had an end been put to so great a war: but Xerxes presently, at the beginning of the tumult, hastened, and speedily got out of harm's way. The Grecians breaking into his pavilion, cut off the heads of almost all they found there, and diligently sought for Xerxes (while the night favoured them) in all parts of the camp.

But when the day broke, and light began to make a discovery, the Persians then perceiving the Grecians to be very few, began to despise them, but durst not advance straight against them, being terrified by their amazing courage.

Therefore they compassed them round, and galling them every way, both in the flank and rear, they were all destroyed with darts and arrows; and this was the end of those sent with Leonidas to guard the passes in Thermopylæ, whose valour who can sufficiently admire! who were also unanimous not to desert their post assigned them, but undauntedly sacrificed their lives for the common safety of Greece, and chose rather to die valiantly and in honour, than to live as slaves and in disgrace.

On the other hand, this terror and amazement of the Persians cannot but be very probable, for which of the barbarians could ever suspect so incredible an attempt? Who could have imagined that five hundred should have that confidence, as without fear to set upon a hundred myriads? So that we may conclude, that posterity cannot but fix upon these men as a pattern and example of valour for ever; who though compassed about with inextricable dangers, and wearied out in their bodies with overcoming, yet in their minds were unconquerable. These therefore are the only men we read of that became more famous by their being overcome, than others by their most glorious victories; for we ought not to judge of men's virtues by the event, but by their solid and well-grounded resolutions; for fortune is the mistress of the first, but every man's reason is the advocate for the other.

For who can say there were ever braver men than these? who, though they were not the thousandth part of their enemies, yet were actuated with such brave spirits, as to dare to try their courage with an incredible multitude; not that they had the least hope or expectation of overcoming upon so unequal terms, but resolving with undaunted resolutions and noble souls to surpass all that was ever done in former ages. They knew, indeed, they were then to fight with barbarians; but yet they concluded, that thereby they should be sharers in fame and glory with all that ever were before them. For

they were the only men, since the memory of man, that chose rather to defend the laws of their country, than to preserve their own lives, even with a contempt of dangers that were insuperable; judging it more desirable for men of valour so to signalize themselves.

To these the common liberty of Greece owes more than to those that afterwards overcame Xérxes in following battles; for the barbarians being astonished with such an extraordinary and unheard-of attempt, were afterwards much discouraged, and had little heart to fight. The spirits of the Grecians, on the other side, were inflamed with the desire of gaining the like honour with their countrymen. To conclude, these alone seemed to have borne away with them the immortal memory of an unparalleled valour, above all before them: and therefore their praises have been set forth not only by historians, but by many poets, amongst whom, that famous Milesian poet Simonides has described this noble action with high strains of commendation worthy of their valour, thus—

> At fam'd Thermopylæ these brave souls got
> An honourable death, and noble lot;
> Their tomb an altar bears, which doth record
> Their ancestors; and death doth life afford
> Unto their fame; nor rust, nor time's teeth shall
> Devour the trophies of their funeral,
> The praise of Grecian heroes, to maintain
> Their country's freedom that were slain,
> This chapel doth contain. .....
> Leonidas above the rest,
> The Spartan king will this attest;
> Who gave proof to posterity,
> That real valour cannot die.

Having now said enough of these gallant men, we shall return where we broke off. Xerxes thus possessed of the passes, obtained (according to the proverb) only in a Cadmean victory, lost a great number of his soldiers, with the destruction of a very few of his enemies, in comparison. And having now gained the straits, and made his way open, he determined to try his fortune in a sea-fight. To that purpose he forthwith sent for Megabates, the admiral of his navy, and commanded him to make up to the Grecian fleet, and with the whole strength of his navy to give them battle; who without delay obeyed the king's command: he departed from Pydna in Macedonia, with the whole fleet, and sailed to the utmost coasts or promontory of Magnesia, called Sepias, where meeting with a violent storm and tempest, he lost three hundred of his ships of war, and a great number of his transport ships. When the storm was over, he made

away, and arrived at Aphetæ, a city of Magnesia. From thence he sent forth three hundred sail, and commanded the officers that they should sail about, and make to the right hand of the island Eubœa, and so surround the enemy. The Grecians in the mean time lay at anchor at Artemisium, in Eubœa, whose navy was at the most not above two hundred and fourscore sail, whereof an hundred and forty were fitted out by the Athenians, and the rest by the other Grecians. Eurybiades, a Spartan, was admiral of the fleet; and Themistocles the Athenian took care of all other things relating to it. This man, by reason of his singular prudence and military experience, was not only in great reputation and authority with the Grecians in the fleet, but even with Eurybiades himself; and all were ready at his command. When the sea-officers were in consultation which was the most commodious place to give battle; whilst all the rest were for abiding where they were, and to receive the enemy as they then lay, only Themistocles was of a contrary opinion, and declared, that that party ever had the advantage, who in good order made the first onset upon the enemy: for if they then in a body fell upon the enemy, who was at that time in disorder and confusion, by coming out of several ports, and at a great distance one from another, the attack would probably be successful and prosperous.

The counsel and advice of Themistocles prevailing, the whole Grecian fleet in order of battle, set sail against the Persians, who coming out of their several ports, as they were dispersed and out of order, were met by the navy of Themistocles, who sunk many of them, and forced as many more upon the shore.

In the mean time, the fleets of both parties now came together, and battle joined, some parts of the fleets prevailed here and there on both sides, without absolute victory on either, till night put an end to the contest. Presently followed a most dreadful tempest, whereby many ships of the Persian fleet were forced out of their harbours and lost. So as god himself seemed to fight for the Grecians, by reducing the barbarians to a less number, that the Grecians might be an equal match for them, and better able to bear the brunt of a sea-fight. Hence it was that the Grecians grew more and more confident and courageous: and on the other hand, the barbarians ever more fearful in all attempts.

But after the storm was over, having again brought together their navy, they made down upon the enemy, with their whole fleet: the Grecians, reinforced with fifty Athenian ships, made ready, and undauntedly received the barbarians. And here the manner of the fight was almost like that at Thermopylæ, for the Persians endeavoured to charge through the midst of the Grecians, and so to pass

into Euripus*: but the Grecians, with the help of their confederates in Eubœa, defended the straits; upon which there was again a fierce engagement, and both sides lost many of their men of war: but night drawing on again, both parties were forced into their harbours. It is reported that the Athenians on the Grecian side, and the Sidonians on the other, conducted themselves bravely in both battles.

The Grecians afterwards hearing of the defeat and slaughter made at Thermopylæ, and being certainly informed that the Persians were marching towards Athens, were in great consternation, and therefore sailing back to Salamis, they there lay. And now the Athenians seeing the extreme hazard all were in, who remained in Athens, put on board their wives and children, and all necessaries, and whatever else they could, and transported them into Salamis. Then the admiral of the Persian fleet, understanding that the enemy was withdrawn from their former station, presently, with his whole fleet, made for Eubœa, and there first takes the city of Istiæa by storm, and razed it, and then wastes and destroys the whole country before him.

In the mean time Xerxes marches from Thermopylæ, through the confines of Phocia, razes all the towns far and near, and wastes and spoils all before him.

That part of the Phocians who sided with the Grecians, not being able to contest with so great a multitude, forsook their towns, and with all their inhabitants, betook themselves to the difficult passages and defences of the mountain Parnassus.

Afterwards the king entering the country of the Dorians, forbore from pillage and spoil, and commanded that no injury should be done there, because they were his friends and associates. But part of his forces left there, he commanded to invade Delphos, and to burn the temple of Apollo, and to rob and carry away all that they found there; and he himself in the mean time, led the rest of his army into Bœotia, and there encamped.

When those that were sent to spoil the Delphian god were advanced as far as the temple of Pallas, there arose a sudden and incredible tempest, and storm of hail and wind, with dreadful thunder and lightning, wherewith great rocks were rent asunder, and fell upon the heads of the Persians, and destroyed them by heaps. The rest that survived, being terrified with this portent of the immortal gods, ran away with all haste and speed. And thus by divine providence, the oracle of Delphos was preserved from ruin and robbery.

* The strait between Eubœa and Bœotia.

They of Delphos, that they might continue the memory of this wonderful appearance of the gods to posterity for ever, erected a great trophy or monument near the temple of Pallas, on which they engraved this elegy—

> A grateful gift to Jove, the Delphians me
> Have rais'd, proud monument of victory.
> By Phœbus' help, who Medean bands confound,
> Preserv'd the temple that with brass was crown'd.

Xerxes passing through Bœotia wasted the country of the Thespians, and burnt Platea, forsaken before of its inhabitants.

For the people of these parts, with their families, and all their concerns, had withdrawn themselves into Peloponnesus: from thence he passed into Attica, continuing still his devastation and ruin of all things: and Athens itself he razes to the ground, and burns the temples.

Whilst Xerxes was thus employed, his fleet (having first spoiled Eubœa and the coasts of Attica) loosed from Eubœa, and came to Attica. About the same time the Corcyreans lay about Peloponnesus, with threescore gallies, because they could not, as they pretended, recover the cape or promontory of Malea. But other writers say, that this was rather done out of policy, that they might observe how the issue of the war was like to succeed, and submit to the Persians if they were victors; and that the Grecians, if they were conquerors, might believe they came so far in order to assist them.

But when news was brought to the Athenians who were at Salamis, that their country was burnt up, and the temple of Pallas laid in rubbish, they were extremely grieved and dejected. An exceeding fear likewise seized the other Grecians, seeing themselves besieged, as it were, by the enemy on every side, cooped up together within Peloponnesus. And therefore it was determined that the leaders and officers should consult and give their opinion what place was fittest and most convenient wherein to try their fortune in a sea-fight. Many and various opinions were proposed and bandied to and fro in this matter: the Peloponnesians, as those who only minded their own security, advised that the engagement might be near the isthmus: for fortifying the isthmus with a strong wall, if things did not succeed, they might presently withdraw themselves into Peloponnesus, as into a place of greatest safety and defence: but if they should be penned up in the little island Salamis, they should run into mischiefs inextricable.

But Themistocles advised to fight at Salamis, for that within the straits they were sure to have the advantage, where they might fight with a few ships against many. On the other hand, he made it out,

that to fight near the isthmus, would be a great disadvantage to them, for they must fight in the open sea, where the enemy would have room to make use of their whole fleet, by which so few vessels as they had would soon be destroyed by such a multitude.

These reasons, and many others to the same purpose, in reference to the business in hand, being seasonably and wisely offered by Themistocles, brought over all the rest to his opinion.

It being now therefore determined in this general council, to fight within the straits of Salamis, the Grecian captains with all speed prepared themselves for battle against the Persians: Eurybiades, therefore, together with Themistocles, began to encourage the people against the danger approaching; but they were struck with such terror and fear of the great power of the Persians, that they regarded not the advice or commands of their leaders and officers; but every one to save himself, hastened with all speed to pass over from Salamis to Peloponnesus.

Neither were the Grecian forces by land, seized with less fear and terror, by reason of the great power of the enemy, being likewise much dejected by the slaughter of those valiant men at Thermopylæ: and then the misery of the Athenians was ever before their eyes, which amazed them, and put a damp upon all their hopes.

Upon which the general council discerning the tumult and distracting fears among the people, made an order for the enclosing of the isthmus with a wall; and thereupon many hearts and hands joining together, the work was completed: and so the Peloponnesians defended themselves by a wall drawn out along from Lechæum* to Cenchreæ, forty furlongs.

But now the fleet at Salamis was in a mutiny, and in that degree of fear, that none would obey their officers. Themistocles therefore perceiving that Eurybiades, the admiral of the fleet, was not regarded, and that the violence of the furious populace could not be restrained; and considering, likewise, that the straits and difficulties of the places at Salamis were of great advantage in order to obtain the victory, resolved upon this project: he commanded one chosen out for that purpose, to go privately as a deserter to the king, to let him know that the Grecians had resolved to pass over with all their fleet from Salamis into the isthmus. Xerxes gave credit to what was related, as a thing very probable, and therefore resolved, with all haste and diligence, to prevent the land and sea forces of the Grecians from joining; and to that purpose commanded the ships he had from Egypt, forthwith to possess themselves of the straits and narrow seas between Salamis and Megaris, and ordered the rest of his navy

* A port of Corinth.

to make for Salamis, and there without delay to fight the enemy. The king's gallies were drawn up distinctly, according to their several nations, that being all of one and the same language, they might more readily aid and assist one another.

The fleet setting forth in this order, the Phœnicians were in the right wing, and the Grecians joined with the Persians were placed in the left. In the mean time the officers of the Ionians sent with great secrecy a certain Samian unto the Grecians, to acquaint them what the king determined, and in what method and order all things were hastening forward, and that they themselves (as soon as the battle should commence) were resolved to desert the barbarians.

All which, when the Samian had thus privately discovered to Eurybiades, Themistocles (his matters succeeding according to his heart's desire, and as he had contrived) with great joy encouraged the navy to fight. The Grecians recovering their spirits at the message, sent by the Ionians, and (stirred up with fresh hope by the present circumstances of affairs to fight) against their former determinations, loosed from Salamis with great resolution. And now the fleet being disposed in order of battle by Eurybiades and Themistocles, the left wing was committed to the Lacedæmonians and Athenians against the Phœnicians, the enemy's right wing.

The Phœnicians were at that time in great reputation for maritime affairs, as well by reason of the multitude of their shipping, as for their singular and antient skill in navigation. The Æginians, and those of Megara, were placed in the left wing, for these were conceived (next to the Athenians) to be the best seamen; and it was concluded that they would fight with the greatest obstinacy and resolution, in regard they had no where to fly with the rest of the Grecians, for security, if they were conquered. The centre was supplied by the rest of the Grecians.

Things being thus ordered and prepared, they forthwith set sail, and possessed themselves of the straits and passages between Salamis and Heraclea.

As for the king, he commanded the admiral of his fleet to attack the enemy without delay: and he placed himself upon an eminence over against the island of Salamis, from whence he might see all the incidents of the battle.

The Persians indeed at the first, while they were in the open sea, kept good order; but when they began to enter the straits, many of the ships were forced out of their order, which occasioned a great tumult and confusion amongst the rest. Then the admiral who led the van, fell in first with great valour upon the enemy, and was

sunk at the first charge, upon which a great terror seized the whole fleet; for upon the death of the admiral many took upon them to command, and gave out several and different orders; so that they durst not proceed farther, but tacked about, and made out to sea.

The Athenians perceiving the terror and confusion of the barbarians, fiercely pursued them; some of their ships they struck through with the beaks of their vessels, and brushed off the oars of others: and many of the barbarians' gallies, in the flight, lying open, with their broadsides to the beaks of the Grecian ships, by multitude of strokes were pierced through and through; so that now not having time to turn the heads of their gallies, they fled as well as they could with their oars reversed.

The Phœnicians, and Cyprian ships being now dispersed by the Athenians, and forced to fly, the Cilicians, Pamphylians, and Lycians, who were next to them, fought indeed obstinately at first, but when they saw the best and stoutest of the ships routed, and making away, they hastened out of the danger.

In the other wing the fight was for some short time doubtful, the contest being vigorous on both sides; but the Phœnicians and Cyprians being driven on shore, and the Athenians making head upon the others, the barbarians, not able to bear the shock, fled, and lost many of their ships in the flight. And thus the noble Grecians got a glorious victory at sea over the barbarians.

In this battle forty ships of the Grecian fleet were lost; but above two hundred gallies of the other were sunk, besides those that were taken with their ships and men.

The king being thus unexpectedly overcome, in a rage slew the Phœnicians, as the first that fled; threatening the rest, that in due time he would punish them as they merited; who, terrified at the king's threats, forthwith made for Attica, but the night following they sailed into Asia.

And now Themistocles, justly esteemed the author of this victory at sea, contrives another stratagem, not inferior to the former; for the Grecians being terrified, and not daring to fight at land against so many thousands of men, he thus diminishes the forces of the enemy.

He sends his children's schoolmaster to the king, with instructions to acquaint him that the Grecians were hastening with their fleet to the bridge, in order to pull it down.

This message the king believed, as very probable, and thereupon was in a terrible fright, lest the Grecians, who had then the whole command of the seas, should block up his passage into Asia, so that

he could not return; he resolved therefore to depart with all speed, and to leave Mardonius behind him, with an army both of horse and foot, consisting of no less than four hundred thousand men. These two pieces of military policy contrived by Themistocles, crowned the Grecians with the renown of two glorious victories: and thus stood the affairs of Greece. But now having declared sufficient for the present, the things that were transacted in Europe, we shall go on to those done elsewhere, in foreign parts.

CHAP. II.

How the Carthaginians invaded Sicily, and were routed by Gelon.

THE Carthaginians (as it was before agreed between them and the Persians, that they should at the same time set upon the Greeks in Sicily) had made great preparation for war: and now all things being in readiness, they chose Amilcar general of their army, a man of great authority amongst the citizens; who being furnished both with sea and land forces, departs from Carthage. The land army was no less than three hundred thousand, and his fleet above two thousand sail, besides transport ships for the carrying of provision, which were above three thousand.

But sailing through the Libyan sea, by the violence of a storm, he lost his ships wherein the horses and chariots were on board: and when he came to Panormus, the port of Sicily, he was heard to say, that there was now an end of the war; for he was much afraid, that the Sicilians, by the favour of the sea, had escaped the danger. There he lay for the space of three days, refreshing his army, and repairing his ships; and then marched by land against Himera, his fleet sailing over against him near the shore.

When he came to the city, he placed his army in two camps, in the one his land, and in the other his naval forces. Under all his long ships or gallies, he caused deep trenches to be drawn, and to be barricaded round with timber. His land forces he encamped in front, over against the city, extending the fortifications from the barricado of his other camp to the hills that overtopped the city. When he had thus blocked up the place on the west side, he unloaded all the ships of burthen, of the meat and provision, and sent

away what ships he had left, for corn, and what other provision and victuals they could buy, to be brought to him from Africa and Sardinia: but he himself marched towards the city with a choice part of the army, and routed the Himerians that came forth to oppose him, by which he struck a great terror into the besieged.

Hereupon Theron, prince of the Agrigentines, though he had aid sufficient with him for the defence of Himera, yet being now in a great fright, sent with all speed to Syracuse, to Gelon, for succours, who being prepared with his forces beforehand, and understanding the fear the Himerians were in, without delay, marched out of Syracuse, with no less than fifty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and with a swift march came to Himera: upon which he revived the spirits of the Himerians, and freed them from all fear of the Carthaginian army; for he encamped near the city, and fortified himself both with a wall and deep trench, and then sent forth all his horse to seek out the enemy, who were at that time dispersed, foraging all over the country. These horse setting upon the Carthaginians, roving and disorderly dispersed, took as many prisoners as each of them could carry back; for above ten thousand were brought into the city: by which exploit the authority and glory of Gelon was much advanced; and now the Himerians began to treat their adversaries with contempt.

Afterwards, with no less courage, he performed other things; for all the gates that Theron before, for fear of the enemy, had built, he on the other hand, in contempt of the Carthaginians, caused to be pulled down, and furnished the place with others that were of absolute necessity. To sum up all, Gelon being an expert soldier, and prudent in management, set his head at work how he might, by some stratagem, deceive the barbarians, and destroy their forces without any danger to himself or his army: which device of his was much forwarded by an accident that then happened, for as things then stood, resolving upon burning the enemy's fleet, it happened that Amilcar being then in the camp with his navy, preparing for a great festival-day to Neptune, some of the horsemen brought to Gelon a courier taken in the fields, who brought letters from the Selinuntians, in which was written, that they would send the horsemen to him at the day that he had appointed; which was the day whereon he had determined the sacrifice: upon the same day, therefore, Gelon sends horsemen of his own, commanding them, that conveying themselves privately in the night to places nearest and most convenient, as soon as it was day, they should go to the enemy's naval camp, as if they were the Selinuntian confederates, and being there received, should first kill Amilcar, and then set fire to the ships.

He gave moreover in charge to those set as spies upon the next hills, that as soon as the horsemen were admitted into the fortification, they should give notice of it by lifting up the sign. And he himself at break of day, with his army drawn up, waited while the sign should be given.

The horse being come to the Carthaginian camp about sun-rising, they were admitted by the watch for the confederates; being entered, without delay they made up with a fierce charge to Amilcar, who was then sacrificing, and both killed him and fired the ships. And presently the sign being given by the spies, Gelon, with all his forces in battalia, rushed into the camp of the Carthaginians. Whereupon the officers presently drew all their forces out of the camp to encounter the Sicilians, and with ensigns advanced, fought with great obstinacy. And now the trumpets in both armies sounded a charge, and, in emulation, each endeavoured to exceed the other in noise and clamour. In conclusion, great was the slaughter on both sides, with little or no advantage to either; when presently the flame mounting up from the ships, and news brought of the death of the general, the Grecians, now encouraged, doubled their shouts, in certain hope and confidence of victory; but the Carthaginians, altogether discouraged and in despair, betook themselves to flight. And because Gelon had commanded that no prisoners should be taken, the slaughter was very grievous; at last no less than an hundred and fifty thousand were slain. The rest gained a place by nature fortified, and this gave the first stop to the fury of the pursuers: but because they wanted water, (through extremity of thirst), they were forced to deliver up themselves to the conqueror's mercy.

Gelon's name was now renowned upon the account of so great a victory obtained merely by his own prudent contrivance; and his praise was advanced to the very heavens, not only by the Sicilians, but by all others. For I may truly say, that we have no history of any general that ever before him put in execution so prudent and remarkable a stratagem: or ever slew more of the barbarians in one battle, or took so many prisoners. And therefore some writers account this battle nothing inferior to the fight by the Grecians at Platæa, and equal this project of Gelon to the contrivances and intrigues of Themistocles. But the highest commendations, (because they were both so remarkable and eminent), are by some attributed to this, and by others to that. For whereas both the Greeks and Sicilians before fighting, were terrified with the multitude of the barbarians, the news of Gelon's victory (the Sicilians first prevailing) inspired the Grecians with greater courage. But the fortune of the generals on either side was much different; for it is most certain,

that the Persian king with many thousands more escaped; but not only the generals of the Carthaginians, but even all the whole army were so slaughtered and destroyed, that (as it is reported) not one escaped to Carthage to carry the news of the defeat. Add, moreover, that the most noble of the Grecian commanders, Pausanias and Themistocles, were most unworthily dealt with, even by their own countrymen; the one for his covetousness and treason, was killed by his fellow citizens, and the other (banished Greece) was forced to fly to his greatest enemy, Xerxes, and there live in exile. Gelon, on the contrary, (after his success, advanced to more honour by the love and favour of the Syracusans), reigned till he was old, and died honoured and admired by all. And such was the esteem and grateful remembrance the citizens had of him, that the entire government was continued in his family for three descents. Those therefore who have thus highly merited, challenge from us likewise their due honour and praise. But to return where we left. The same day that Gelon routed the Carthaginians, Leonidas, at Thermopylæ, with his Grecians, broke into the camp of Xerxes with more than ordinary valour; as if the gods, on purpose, had contrived and effected, at one and the same moment of time, a glorious victory in one place, and an honourable death for the Grecians in another.

After the fight at Himera, twenty long ships, which Amilcar had drawn out, occasionally for necessary services, made their escape, and only they of the whole army, made an attempt to return to their own country, the rest being either killed or taken. But being overloaded with the multitude of them that fled, and meeting with cross winds and tempests, they were all shipwrecked and lost, save only a few that escaped in a small boat, and arrived at Carthage; and there with a doleful cry declared how all the army that was carried over into Sicily, was destroyed.

The Carthaginians were so terrified with the unexpected slaughter of their men, that they all watched night and day, for the guard of the city, as if Gelon had been just then ready to enter into Carthage with his whole army. The number of those that were slain affected the whole city with lamentations; and private houses and families were full of tears and complaints, while some inquired after their children, others after their brothers: a great number of orphans now bereft of their parents, with miserable cries bewailed both their deaths, and their own misery, who were now left naked and destitute of those that should take care of them.

The Carthaginians therefore fearing lest Gelon should hasten into Africa, sent unto him plenipotentiaries, men both of great eloquence and discretion.

In the mean time he honourably rewarded the horsemen that destroyed Amilcar; and upon all others that had done any remarkable service, he bestowed the marks of his favour. The chiefest of the spoils he kept himself, with an intent to dedicate them as ornaments to the temples at Syracuse: many of the rest he gave to be set up in the temples of the Himerians: what remained, together with the captives, he distributed amongst his soldiers, proportionably to every one's merit. And those captives that fell to the share of the cities, were in all those places (with their legs shackled) employed in public works, for the common good. They of Agrigentum having obtained many captives for their share, enriched both their city and country round about with their labours; for they had so many prisoners, that many of the private citizens had five hundred a-piece.

And the multitude of their captives and slaves was advanced, not only because they sent great assistance to the war, but likewise by reason that many of the barbarians, when their army was routed, fled up into the midland and borders of Agrigentum, who being all taken alive, filled the city with prisoners. The greatest portion were set apart for the public service, and appointed to cut and hew stone, of which they not only built the greatest of their temples, but made water-courses or sinks under ground, to convey water from the city, so great and wide, that though the work itself was contemptible, yet when done and seen, was worthy of admiration. The overseer and master of the work was one Pheax, an excellent artificer, from whom these conduits were called Pheaces. The Agrigentines likewise sunk a fish-pond, at great cost and expense, seven furlongs in compass, and twenty cubits in depth.

Into this, water was brought both from fountains and rivers, and by that means it was sufficiently supplied with fish of all sorts, both for food and pleasure. And upon this pond there fell and rested a great multitude of swans, which gave a most pleasant and delightful prospect to the eye; but by the neglect of succeeding ages, it grew up with mud, and at last, through length of time, became entirely dry ground. But the soil there being very fat and rich, they have planted it with vines, and replenished it with all sorts of trees, which yields to those of Agrigentum a very great revenue.

When Gelon had dismissed his confederates, he marched back with his army to Syracuse.

And for his notable victory he was not only held in great honour and esteem by his own citizens, but even by all the Sicilians, for he got so many prisoners and slaves, that the island appeared to have all Africa under her dominion.

Ambassadors came continually from all the cities and princes of

the adverse party, begging pardon for their error, and promising observance to all his commands for the future. But as for Gelon, he carried himself with great complacency towards all, and entered into a league with them; and in the time of his prosperity, behaved himself with great modesty and humanity, not only towards the Sicilians, but even towards his most implacable enemies, the Carthaginians.

For when ambassadors came from Carthage, with many tears begging his favour, he received them very courteously, and made peace with them, upon condition that they should pay two thousand talents of silver, for the expenses of the war; and that they should build two temples*, where the articles of the league might be kept as sacred. The Carthaginians being thus safe beyond their hopes, freely consented to the demands, and promised a crown of gold to Demareta, the wife of Gelon: for by making their addresses unto her, she was chiefly instrumental for the procuring of the peace. And after she received the crown from the Carthaginians, which was of the value of an hundred talents of gold, Gelon coined it into money, and called it from her, Demaretium, every piece worth ten Attic drachmas, called likewise by the Sicilians, Pentecontralitrons, from their being fifty pounds in weight.

Gelon carried himself thus graciously to all, chiefly prompted thereunto by his own generous disposition, yet not without some design to engage all by kindness. For he had a purpose to pass with his army over into Greece, and to join with them against the Persians: but when he was ready to transport his fleet, messengers from Corinth brought him the news of the victory by the Grecians at Salamis, and that Xerxes with a great part of his army had left Europe. Upon which news he altered his resolution, and commending the forwardness of his soldiers, called a general assembly, with a command that all should meet armed: he himself, when the assembly was met, came in amongst them, not only without any arms, but without a tunic, covered only with a cloak or mantle, and in a speech set forth the whole course of his life and actions to the Syracusans; the people giving evident testimony of their approbation to every word that he said, and admiring that he should so expose himself amongst armed men, to the will of every person that might have a design against his life; every one was so far from offering him any violence, as a tyrant who had oppressed them, that all with one voice proclaimed him their benefactor, their king, and the deliverer of their country.

* Sir Walter Raleigh says, two armed ships, as pledges of the peace; which I rather incline unto.

After these things, he built two magnificent temples, one to Ceres, and another to Proserpina, out of the spoils: and caused a tripod to be made, of sixteen talents of gold, which he dedicated as a token of his gratitude to Apollo at Delphos. He afterwards determined to build a temple to Ceres in mount Etna, which so far proceeded, as that the image of the deity was placed in her shrine; but by death he was interrupted in his design, and the work was left imperfect. About this time, Pindar the lyric poet flourished.... And these are all the things that were done this year worthy of any remark.

CHAP. III.

The victory of the Greeks over Mardonius at Platæa.

XANTIPPUS being archon of Athens, and Quintus Fabius Vibulanus and Serrius Cornelius Cossus, Roman consuls, the Persian fleet, (all but the Phœnicians), after the battle at Salamis, lay about Cuma: and there continuing all winter, at the spring passed over to Samos, to guard the coasts of Ionia: the fleet consisted of four hundred sail; and because they were jealous of the Ionians, they kept a strict eye upon the cities there.

In Greece, upon the great success at Salamis, which was chiefly owing to the valour and conduct of the Athenians, all were of opinion that the Athenians (being lifted up) would now contend with the Lacedæmonians for the dominion of the seas; and this the Lacedæmonians foresaw, and therefore used all their arts and endeavours to keep them under. And for that reason, when they were to take notice of the noble actions in that fight, and to distribute rewards accordingly, the Lacedæmonians prevailed by their interest, that the honour of the day should be given to them of Ægina, and among the Athenians to Amynias, the brother of Æschylus the poet; because that he being general of the gallies, first charged the admiral of the Persians, and sunk both him and his ship together.

But when the Athenians shewed their resentment that they were so undeservedly slighted, the Lacedæmonians were afraid, lest Themistocles (being provoked with the indignity) should contrive some considerable mischief against them and the rest of the Grecians;

therefore to stop his mouth, they rewarded him doubly, above all the rest. But when the people of Athens understood that he had accepted what was given him, they were much incensed, and removed him from his place as general, and put Xantippus, of the family of Ariphron, in his stead.

And now the distaste given by the Grecians to the Athenians being spread abroad, ambassadors came to Athens, both from the Persians and the Grecians. The Persian ambassadors spoke to this effect: "That if the Athenians would side with the Persians, they should have what part of Greece they should choose; that Mardonius, the Persian general, would rebuild their walls and their temples; and that the city should have and enjoy its former laws and liberties. On the other hand, the Lacedæmonian ambassadors earnestly entreated them, that they would not make any league with the barbarians, but preserve their antient amity with the Grecians, being so near to them, both in nation and language."

To the barbarians the Athenians gave this return—"That the Persians had no country so rich, nor gold so heavy, which could tempt them to forsake their confederates the Grecians in their necessity." And to the Lacedæmonians they commanded answer to be given—"That as heretofore their care had been to preserve Greece, so for the future, to their utmost endeavour, they would defend it. And in the mean time, desired that they would forthwith with all their forces pass into Attica, in regard it was very apparent, that Mardonius, when he came to understand the Athenians to be so resolved against him, would invade Athens with all his force:" and so it came to pass, for Mardonius encamping in Bœotia, first endeavoured to draw the cities of Peloponnesus to a defection, by sending monies here and there to the governors and chief men. And afterwards, when he received the answer returned him by the Athenians, he raged like a madman, and forthwith marched with all his army into Attica. For besides those which Xerxes left with him, he raised many out of Thrace and Macedonia, and other confederate cities, to the number of two hundred thousand men, and upwards.

And now Attica being invaded by so great a multitude, the Athenians sent messengers to the Spartans, and desired their aid, who were so slow that the enemy violently broke in upon the country, so that the Athenians were reduced to great straits, and now a second time, with their wives and children, and all other things that they could in that distraction and hurry carry away, left their country, and fled to Salamis.

Mardonius, greatly enraged, destroyed and wasted all the country,

levelling the city with the ground, and utterly demolishing all the temples which were left untouched in the former desolation.

Upon his thus returning to Athens with his forces, it was determined in the general assembly of the Grecians*, that they would all join with the Athenians, and march to Platæa, and there give battle to the Persians for the liberty of their country. And made solemn vows to the gods, that if they became victorious, they would celebrate and set apart a festival-day, and institute sports to the goddess Libertas, at Platæa.

At the general rendezvous in Peloponnesus, they took an oath to oblige one another to the prosecution of the war, to the end their league might be inviolably observed, and that all difficulties might be undergone with undaunted courage. The form of the oath was thus.—"I will not prefer life before liberty: I will not desert my officers, whether they live or die; but that I will bury my fellow-soldiers that shall fall in the war, how many soever they may be. If I be victorious in this war, I will not destroy or spoil any city of my confederates. I will not rebuild any of the temples that are burnt or ruined, but leave them as monuments to posterity, of the impiety of the barbarians."

When they had thus sworn, they marched over the mountain Cithæron, into Bœotia, and encamped at the foot of the hill, near the city Erythræ. Aristides was the commander of the Athenians, and Pausanias, the tutor of Leonidas, (who was under age), was general of the whole army.

When Mardonius understood that the enemy was entered Bœotia, he marched from Thebes, and pitched his tents at the river Æsopus, and fortified himself with a deep trench, enclosing his camp round with a wall of timber. The Grecians were an hundred thousand, but the Persians were five hundred thousand. The barbarians began the fight, who all the night long, roving up and down with all their cavalry, set upon the Grecians in their camp: the first that felt the brunt were the Athenians, who forthwith in good order valiantly opposed them; so that the fight was very hot. At length the rest of the Grecians put all to flight that made the onset on them; only the Megarensians, who had to deal with the general and best of the Persian horse, were over-pressed, yet gave no ground, but sent with all speed to the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians for succours. When Aristides was informed of their distress, he immediately sent the chief of such Athenians as were then about him, to their aid; who joining with the others, made such a charge upon the barbarians,

* At the isthmus.

that they soon freed the Megarensians from their dangers, killing the general of the Persian horse, with many others, and put the rest to flight.

This happy success at the beginning of the war, filled the Grecians with hope of absolute victory in the conclusion. Afterwards they removed their camp out of the plain, next under the foot of the mountain, into another place more convenient for obtaining a perfect victory. For on their right hand was a high hill, and on their left the river Asopus, for their defence. Between these two they encamped, thus guarded by a natural fortification. The straitness of the place thus chosen by the Grecians, was of great advantage, and did much conduce to the victory: for the Persians could not enlarge their front as otherwise they might, by reason whereof so many thousands of the barbarians became useless and unprofitable. The generals Pausanias and Aristides having now so fair an opportunity, drew out their forces, and advanced in battalia, as the ground would permit.

Mardonius, on the other hand, being forced to march up in a close body, drew up his men to the best advantage he could devise, and with a great shout meets the Grecians, and with the choicest of his men, who were his life-guard, makes the first charge upon the Lacedæmonians, who were placed in front to receive him. He fought with a high resolution, and made great slaughter amongst the Greeks; but the Lacedæmonians stoutly stood their ground, contemning all danger, and they destroyed likewise multitudes of the barbarians, who (as long as Mardonius was at the head of the army) received the attack with great courage; but as soon as he fell, (valiantly behaving himself), and that they discerned the choicest of the army with him were all either killed or wounded, their hearts failed, and they betook themselves to flight, and were as hotly pursued by the Grecians; however, the most of them got within the timber wall. The rest (being Grecians that sided with Mardonius) fled to, and sheltered themselves within the walls of Thebes. The remainder of the army, to the number of forty thousand and upwards, fled another way, with Artabazus, a man of great account amongst the Persians, who came with them back by a shorter cut into Phocis.

The dispersion of the Persians caused the forces of the Grecians likewise to be scattered, and divided into several parties: for the Athenians, Platæans, and Thespians, fiercely pursued those that fled to Thebes. The Corinthians, Sicyonians and Phliasians, and some few others, followed close upon the back of those that fled with Artabazus. The Lacedæmonians with the rest of the army, besieged and assaulted those that were forced within the wall. The Thebans receiving those

that fled, issued forth, and joined with them against the Athenians their pursuers; upon which there was a fierce and bloody fight before the city walls, the Thebans bravely standing to it, so that many were killed on both sides, but at length the Athenian courage drove the Thebans back into the city.

Then the Athenians marched back to the Lacedæmonian camp, and joined with them in assaulting the Persians within the walls; where the fight was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides, the barbarians on the one hand, within a place of strength defending themselves with great courage, and the Grecians on the other, with all their might, endeavouring to force the wall, the fight was pursued without regard or fear of death; so that many were wounded, and great numbers, with showers of darts were there slain. But neither the wall, though strongly fortified, nor the number of the barbarians, could withstand the fierce assault of the Grecians, but whatever was in their way, they bore down all before them. The Grecian generals, the Lacedæmonians, and Athenians, out of emulation and desire of glory, strove to exceed each other, encouraged both by their former victories, and urged forward by their own natural valour. At length the Persian camp was entered and taken by storm, and though the barbarians cried for quarter, yet they found no mercy. For Pausanias considered the great number of the enemy, insomuch as he was afraid lest through their number, (which far exceeded the Grecians) some unexpected and sudden mischief should happen, and therefore commanded that they should take no prisoners. Whereupon an incredible slaughter was made in a short time, and was scarce ended, when more than an hundred thousand were already put to the sword.

When the battle was ended, the Grecians applied themselves to the burying of their dead, which were above ten thousand. Then they divided the spoil amongst the soldiers, and appointed judgment to be given concerning every thing that was done with more than ordinary valour and courage in that war. By the decree of Charitides, amongst the cities, the greatest honour was attributed to Sparta, and amongst the men, to Pausanias.

In the mean time Artabazus with swift marches passed through Phocis into Macedonia, with those forty thousand Persians that fled with him, and brought them all over safe into Asia. The Grecians dedicated a tenth of the spoils, and made thereof a tripod of gold, and placed it in the temple of Delphos, and engraved upon it this elegy—

The stout defenders of great Greece this gave,
From bondage when its cities they did save.

And another was engraven by the common consent of all, to the honour of those Lacedæmonians who died at Thermopylæ, in these words—

Of Pelops country once four thousand brave
Men, to two millions base repulse once gave.

And another by a private hand thus—

Good stranger tell the Spartans here we lie,
Stoutly their laws while we maintaining die.

After the same manner did the people of Athens adorn the sepulchres of those that fell in the Persian war; and then were first instituted the funeral games, and a law was then made, that the valorous exploits of those that were buried at the public charge of the city, should be thenceforth set out by the best of their orators.

Afterwards Pausanias the general, causing all his army to return to their several colours, marched against the Thebans, and required the first authors of the defection to the Persians, to be delivered up to justice. The Thebans being discouraged both with the multitude and valour of their enemies, the chief authors of the confederacy with the Persians yielded themselves up to mercy, and were all put to the sword by Pausanias.

CHAP. IV.

Of the fight with the Persians by the Grecians in Ionia at Mycale.

THE same day that the battle was fought at Platæa, there was another great fight with the Persians in Ionia, which I shall relate from the beginning.

Leotychides the Lacedæmonian, and Xantippus the Athenian, admirals of the navy, after the battle at Salamis, came with their fleet to Ægina, where staying some few days, they sailed thence to Delos, with two hundred and fifty gallies. While they staid there, ambassadors came to them from Samos, entreating that they would be assistant to the inhabitants of Asia, to regain their liberty.

Leotychides hereupon calling a council of war, it was there determined to assist them; and to that end, with all speed, they departed

from Delos. The officers of the Persian fleet being then in Samos, and hearing of the expedition the Grecians intended against them, departed from Samos with their whole fleet, and came to Mycale in Ionia, and judging themselves not strong enough to encounter the Grecians, they hauled all their ships on shore, and encompassed them both with a wall and a deep trench. And in the mean time they sent with all speed for land forces from Sardis, and other neighbouring places, so that a hundred thousand men were presently mustered together, and they procured all other things necessary for the war, as far as was possible, being jealous that the Ionians were ready to revolt.

Leotychides with his whole fleet well provided, sailed with a straight course against the barbarians at Mycale, and sent before him a ship, with an herald or crier in it, one of greater voice than any of the rest of his army, and gave him in charge, that when he approached the enemy, he should proclaim with a loud voice—That the Grecians who had routed the Persians at Platæa were now at hand, resolved to restore the Greek cities in Asia to their liberty; which was done by those with Leotychides, because they conceived that upon the news, the Grecians in the army of the Persians would revolt, and great tumult and disorder would be made amongst them; which happened accordingly.

As soon as the crier came up to the Persian fleet, and had executed his commands, the Persians grew jealous of the Grecians, and the Grecians began to consult together of a revolt. The officers of the Grecian fleet having well debated and considered all things relating to the present affair, landed their forces. The next day, when all things were ready for the onset, a rumour was on a sudden spread in the army, that the Grecians had overcome the Persians at Platæa. Upon which, Leotychides and his colleagues drew up the army in a body, encouraging them to fight, making use of several arguments to that purpose, and withal singing among them songs of the victory at Platæa, thereby the more to stir up and inflame their spirits to the present encounter. But the circumstances of affairs were then very remarkable; for it is certain that both armies fought on one and the same day; the one at Mycale, and the other at Platæa. Therefore since Leotychides could not then know any thing of the victory at Platæa, we may conclude that this report was a stratagem invented by him on purpose; especially when we consider, that from the great distance of places, the news could not possibly arrive in so short a time. But the Persians now no longer confiding in the Grecians, took away their arms, and delivered them to their confederates, and

encouraged their soldiers, telling them that Xerxes was at hand with a great army for their assistance, whereby they raised up their spirits.

Both armies being now drawn up in battalia, and advancing one towards the other, when the Persians saw the inconsiderable number of the Grecians, they despised them, and forthwith charged upon them with a great shout. In the mean time the Samians and Milesians determined to assist the Grecians, with all the strength they could make, and to that end with a swift march made towards the enemy. And the Ionians conceived that when they came in sight of the Grecians, they would be thereby more encouraged, which fell out otherwise; for those with Leotychides being seized with a panic fear, upon the apprehension and suspicion that Xerxes was at hand with all his forces from Sardis, there was nothing but confusion and distraction, through various surmises and opinions amongst them. Some were for retiring forthwith to their ships, others were for standing their ground, and fighting valiantly to the last man. Whilst they were in this terror, disorder, and confusion, the Persian army advanced in order of battle, and in a terrible manner with great shouts fell in upon the Grecians, who were forced to receive the charge, having now no time left for further consultations. The battle being now joined, great courage and resolution was shewn on all sides, and for a long time the fortune of the day was doubtful, and many fell on both sides. But as soon as the Samian and Milesian armies appeared, the courage of the Grecians was revived, and the Persians so flagged and failed that they forthwith fled, and were pursued with a very great slaughter; for the soldiers of Leotychides and Xantippus followed them close at their heels, to their very tents. In the mean time the Æolians, and many other of the inhabitants of Asia, came in to the assistance of the Grecians, though then almost conquerors: for a general and ardent desire of liberty possessed all the Asian cities, and therefore many neither regarded leagues made, or hostages given, but together with the other Grecians, with the same rage hewed down and slew the flying Persians. And thus the Persians were routed and dispersed, with the slaughter of forty thousand men; of the rest some of them escaped to their camp, and others fled to Sardis.

Xerxes being informed both of the slaughter of his men at Platæa, and of the routing of his army at Mycale, leaving part of his forces to carry on the war, in a great fright fled with the rest to Ecbatana.

When all was over, Leotychides and Xantippus sailed back to Samos, and then received the Ionians and Æolians as their confederates in the war: and some time after used many persuasive arguments to them, to leave Asia, and come over into Europe, promising

them to bestow upon them the estates of all those that had confederated themselves with the Persians. For if they continued in Asia, they would be in continual alarms by enemies that far excelled them in strength, and that were near to them; and that their friends, by reason of the distance by sea, could not be assistant to them so opportunely, and at such seasons as their necessity might require. Upon which promises the Ionians and Æolians were persuaded, and in observance of the desires of the Grecians, prepared themselves to take shipping for Europe. But the Athenians afterwards changing their minds, now persuaded them to remain where they were, and faithfully promised that though none of the rest of Greece should assist them, yet that they would from time to time send them aid, as being they who were only obliged so to do, by reason of their kindred and relation to them. For the Athenians were jealous that if the Ionians settled in new habitations, by the common concurrence of the Grecians, they would not for the future own Athens as their Metropolitan city, and place of their origin. Whereupon the Ionians upon second thoughts determined not to remove out of Asia.

Things thus accomplished, the Grecian army divided: the Lacedæmonians sailed back into Laconia; the Athenians, with the Ionians and islanders, made for Sestos, which Xantippus the general took at the first assault; and after he had put a garrison into it, and discharged his confederates, he returned with his citizens to Athens. And this was the event and issue of the Medean war, as it was called, after it had continued for the space of two years.

Herodotus the historian began his history with some things before the war of Troy, and relates in nine books, whatever happened of moment almost in all parts of the world; and concludes his history with the fight at Mycale, and the siege and taking of Sestos. During these transactions, the Romans had great wars, and shed much blood amongst the Volscians. Spurius Cassius, the year before consul, being convicted of treason, for aspiring to the supreme government, was put to death. And these were the things done this year.

CHAP. V.

Death and commendation of Gelon king of Syracuse; and rebuilding of Athens by the policy of Themistocles.

TIMOSTHENES being archon or chief magistrate at Athens, and Cæsio Fabius, and Lucius Æmilius Mamercus Roman consuls, there was a settled peace throughout all Sicily; for the strength of the Carthaginians was utterly broken, and Gelon governed the Sicilians with that justice and equity, that the laws flourished in every city, and plenty every where abounded. The Syracusans making a law against extravagant pomp of funerals, and not only taking away those usual vast expenses upon the dead, but forbidding all manner of curiosity upon that account; Gelon willing in all things to confirm what the people agreed upon, confirmed this new law by his own example; for falling sick, and lying upon his death bed, he gave up the kingdom to Hiero, his eldest brother, and commanded that the law should be strictly kept in reference to his funeral. After his death his successor, in burying of him, observed his commands. His body was laid in his wife's inheritance, within the nine towers, as they were called, places of great and sumptuous workmanship.

The whole city accompanied the body to the place, which was about two hundred stages* distant; and the citizens erected a stately monument over him, and commanded he should for ever after be honoured with the honours due to the antient heroes.

This monument was in after times destroyed by the Carthaginians in their war against the Syracusans: and the places called the nine towers, through envy, were demolished by Agathocles. But yet neither the hatred of the Carthaginians, nor the envy of Agathocles, nor the force nor fraud of any other person, was able to eclipse the glory of Gelon: for history has justly preserved his fame, and will for ever hand it down to posterity. For as it is just, and tending much to correct the irregularities of human conversation, to fix a brand and mark of disgrace upon those that have used their power wickedly and mischievously, so on the other hand, it is as just to perpetuate the memory of those who have ruled justly and honourably to the good of others. For this will be an inducement to men to behave themselves so as to merit commendation from those that come after them. Gelon reigned only six years: Hiero, his brother and heir, eleven years and eight months.

* Twenty-five miles.

After the victory at Platæa, the Athenians brought back their wives and children from Trœzene and Salamis to Athens, and forthwith set upon the repairing of their walls, and spared neither cost nor pains in that nor in any other thing necessary for their defence.

But the Lacedæmonians considering that the Athenians had much advanced their reputation by their strength at sea, fearing lest they should grow too strong, determined to forbid the building of their walls, and therefore sent ambassadors with all speed to Athens, to let them know, that it was not for the common good and interest of Greece that Athens should be walled; for if Xerxes should make a second invasion upon them, with fresh and greater forces, if he should gain cities out of Peloponnesus ready walled, he might from thence, as out of forts and castles, make sudden incursions upon them, and thereby with ease subdue the Grecians. But when the ambassadors were not much regarded, they imperiously commanded the carpenters and smiths to cease from the work. Whereupon the Athenians not knowing what to resolve upon, Themistocles (who was then in great favour and authority) advised them, that they should not at present make any noise or stir about the matter; for if they should contend, the Lacedæmonians would easily hinder them in the work, by making an inroad upon them with the forces of Peloponnesus. But he intimated to the senate privately, that he, with such others as they should appoint, would go as ambassadors to the Lacedæmonians, and there argue the case with them concerning the fortification of the city. And he gave in charge to the magistrates, that if any ambassadors came from Lacedæmon, they should detain them till his return from thence; and in the mean time they should, with the assistance of the whole city, go on with the work; and that was the very way (he told them) to effect their design.

The Athenians all approved of his advice, and Themistocles with those joined in embassy with him, set out for Sparta. In the mean time the people of Athens set upon the work with might and main, sparing neither house nor sepulchre for materials: women and children, strangers and servants, were all employed, and none permitted to be idle. The work went on beyond expectation, and through the multitude of hands, and diligence of those employed, advanced to admiration; which being noised abroad, the Lacedæmonians were very hot with Themistocles concerning the fortifying of the city. But he denied all, and wished them not rashly to believe every little story spread abroad, but rather to send some faithful messengers, who might bring them a certain account of the truth, how matters went; and for

further assurance, he delivered up himself and his associates as hostages to the Spartans.

The Lacedæmonians at present pacified and persuaded by what Themistocles had said, took him and his associates into custody, and forthwith sent some of the chief of the citizens to Athens, to make strict inquiry and observation how affairs were. In the mean time, the Athenians in a short space advanced their walls to their just height. The Spartan ambassadors, as soon as they entered into Athens, being very turbulent, and sharply threatening the Athenians for what they had done, they committed them all to prison, declaring they should not be set at liberty, till Themistocles and the rest of their ambassadors were sent home. By this trick the Lacedæmonians being deluded, were forced to redeem their own ambassadors by the discharge of the Athenians. And this policy of Themistocles in procuring the walling of the city, both with effectual speed and safety, purchased the great love and honour of the citizens.

Whilst these things were acting in Greece, the Romans made war upon the Tuscans, and got a great victory, with the slaughter of many of their enemies, and afterwards took Tusculum by storm, and reduced the city of the Esculaneans.

CHAP. VI.

The enlarging of the haven at Athens by Themistocles. The treason of Pausanias, and the justice of Aristides.

AT the end of the year, Adimantus was chosen archon of Athens, and Fabius Vibulanus and L. Valerius were consuls of Rome. At this time Themistocles, for his excellent government and ingenuity in state policy, was in great esteem, not only at Athens, but over all Greece. Being hereby encouraged, he made it his business, by further and greater services, to enlarge the bounds and sovereignty of his country: for considering that there was no haven at the Piræus, and the Athenians were forced to make use of Phaleron for their port, which was strait and incommodious, he contrived to turn that into a harbour, which would require the least charge, and yet would be the most beautiful and spacious haven in all Greece, which being accomplished, he hoped would conduce to making the Athenians masters

of the seas; who then had a great fleet, and were famous for their many victories at sea.

By this means he hoped the Ionians (being descended from the same ancestors) would be brought over to them, and so by their assistance he should be able to restore all the Grecians in Asia to their liberty, and thereby for ever oblige them to be friends to the Athenians.

Moreover, he concluded that the islanders, moved with the strength of the Athenians at sea, would presently join with them, who were judged persons that might be of great advantage or prejudice to them. And he very well understood that the Lacedæmonians were very considerable at land, but understood little of sea affairs; but yet he kept all private to himself, being assured that the Lacedæmonians would never suffer it to be done.

Therefore, in a public assembly, he told the citizens that he had found out something of very great moment and advantage to the commonwealth; but that it was not at present expedient to make it public, being of that nature that the fewer who were acquainted the better; and therefore wished the people to choose two whom they could best trust, to whom he might discover the whole design.

The people hereupon chose two, Aristides and Xantippus, not only because they were men of integrity and honest principles, but that they emulated Themistocles, and secretly envied him for the glory and reputation he had amongst the people. When they had privately heard what he had designed, and his reasons, they made report unto the assembly, that what Themistocles had contrived was not only great, but of extraordinary advantage to the commonwealth, and with ease to be effected. The people were presently taken with great admiration of the man, and yet as soon struck with a suspicion, lest by these inventions and great designs, he aimed at the sovereignty: therefore they commanded he should forthwith discover his purposes. But he told them again and again, that it was not for the public good openly to reveal them.

The people now more admiring the courage and constancy of the man, commanded him to reveal the business to the senate privately; and if the senate judged that it was a feasible matter, and of certain advantage to the public, then whatever was necessary for the execution of his design should be granted to him. Upon which, when he had informed the senate of the particulars, and when upon the relation all was judged both easy, and of the highest concern and advantage to the commonwealth, every thing was at length granted to him which he desired, (in order to the effecting of his design), with the approbation and consent of the people.

The assembly then broke up with great admiration of Themistocles, every one expecting what would be the issue of their counsels. And now being furnished with all things necessary, both as to men and money, he contrived how to delude the Lacedæmonians a second time; for he was assured, that as they had opposed the repairing of the walls, so they would with all their power and might obstruct the making of the port.

He sent therefore ambassadors to Sparta, who should let them know how much it tended to the advantage of Greece, in case of future invasions by the Persians, to have in some place or other a commodious haven. By this contrivance giving a check and stop to any hasty opposition from the Lacedæmonians, he forthwith commences upon the work. And all hands being employed in the business, the port was finished in a short time, and beyond all expectation. Then he advised the people that they would add twenty gallies more every year to the fleet they had; and that they would privilege with freedom from every imposition all strangers and artificers, that by those means both the city might become populous, and a store of workmen and tradesmen might be got with little trouble; for he conceived both necessary, not only for the increase, but the support of their power at sea: and thus the Athenians were employed.

The Lacedæmonians now commanded Pausanias who was their general at Platæa, to free the Greek cities from the Persian garrisons which still remained amongst them; whereupon he sailed from Peloponnesus (with fifty gallies, and from Athens with thirty, of which Aristides was admiral) to Cyprus, and there delivered the cities from the garrisons that were fixed amongst them. Thence sailing back to the Hellespont, he took Byzantium, then under the Persian yoke, and freed the city; some of the barbarians being put to the sword, and others taken prisoners; amongst whom, some of the Persians of great quality were taken and delivered to the care and custody of Gongylus of Eretria, under pretence to reserve them for punishment, but in truth to return them safe to Xerxes: for he had contracted a private confederacy with the king, and was to marry the king's daughter for his reward, in undertaking to betray Greece. All these matters were transacted by messengers and interpreters between him and Artabazus, the Persian general, who secretly supplied Pausanias with money, with which he corrupted such Grecians as were for his purpose.

But the treason was discovered, and the author fell under just punishment in this manner: giving himself up to Persian luxury and excess, and carrying it with great insolence and tyranny towards those who were committed to his charge, all highly resented his pride

and haughtiness, especially those that had borne any office and place of magistracy in the commonwealth. The soldiers therefore every where murmuring, and in all their meetings complaining one to another of these things, and of the pride and tyranny of Pausanias, the Peloponnesians at length deserted him, and returned into their own country, and sent messengers to Sparta to accuse him.

But Aristides the Athenian making use of the present occasion in all public meetings and assemblies, stirred up the cities, and by fair and smooth words so far wrought, as to prevail with them to put themselves under the protection of the Athenians. And that which helped forward the matter to the advantage of the Athenians was this that follows. Pausanias had agreed with Artabazus, that he should not suffer any to return that brought him letters from himself, lest their intrigues should be discovered: whereupon all such messengers were killed to prevent their return; which being taken notice of, and suspected by one employed in that affair*, he opened the letters delivered to him, and by the contents being now confirmed in his former opinion of the destruction of the other letter-carriers, he delivered the letters to the Ephori; who not being fully satisfied of the truth by those letters which were very dark; but insisting upon further and clearer evidence, the messenger told them he would find out a way how they might convict him of his treason, by testimony out of his own mouth.

Whereupon the messenger forthwith went to Tenarus, to pay his devotion in the temple of Neptune, where he wrought a double tent†, one within another, in one of which were concealed some of the Ephori and other Spartans. Pausanias hastens thither, and inquires of him, what was the ground and cause of his earnestness in his addresses; who complained, that he by his letters had determined his death, notwithstanding his innocence. Upon which Pausanias declared he was very sorry for what he had done, and begged his pardon, and entreated him to conceal the matter, and promised he would bountifully reward him: and so they parted.

But the Ephori and those with them took little notice at that time of the business; but a while after, the Lacedæmonians, with the authority of the Ephori, consulted together to seize him, and bring him to his trial; which he foreseeing, fled to the temple of Minerva Chalcidica.

The Lacedæmonians being doubtful, whether it were lawful for

* One Argilius, his Catamite. Cornel. Nep.

† A room with a partition built in some part of the ground belonging to the temple; for the Greek word is *Hiero*, which is the temple, or any of the consecrated ground. The word *Temenos* is properly the temple itself.

them to force him out of the temple, it is said his mother went thither, and placed a tile she brought with her before the gate of the temple, and without doing or saying any other thing, returned to her own house; which when the Lacedæmonians understood, (according to the mother's sentence), they built up the gate of the temple, and by this means he was famished to death. His body indeed was delivered to his friends to be buried; but the deity was highly incensed for the violation of the sanctuary, for when the Spartans went to inquire at the oracle of Delphos, concerning some other matters, they were commanded to restore the suppliant to the goddess: which command being impossible for them to observe, there were many and great consultations among them what was best to be done. At length they came to this resolution, to set up and dedicate two brazen statues of Pausanias in the temple of Minerva, which was done accordingly.

And now, according to our usual manner through the whole course of our history, as we have used to advance the just praises of them that were virtuous and deserving, and on the other hand, to perpetuate the dishonourable actions (after their deaths) of such as acted wickedly, so we shall not allow the detestable malice and treason of Pausanias to pass without censure. For who could not but wonder at the madness of this man? who, after his victory at Platæa, and by other noble actions, being grown so deservedly famous and popular among the Grecians, did not only neglect to preserve what honour and authority he had gained, but in a sordid manner, (thirsting after the riches and effeminate delights of the Persians), wickedly stained all his former glory by treason. Grown proud by success, he grew weary of the plain Laconian way of living, and gave himself up to the luxury, voluptuousness, and softness of the Persians, whom it less became of all other men to imitate. For he knew (not by the relation of others, but by his own experience) how much the severe discipline of his own country exceeded the soft manners of the other, as to the advancement of virtue and courage: and therefore his treason not only brought upon himself just punishment, but likewise was the occasion that all his fellow citizens were deprived of the admiralty at sea.

For the great care and integrity of Aristides in the management of martial affairs being taken notice of, as likewise his courtesy and moderation towards all that were under his command, (and that managed with an apparent demonstration of all manner of virtuous qualities), all with one consent chose to subject themselves to the Athenians. The captains and officers therefore, sent from Sparta, no longer regarding Pausanias, but all admiring Aristides, submitted

in every thing to him, by which means he got the sovereignty of the sea without blows.

Aristides therefore forthwith propounds to his confederates—That it might be decreed by the general consent of the people in their public assemblies, that from thenceforth a common fund or treasury should be appointed at Delos, where all the money collected for public service should be kept. In pursuance of which counsel, for the better managing of the war against the Persians, (wherewith they were then threatened), all the cities were commanded to contribute according to their several abilities; which was so liberally done, that the sum amounted to no less than five hundred and sixty talents; which he so equally and justly disposed of, (being made lord treasurer), that he gained the entire consent and approbation of all the cities to whatsoever he thought fit to be done.

And now having accomplished that, which above all other things seemed to be most difficult, for his justice and integrity he got the name of Aristides the just. And so the very same time that Pausanias by his wickedness deprived his citizens of the chief command at sea, Aristides by his virtue gained for the Athenians that sovereignty which they never had before. And these were the actions of this year.

CHAP. VII.

Hiero king of Sicily prepares to besiege Agrigentum; discovers the treason of them of Himera to Theron their prince. Expels the Cataneans and Naxians.

WHEN Phedon was archon of Athens, the seventy-sixth olympiad was performed, in which Scamander of Mitylene was victor; the consuls of Rome were Cæsio Fabius and Spur. Furius Medullinus. About this time died Leotychides king of Sparta, in the twenty-second year of his reign, to whom succeeded Archilaus, who reigned forty-two years. At the same time died Anaxilaus king of Rhegium and Zancle, after he had governed eighteen years, and Micythus (a faithful trustee) was admitted into the government, upon condition that he should restore all to the children of the deceased king when they came of age.

Hiero king of Syracuse, after the death of Gelon, had a jealous eye towards his brother Polyzelus, because of his great interest and esteem

among the people; and therefore contrived how to take him out of the way; to which end, he employs all mercenaries and strangers about him for his guard, judging that to be the surest way for the keeping possession of the kingdom.

And when the Sybarites* were besieged by the Crotonites†, and desired assistance from him, he raised a great army, and committed the charge of the war to Polyzelus, with the purpose that he might fall in the battle. But Polyzelus suspecting the design, refused the command; at which the king fell into a great rage against his brother, who fled to Theron king of Agrigentum; whereupon Hiero speedily made all preparations to besiege them both.

In the mean time Thrasideus the son of Theron being governor of Himera, by his harsh and severe government quite lost the hearts of the people. But they not daring to complain to his father, (not looking upon him as an impartial judge), sent ambassadors to Hiero, with great accusations against Thrasideus, and offered both to deliver up their city, and to assist him against Theron. But Hiero (judging it better for his purpose to deal with Theron in a calm and peaceable manner) secretly betrays the Himerians and their plots against him. All things being made apparent and plain, Theron is not only reconciled to Hiero, but likewise restores Polyzelus to his brother's former love and favour, and puts to death many of the traitors of Himera.

About the same time Hiero expelled the Cataneans and Naxians from their own country, and planted the cities with new colonies of five thousand men out of Peloponnesus, and as many from Syracuse, and called Catana, Ætna; and distributed not only the country of Catana, but many large tracts adjoining, by lot amongst the citizens, which were ten thousand. And this he did both to have succours at hand upon any pressing occasion, and likewise that he might be honoured after his death as the founder of so great a city, wherein were contained ten thousand inhabitants. The Cataneans and Naxians he transplanted into the city of the Leontines, commanding them to abide there in common freedom with the rest of the inhabitants.

Theron in like manner considering how Himera was in a great measure depopulated, planted the Dorians there, and ordered that whosoever would, should be enrolled citizens of that place. These governed the commonwealth with great commendation for the space of fifty-eight years: not long after which time, the Carthaginians razed the city to the ground, which hath continued ruined and in its rubbish to this day.

* A people of Sybaris in Greece. † A people of Crotona in Italy.

CHAP. VIII.

The Lacedæmonians quarrel with the Athenians for the dominion of the sea.

WHEN Dromoclides was archon of Athens, and Marcus Fabius and Cneius Manlius consuls of Rome, the Lacedæmonians were highly concerned for their loss of the sovereignty of the sea, and therefore being greatly exasperated against the Grecians, who had deserted them, they breathed out revenge, with just indignation against them. A general council therefore being called, they advised together concerning war to be proclaimed against the Athenians, in order to the recovery of their dominion at sea: and in several other assemblies of the people, most of them (especially the young men) were very hot and eager for the war, vaunting every where how rich they should be if they succeeded in their design, and how all would be encouraged in the service of their country, when every private family hath had such advantages and occasions to enrich and advance themselves.

And they called to mind an old prophecy from the oracle, which bid them beware of having but half an empire, which could signify nothing else (as they alledged) but the present circumstances they were in. For being there were two sovereignties, the one at land, and the other at sea, if they lost the one, they must needs be masters but of a lame government.

The whole city almost being of the opinion for a war, the matter was again referred to the senate, supposing none would dare to contradict the general sense of the citizens. But one of the senators, of the family of Hercules, called Hetæmaridas, (a man of great esteem among the citizens for his virtue), advised quite otherwise, and declared his opinion that they should suffer the Athenians quietly to enjoy the dominion of the sea, for that it was not the custom of the commonwealth of Sparta, to contend about that sovereignty. And urging many reasons for the confirmation of his opinion (which was not at first very grateful) he at length prevailed both with the senate and people to wave the war. And so it was concluded, according to his advice, as most advantageous to desist.

The Athenians at the first were in great fear of a bloody war with the Spartans about this command at sea, and therefore they built many gallies for that purpose, and provided a great mass of treasure, and sought to gain all their neighbours and confederates with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and courtesy imaginable. But

hearing of what was resolved and determined by the Lacedæmonians, all fear of war being now vanished, they wholly bent their minds to advance the power and greatness of their city.

CHAP. IX.

Hiero breaks the power of the Etruscans by sea.

WHEN Acestoridas was archon of Athens, and Cæsio Fabius and T. Virginius consuls of Rome, at that time Hiero king of Syracuse (at the request of the citizens of Cuma in Italy, by their ambassadors, who were greatly annoyed by the Etruscans) sent a considerable fleet to their assistance, who joining battle with the Etruscans of Tyrrhenia, in a sea-fight sunk several of their ships, and obtained a complete victory, and so the power of the Etruscans being broken, they returned to Syracuse.

CHAP. X.

The war between the Tarentines and the Japygians.

MENON being archon of Athens, and L. Æmilius Mamercus and C. Cornelius Lentulus consuls of Rome, a war broke out between the Tarentines and the Japyges, concerning the limits of their lands. At the first there were but little skirmishes, and taking booties one from another: but the enmity increasing by degrees, and in the mean time slaughters being committed far and near on both sides, at length it broke out into open war. The Japyges (of their citizens and confederates) bring into the field above twenty thousand men. The Tarentines understanding the great preparation made against them, both with their own citizens and confederates of Rhegium, likewise take the field. A bloody battle was fought, and after many killed on both sides, at length the Japyges became absolute victors; and in the pursuit, the Tarentines were scattered, and broken into two parties, whereof one fled back towards Tarentum, the other was furiously

driven towards Rhegium. The Japyges likewise divided themselves into two parties, one of which pursued close upon the back of the Tarentines; and in regard the distance of place was but very small, there was a very great slaughter made. The other party so hotly pursued them of Rhegium, that they fell in pell-mell with them into the city, and so took and possessed it.

CHAP. XI.

The death of Theron prince of Agrigentum, and the tyranny of his son Thrasideus, who abdicated the government, and killed himself. Three hundred of the family of the Fabii slain at one time.

THE next year Chares was archon at Athens, and at Rome, Titus Memius and Caius Horatius were consuls. Then were celebrated the Olympian games at Elis, being the seventy seventh olympiad, in which Dancles of Argos was victor. About this time Theron king of Agrigentum died, in the sixteenth year of his reign, and Thrasideus his son succeeded.

Theron governed with great moderation and justice, and therefore was greatly loved and honoured by his subjects; and at his death was reverenced as a divine hero; but his son, even in his father's life-time, appeared to be of a violent and bloody disposition.

And after his father's death, throwing aside all restraint of the laws, he ruled arbitrarily and tyrannically; for which reason his subjects combined against him, as one not fit to be intrusted with the government, and perfectly hated by all. And therefore within a little time after he came to an end suitable to his deserts.

For after the death of his father, he raised a great army of mercenaries, and of his own subjects of Agrigentum and Himera, to the number of above twenty thousand horse and foot, and with these went against the Syracusans. But Hiero, furnished with a considerable army, wasted the borders of Agrigentum, and afterwards joined battle with the enemy, in which most of the Grecians on both sides being drawn up one against another, were slain: but the Syracusans got the day, with the loss of two thousand men; on the other side were killed above four thousand.

Thrasideus by this ill-success, perplexed in his mind, abdicated

his government, and fled to the Megarensians called Miseans, and being there condemned to die, slew himself. The Agrigentines, after they had restored and settled their democratical government, sent an ambassador to Hiero, to treat for peace. At the same time in Italy, the Romans had war with the Veientes, and in a great battle at Cremera were routed; and amongst others, three hundred of the Fabii, all of one family, were every man slain: and these were the affairs and events of this year.

CHAP. XII.

The malice of the Lacedæmonians against Themistocles, and his banishment. His praise.

THE next year Praxiergus being archon of Athens, and Aulus Virgilius Tricostus and C. Servilius Roman consuls, the Eleans, who before lived dispersed in several little villages, now embodied themselves into one city, called Elis. The Lacedæmonians observing how Sparta was contemned and evil spoken of by reason of the treachery of Pausanias, and how the name of Athens grew famous for their loyalty and faithfulness one to another, endeavoured all they could to stain the Athenians with the same blot of ignominy. And therefore as Themistocles was a man of great repute and esteem amongst the Athenians, they accused him of treason, and said he consulted with Pausanias how to betray Greece to Xerxes. And the more to provoke the enemies of Themistocles, and to stir them up to accuse him, they made use both of bribes, and false insinuations, affirming that Pausanias discovered his treasonable design of betraying Greece to Themistocles, and solicited him to join with him both in counsel and aid other ways; but though Themistocles would not then agree to do that, yet he did not consider himself obliged to discover his friend. However, (notwithstanding the potency of his adversaries), Themistocles was clearly acquitted, and his name grew more famous amongst the Athenians, for he was greatly beloved by the citizens for the former eminent services he had done the commonwealth. But afterwards, when by reason of his popularity, he became suspected by some, and envied by others, unmindful of his former deserts, they determined both to weaken his authority, and to bring down the height of his spirit. In the first place, therefore, they banished him

the city, by the judgment of ostracism. This law was instituted at Athens, after the tyrants were expelled out of the city by Pisistratus: and the law was thus; every citizen wrote the name of him in a shell, whom they most suspected to be in a capacity (by reason of his power and interest) to overturn the popular government; and he whose name was written in most of the shells, was forthwith banished for the space of five years: and this law was used at Athens, not so much as a punishment for any particular offence, as to humble the spirit of proud and aspiring men, and by their banishment to reduce them to more moderation and submission.

Themistocles thus banished from his country, went to Argos; which when known to the Lacedæmonians, (supposing now they had a fair opportunity to ruin him), they again sent ambassadors to Athens, to accuse him as being in conspiracy with Pausanias in his treason; alledging that those injuries which concerned all Greece in general, should not be determined by the Athenians only, but by a common council of Greece, which was usually, upon such occasions, assembled at Sparta. Themistocles, considering that the Lacedæmonians were resolved to expose the Athenians to shame and contempt, and that they of Athens were as ready to oppose them, in defending their country against the crime objected, he concluded that the matter concerning him would be agreed to be heard in a common and general assembly of the Grecians at Sparta: and he had had experience that the Lacedæmonians were guided more by interest and favour, than by the rules of justice, as by a late experiment was apparent in a judgment they lately gave, in a cause between them of Argos and Athens: for they that were judges in that assembly, were so envious against the Athenians, that though the Athenians provided more ships for the late war than all the Grecians besides, yet they judged them worthy of no more honour than any of the rest of the Greeks: for these reasons he judged it not advisable to trust to that assembly at Sparta; for from his late defence made at Athens, they took occasion to renew their accusation; for in his justification he had confessed he had received letters from Pausanias, to persuade him to join with him in his treason, conceiving this would be a strong argument for the support of his innocence; inasmuch as it might be concluded that Pausanias would never have used such earnest entreaty, unless he had before disallowed of Pausanias's treasonable design.

For these reasons Themistocles fled to Admetus king of the Molossians*, and at his court humbly prayed for protection. The king at the first received him courteously, and promised that he would take care of his safety: but when the Lacedæmonians sent some of

* Of Epirus.

the nobility to him to demand Themistocles, calling him traitor, and the ruin of Greece, and denouncing war against the king by all the Grecians, unless he did deliver him: the king at length moved with their threats, and yet pitying his late suppliant on the one hand, and desiring to avoid the imputation of ignominy, of harbouring a traitor on the other hand, advised Themistocles with all speed to be gone as privately as he could, and furnished him with a great sum of money for his support in his flight. Having received the money, and all other supplies necessary, provided by the king for him, he fled in the night from the Molossians, and finding two young merchants of Liguria, who were well acquainted with the voyage, he fled with them, and by the advantage of the night, and the unwearied care and industry of the two young men, he deceived the Lacedæmonians, and came safe into Asia, where he had a special friend called Lysithedas, a man of great wealth and interest, and with him he abode. This man was in great favour with Xerxes the Persian king, and had nobly entertained his whole army as they passed that way: by which means he became very familiar, and endeared to the king. The man pitying the present condition of Themistocles, endeavoured all he could to prefer him, and promised to do him all the service that was in his power.

But when Themistocles desired him to bring him to the king, he at first refused, alledging that if he did, the king would take off his head, because he had done so much mischief to the Persians. Yet when he found that Themistocles was in earnest, and pressing, he yielded to him, and in a short time procured him a safe conduct into Persia. It was a custom there, that when any of the king's concubines were brought to him, they were carried in a chariot close covered, and it was not lawful for any either to spy or inquire who was so carried. Lysithedas made use of this to effect what he designed, for he procured a chariot sumptuously adorned with flags and streamers, and put Themistocles into it, and with all secrecy brought him safe to the king, who had first promised Lysithedas in private, that none should do him any injury. After he came into the king's presence, and in an elegant and fluent discourse, had satisfied him that he had not been any ways injurious to the Persians, he was fairly discharged and acquitted. And being thus safe by the favour of an enemy, he fell presently into a new and far greater danger, which was thus—

Mandona, the daughter of Darius, that destroyed the Magi, and sister of Xerxes, was of high esteem among the Persians; she lost all her children in the sea fight where the Persians were routed; which she could not bear without great trouble, which moved all to pity her:

she hearing that Themistocles was come to court, in a mourning habit, and with many tears, petitioned the king her brother, that he would kill Themistocles; but not being able to prevail, she solicited the nobility to the same purpose, and at length raised a tumultuous multitude, to demand justice against him; who rushed with great clamours and noise into the palace, crying out for justice against Themistocles. The king told the nobility that he would call a senate, and whatever they ordered should be effected. Themistocles had sufficient time given him to prepare for his trial; within which time he perfectly learnt the Persian language, and so managed and pleaded his own cause before the senate, that he was acquitted both of guilt and punishment.

The king rejoiced at his discharge, and honoured him with many rich gifts; for he gave to him in marriage a virtuous Persian lady, of noble birth, and excellent beauty; and ordered him many servants to wait upon him, and gave him all sorts of drinking vessels, and things for daily use, not only for necessity, but for delight and pleasure. He bestowed likewise upon him, three cities, for his support and maintenance: Magnesia, near the river Meander, (the richest city of Asia for corn), to provide him bread: Myus for meat and victuals, being near the sea, where much fish was caught; and Lampsacus, full of vines, for his drink.

Themistocles, now free from all fear of the Grecians, (by whom he was undeservedly banished after all the good services he had done for them, and richly provided for by them, whom he had afflicted with grievous slaughters), lived in these cities with great plenty of all things. At length he died at Magnesia, where he was buried, and a sumptuous monument there set up for him, which remains to this day.

Some authors say, that Xerxes longed to renew the war against Greece, and required Themistocles to be general of the army; who assented, upon condition that Xerxes would swear that he would not undertake the war without him. Upon which a bull was sacrificed, and at the solemnity the king swore accordingly. Then Themistocles drank off a cup of the bull's blood, and immediately fell down dead.

Thus was Xerxes diverted, and Themistocles (by the manner of his death) left behind him a remarkable evidence of his sincerity in the management of the affairs of his country.

And now we are come to the death of the bravest man among the Grecians, of whom it may be justly doubted whether he fled to the Persians with the stain of any guilt or treachery against his country,

but rather believed that the Athenians and the rest of the Grecians, ungrateful for all the good services he had done, forced him most unjustly into extreme hardships and dangers. For if we impartially and without envy, examine the temper and actions of the man, we cannot but judge him in every respect, to be the bravest and most accomplished person of any we have before mentioned. Therefore it may be justly surprising, that the Athenians should wilfully deprive themselves of so excellent a person: for when Sparta was in greatest power, above all the other cities, and Eurybiades the Spartan was high admiral of the fleet, who but he, by his counsels and management, robbed all the Spartans of their glory? Whom have we ever heard of that, by one action, accomplished that which advanced his honour above all generals, and his city above all Greece, and Greece itself above all the barbarians? What general ever had less advantages, and yet subject to greater and more imminent dangers? Who ever obtained so glorious a victory, opposing the combined strength of all Asia, with the citizens of a poor ruined city? Who ever advanced his country to such a height and extent of power by his honourable actions in time of peace? Who ever so preserved his country in the greatest heat of a devouring war? By one well laid stratagem of pulling down a bridge, he ruined the enemy's land-forces, causing them to divide one half from the other, and by that means making it more easy for the Grecians to destroy the rest. Therefore, if we seriously consider the things done by him, and exactly and particularly examine them, it will evidently appear, that he was most unworthily dealt with by a city which he had by his virtue and valour advanced to the highest pitch of glory; and that that city, which was esteemed and reputed the most just and wise, was to him the most cruel and unjust.

Though this may seem a long digression in the praise of Themistocles, yet we conceived it an inexcusable neglect slightly to pass over his excellent and incomparable virtues.

During these times, Micythus, prince of Rhegium and Zancle, built Teuxuntum in Italy.

CHAP. XIII.

Cimon, the Athenian general, gains many places for the Athenians; routs the Persians by a stratagem at Eurymedon.

DEMOTION or Dromodides being archon at Athens, the Romans chose P. Valerius Publicola and Naulius Rufus consuls.

During the government of Demotion, the Athenians chose Cimon the son of Miltiades to be their general, and with a great army commanded him to pass over into Asia, to aid the confederate cities, and to free them that were as yet garrisoned by the Persians. He came with a fleet to Byzantium, and took the city Eion from the Persians; and forced Scyros, where the Pelasgi and Dolopes inhabited; and appointing one amongst the Athenians to see the repair of it, he divided the country by lot.

From hence (with his mind and thoughts full of great projects) he sailed back to the Piræus, and being furnished with more ships, and sufficient provision, he put to sea again with a navy of two hundred sail.

At length, with the Ionians and other confederates, he got together a fleet of three hundred sail, and made for Caria. And when he came there, all the Grecian cities upon the sea coast immediately revolted from the Persians. The rest (which were filled with the natural inhabitants, and with Persian garrisons) Cimon took by storm. All being thus brought under his power in Caria, Lycia wholly submitted and came under his protection. By those that came in to the Athenians, the fleet was greatly increased. Hereupon the Persians prepared land-forces of their own country, but their seamen were of Phœnicia and Cilicia: Tithraustes, the bastard son of Xerxes, was general of the Persian army.

Cimon having intelligence that the Persian fleet lay at Cyprus, makes straight thither, and joins battle with his two hundred and fifty ships, against three hundred and forty of the Persians. It was fought stoutly and bravely on both sides; at length the victory fell to the Athenians, who (besides many that were sunk and destroyed) took above a hundred ships with their men. The rest flying to Cyprus, the soldiers left their ships and ran ashore, and the empty vessels afterwards came into the hands of the enemy.

Cimon being not yet satisfied with this victory, forthwith sailed away with his whole fleet, with a design to fall upon the land-army of the Persians, who were then encamped at Eurymedon, contriving to

delude them by a stratagem; he filled the ships he had taken with the stoutest of his men, with turbans and other ornaments, attired like the Persians, who, deceived by the make and furniture of the Persian ships, took them for a fresh supply, and received the Athenians as friends.

Cimon, when night came, landed his men, and being taken as a friend, he rushed into the camp of the barbarians, now filled with confusion and terror, his soldiers killing all before them, and amongst the rest, Pheredates, in his tent, the king's nephew on his brother's side, another general of the Persian army. At length the whole army, through the sudden and unexpected assault, were totally routed and put to flight; and such a fear and consternation surprised the Persians, that many of them knew not by whom they were broken; for they could not in the least imagine, that they were assaulted by the Grecians, who had no land army, as they were verily persuaded; but thought that the Pisidians their neighbours, who had been a little before provoked, had risen in arms against them. Supposing, therefore, this impression upon them to be made from the land, they fled to their ships as to their friends; and because the night was very dark, the mistake was the greater, and more mischievous, none knowing for certainty what to do. When the Persians in this confusion were slaughtered on every side, Cimon having before directed his soldiers that as soon as he should lift up a burning torch, they should all repair thither, gave the sign near to the fleet, fearing some disaster might happen by his men being scattered and dispersed in seeking after the pillage of the field; at the sight of the torch they left off pillaging, and all returned to their ships.

The next day they set up a trophy near the place, and sailed back to Cyprus, fraught with two glorious victories, the one at sea, and the other at land. For it was never before known, that such great things both by sea and land were ever done by one and the same army. From this time Cimon, for the great achievements he had bravely and wisely performed, both by his valour and policy, was highly advanced in reputation, not only amongst his fellow-citizens, but all the rest of the Grecians; for he took three hundred and forty ships, twenty thousand prisoners, and a vast sum of money. The Persians, greatly perplexed with this dreadful blow, began building a greater number of ships than they had before; for the great successes of the Athenians after this struck them with fear and terror; and from this time the city increased both in wealth and power, and became famous abroad for the glory of their arms. The Athe-

nians dedicated the tenths of the spoils to their gods, with this epigram—

Since seas from Europe Asia did divide,
And Mars first rag'd with bloody hand,
Among mankind the sun hath not espy'd
So sad a fight from sea or land.
From the Phœnician fleet when strongly man'd
An hundred ships were took, these slew
Thousands of Medes, made Asia sighing stand
Sad, and oppress'd with th' armed crew.

These were the things done this year.

CHAP. XIV.

A great earthquake in Sparta; the war upon them by the Helots and Messenians.

PHÆDON was now archon of Athens, and Lucius Furius Medullinus and Marcus Manlius Vulso, consuls of Rome, when a most sad and unexpected calamity happened to the Spartans; for by an earthquake there, not only the houses were wholly overturned, but above twenty thousand souls buried in the rubbish. The city shook for a long time together, and many by the violent fall of the walls of the houses miserably perished; and the household-goods and riches of all sorts were by this dreadful shock swallowed up.

Thus were they punished as by some angry deity taking vengeance upon their crimes; and were afterwards brought under many other calamities, by the hands of men, upon the accounts following—

The Helots and Messenians, (enraged not long before against the Lacedæmonians), bridled their anger for a time, whilst they feared the power and grandeur of the city of Sparta. But when they observed that the greatest part of the city and inhabitants were destroyed by the late earthquake, (setting light by them that were left), they entered into a league, and with joint force made war upon the Spartans. But Archidamus, king of Sparta, by his prudence, had preserved many of the citizens from the late ruin, and with these resolutely goes forth against the enemy. For while the city was in the height of this terrible convulsion, Archidamus suddenly headed his army, and hastened into the open field, and commanded the rest to

follow him; by which means this remnant was preserved. Having marshalled his men, he prepared for battle.

The Helots with the Messenians in their first heat, with great confidence marched against Sparta, supposing there was none to make any defence. But when they understood that Archidamus was ready with the citizens that were left, to defend the city and country, they desisted from their design. Afterwards, from a fort they had in Messenia, they made daily inroads into Laconia.

The Spartans send to the Athenians for aid, who furnished them with supplies: and at length, by their diligence in procuring assistance from the rest of their confederates, they got together an army equal to their enemies: nay, at the beginning of the war, they were far superior: but afterwards they dismissed the Athenians, in truth, suspecting that they favoured the Messenians, but pretending that the forces of the other confederates were sufficient for the present service. The Athenians looking upon it as a slight and an affront, departed grumbling, full of indignation, with their hearts boiling with revenge against the Lacedæmonians; which hatred increased every day more and more: and this was the first cause of the enmity between the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, which afterwards broke out into open hostility, and filled the cities with cruelty and bloodshed, and all Greece with misery and calamity: but we shall write of these things distinctly in their due place.

After this, the Lacedæmonians, with the forces of their confederates, besieged Ithome. In the mean time all the Helots revolted from the Lacedæmonians, and joined with the Messenians. And now, though the war had continued ten years complete, wasting one another with various successes, yet they could not decide the controversy.

CHAP. XV.

The war between the Argives and the Mycenæans.

WHEN Theaginidas was archon of Athens, and Lucius Æmilius Mamercus and Lucius Vopiscus Julius, consuls of Rome, began the seventy-eighth olympiad, wherein Parmenidas Possidoniates was victor. At that time the war broke out between the Argives and the Mycenæans upon the following occasion. The Mycenæans, by reason of the antient renown and glory of their country, would never

submit to the government of the Argives, as all the rest of the cities in the territory of Argos did, but were still governed by their own laws distinct from them of Argos. They contended likewise with the Argives, concerning the holy rites of the temple of Juno, and to have the sole management of the Nemæan games. Besides, when the Argives made a law, that none should aid the Lacedæmonians at Thermopylæ, unless the Spartans would relinquish and give up part of their country to them of Argos, they of Mycenæ only of all the other cities in the territories of Argos joined with the Lacedæmonians. And lastly, they of Argos were jealous, lest, by the growth of their power, their antient courage should so revive as to contend with them for the sovereignty. For these reasons, they had an evil eye to the Mycenæans, and some time not long before, had a longing desire to ruin their city. And now they thought a fit occasion and opportunity was offered them, to accomplish what they before designed, in regard the Spartans seemed not to be in a condition, by reason of their late calamity, to aid and assist them. To this end they marched against them with a great army both from Argos and their confederates: and having routed them, drove them within the walls, and besieged their city. The Mycenæans made a stout defence for a time, but, wearied out and wasted by famine, (the Lacedæmonians, partly through wars of their own, and partly through the late ruins by the earthquake, unable to assist them, and the help of the other confederates failing), they became a prey to the conquerors. The Argives made all the citizens captives, and consecrated a tenth of the spoil to the god, and laid the city even with the ground. Such was the end of Mycenæ, a city in former times flourishing in all prosperity, that had bred and brought up men famous in their generations, that had been glorious in the world by brave and noble actions, and now lies waste and forsaken unto this day. These were the affairs of this year.

CHAP. XVI.

The death of Hiero.

LYSIATUS being governor or archon of Athens, the Romans chose Lucius Pinarius Mamercinus and Lucius Furius Fusus, their consuls. At this time Hiero, king of Syracuse, invited to him, with

many rich presents, the sons of Anaxilaus, prince of Zancle, now Messana in Sicily, and put them in mind how kind Gelon had been to their father, and advised them, now they were come to men's estate, to call Micythus their tutor to account, and to take the sovereign power and government into their own hands. Being returned to Rhegium, they forthwith demanded an account of Micythus of his administration; who, being a just and honest man, called together all the friends of the two young men, and gave so full and clear an account of his trust, that all then present admired his justice and faithfulness. The youths, now sorry for what they had done, desired him to take upon him again the government, and as their father, to order and dispose of all affairs as he thought fit. But Micythus utterly refused to be any longer concerned; but giving up all, shipped his goods, and sailed forth from Rhegium, with the general love and favour of the people, and made for Greece, where he lived the rest of his time in great repute at Tegea in Arcadia. Hiero died at Catana, a city repeopled by him, and was there buried with great pomp and solemnity, after he had reigned eleven years. He left his kingdom to Thrasybulus his brother, who reigned only one year.

CHAP. XVII.

Thrasybulus king of Syracuse deposed by force of arms for his tyranny.

NOW was Lysanias archon of Athens, and Appius Claudius and Titus Quintus Capitolinus, Roman consuls, during whose governments, Thrasybulus lost the kingdom of Syracuse: concerning whom, inasmuch as it is our purpose particularly and distinctly to write, it is necessary to look a little back, that so things may be more clearly understood from the beginning. Gelon, the son of Dinomenes, a man for valour and military discipline excelling all the rest, by a noble stratagem, (as you have heard), routed the Carthaginians. And using his victory with all moderation towards them he had subdued, and dealing kindly and courteously with all his neighbours, was greatly honoured among the Sicilians; and for the sweetness of his disposition, lived beloved of all in peace and quietness to the end of his days.

Hiero, the eldest of his brothers, succeeded him in the kingdom, but far unlike him in his government. For he was covetous, cruel, and altogether a stranger to the candour and sincerity of his brother, by reason whereof many were inclined to a defection and revolt; but the memory of Gelon's generosity and general kindness to all the Sicilians, restrained them from outward force and violence. But when Hiero was dead, Thrasybulus, his brother, succeeding to the crown, exceeded his predecessor in all vice and wickedness: for being more cruel and bloody in his nature, he slaughtered the citizens against all law and justice; and by false accusations banished many others, and confiscated their estates. At last, hating his people, and the people on the other hand, hating him for the injuries they had suffered, he raised a standing army, to defend himself against the feared revolt of his subjects. And now growing every day more and more into the hatred of his people, abusing some, and taking away the lives of many others; the people, not able longer to endure his cruelties, made a general defection, and rose up in arms, to procure their liberty by the sword, and shake off that yoke of slavery and tyranny they were under. Thrasybulus seeing the whole city of Syracuse in arms against him, first endeavoured to cool them by fair words; but when he saw they were so incensed, that there was no opposing them, he raised forces from Catana, a colony not long before placed there by Hiero; and, by other confederates and mercenaries, he got together an army of fifteen thousand men, and possessed himself of that part of the city called Acradina, and the island which was strongly fortified, from whence he made many sallies and incursions upon the enemy.

The Syracusans at first kept that part of the city called Ithica, and from thence annoyed Thrasybulus: and sent ambassadors to Gela, Agrigentum, Selinus, and Himera, and to the rest of the cities in the heart of Sicily, desiring aid and assistance for the recovering of their liberty. These readily answered their request, and sent them seasonable supplies, some regiments of foot, others troops of horse, others ships furnished with all necessaries for war: thus in a short time, having a considerable force both of a fleet at sea, and an army by land, the Syracusans offered battle to the enemy, both by sea and land. But Thrasybulus being forsaken of his confederates, and having now none to trust to but his mercenaries, betook himself to the Acradina, and the island, and left the rest of the city wholly in the power of the Syracusans. Afterwards he fought with them at sea, and was beaten, losing many of his ships, and fled with those that escaped into the island. Presently after he drew out his men from the Acradina, and joined battle with them in the suburbs of the

city, where he was again routed, with the loss of many of his men, and retreated a second time within his post in the Acradina.

At length being out of all hope of regaining his sovereignty, he sent to the Syracusans, and came to terms of agreement with them, and so departed into Locri. The Syracusans, thus freed from slavery, suffered the mercenaries to march away peaceably. They freed likewise the rest of the cities from such garrisons as were put upon them, and restored to every place the democracy. From thenceforth the Syracusans lived in great peace and prosperity, and enjoyed a popular government for the space of threescore years, till the reign of Dionysius. This Thrasybulus received a well-ordered and constituted kingdom, but basely lost it by his wickedness; and spent the rest of his days at Locri as a private man. Whilst these things were done in Sicily, Rome first created four to be tribunes of the people, Caius Sicinius, Lucius Numitorius, Marcus Duillius, and Spurius Aquilius.

CHAP. XVIII.

The murder of Xerxes by Artabanus.

AT the end of this year, Lysitheus was made chief governor of Athens, and Lucius Valerius Publicola and Titus Æmilius Mamercus, consuls of Rome. In their times Artabanus of Hyrcania, in great esteem with Xerxes, and captain of his guard, contrived to gain the kingdom by the murder of the king. He reveals his design to Mithridates the eunuch, one of the king's chamberlains, (whom he most confided in, as being his near kinsman, and whom he had obliged by many instances of his favour). Mithridates presently complies with him, and brings Artabanus privately in the night into the bedchamber, and being entered, without delay murders the king: and in the heat of the fact runs to the king's sons, two of whom, Darius the eldest, and Artaxerxes, were then at court: Hytaspes, the third, at that time was governor of Bactria. Artabanus, in the dead of the night, hastens to Artaxerxes, and tells him that Darius had murdered his father to come to the crown: and therefore persuades Artaxerxes that he should not slothfully suffer his brother to settle himself on the throne, but revenge his father's death, and take upon himself the sovereignty; for the effecting whereof, he promised to bring in the king's guard to his assistance. Artaxerxes was easily persuaded,

and, with the assistance of the guards, kills his brother. Artabanus seeing his treachery succeed according to his heart's desire, now boasts before all his sons that the time was come for his advancement to the kingdom, and forthwith came to Artaxerxes with his sword drawn, and wounds him. The king not being much hurt, bravely defends himself, and kills Artabanus upon the place. Having thus not only preserved himself, but revenged the murder of his father, he was established in the throne of Persia. This was the end of Xerxes, after he had reigned twenty years. But his successor continued forty-four.

CHAP. XIX.

The war between the Athenians and the Æginians.

THE following year wherein Archimedes was archon of Athens, Aulus Virginius and Titus Numicius, Roman consuls; was the first year of the seventy-ninth olympiad, at which Xenophon the Corinthian won the prize: at this time the Thracians revolted from the Athenians, through the differences arising concerning the mines, but were reduced by force to their obedience. The Æginians likewise rebelled, and being subdued, the Athenians besieged their city, which was grown proud, not only through their great successes and victories at sea, but their riches at land; and having a brave and well-furnished navy, were ever enemies to the Athenians; who therefore entered the island with an army, laid waste the country, and resolved to raze the city of Ægina to the ground: hereupon, now grown great in power, they carried not themselves with that humanity and courtesy towards their confederates as they were used to do, but domineered every where with a proud and high hand. This imperious way of theirs, caused many of their confederates to enter into consultations for a general defection, and some particular places determined it of their own accord, without stopping for, or expecting the results of a general assembly. While these things were acting, the Athenians, (being now every where masters at sea), sent a colony of ten thousand men to Amphipolis, (chosen partly out of the citizens, and partly from among the confederates), and divided the country by lot: for some time they kept down the Thracians that bordered upon them; but when they attempted to proceed farther into the heart of the country, those that entered Thrace were wholly cut off by the Edones.

CHAP. XX.

The Egyptians revolt from the Persians. New troubles in Sicily.

TLEPOLEMUS being governor of Athens, the Roman consuls were Titus Quintius and Quintus Arbilius Structus. Artaxerxes now newly come to the throne of Persia, first put to death all those that had any hand in the murder of his father, and then settled affairs so as he thought most conducing to the interest of the government: for he removed those governors of the provinces whom he most suspected, and placed others in whom he most confided, in their room. He took care to store up all manner of provisions, and to furnish his army with all things necessary; and ruling with all justice and equity, he grew into high esteem among the Persians. In the mean time the Egyptians hearing of the death of Xerxes, and the troubles in Persia occasioned thereby, fell a plotting how to recover their liberty; and to that end on a sudden rose against the Persians, and drove the questors or Persian treasurers out of Egypt.

Then they set up one Inarus to be their king; who first had an army of the natural inhabitants, and afterwards increased his forces by mercenary foreigners. He sent likewise ambassadors to Athens, desiring their aid, with promises, that if they regained their liberty, the whole kingdom should be for their service and advantage as well as his; and he should be ever, and in every thing, grateful to them. The Athenians conceiving it to be much to their advantage, if by what force they could make, they might drain the Persians of their money, and gain likewise the Egyptians to their interest, to be ready to serve them upon all occasions, determined to send to their assistance a navy of three hundred sail; and to that end all hands were at work to make ready a fleet. Artaxerxes receiving the news of the revolt of the Egyptians, resolved to exceed them both in number of men, and provisions of war; and for that purpose forthwith raised soldiers out of all the provinces of the kingdom, rigged out his fleet, and omitted nothing necessary in the present juncture. And thus stood the affairs of Asia and Egypt at this time.

In Sicily, after they had thrown off the kingly government, and restored all the cities to liberty, the whole island greatly flourished; for, having a rich and fertile soil, and peace on every side, they grew very rich in a short time, the land abounding in labourers, cattle, and all other conveniencies, for the comfort and happiness of man's

life, much being now laid up, and nothing expended in wars. But they continued not long thus, but again broke forth into wars and seditions upon the account following—Thrasybulus being deposed, they called a general assembly, to consult upon the manner of a popular government; and there it was unanimously decreed, that a statue should be erected to Jove the Deliverer, as high as a Colossus, and that there should be yearly, upon the day that they were delivered from the tyrant, and regained their liberty, sacrifices offered, and solemn games celebrated; at which solemnities they likewise vowed to sacrifice four hundred and fifty oxen, and therewith to feast all the people; and that all the magistrates (according to the ancient custom) should be chosen out of the chiefest citizens; and that none of the strangers who were made denizens by Gelon, should be admitted to these honours, looking upon them either as unworthy, or fearing lest they, (being always inured to monarchy), should endeavour a change of government, which was no vain conception, as the event after made evident: for Gelon had enfranchised above ten thousand mercenaries, of whom, above seven thousand remained at that time.

These being enraged at being thus excluded, and made incapable or being chosen magistrates, began to plot, and at length joining together, seized upon the Acradina, a part of the city, and the forementioned island, both of which places were strongly walled and fortified.

On the other side, in this confusion, the Syracusans possessed themselves of another part of the city, especially towards the Epipolæ, defending themselves with a wall and strong guards. The seditious were so penned up, that they grew scant in their provisions: and though they were far less in number than the citizens, yet they were much better soldiers; and therefore, whenever they made any sallies, in every skirmish they went off with success. But being so close shut up, they were nearly famished. And this was the state of Sicily at this time.

This year Conon was archon of Athens, and Quintus Fabius Vibulanus and Tiberius Æmilius Mamercus were Roman consuls. At this time Artaxerxes king of Persia, made Archemenes, the son of Darius's great uncle, general of his army intended against Egypt, which consisted of above three hundred thousand horse and foot: with these he marched into Egypt, and encamped near the river Nile, and as soon as he had refreshed his army, prepared for battle. The Egyptian forces were made up of Africans and Egyptians, and waited in expectation of further aid from the Athenians; who at length arrived with a fleet of two hundred sail, and joining with the E-

Egyptians, the battle began with great resolution on both sides. The Persians indeed were far more in number, but the Athenians with great valour and courage breaking in upon that wing of the Persians that was placed against them, and killing and destroying many of them, the rest of the barbarians fled, and in the pursuit, most of the army was cut off, and the rest fled to a place called the White Wall. The Athenians, by whose valour the victory was obtained, followed close after them to the place and besieged it. But Artaxerxes having intelligence of the overthrow of his army, sent some he could most confide in, to the Lacedæmonians, with a great sum of money, to induce the Spartans to make war upon the Athenians, thinking by that means to force them back, for the necessary defence of their own country. But the Lacedæmonians would neither accept of the money, nor hearken to any other proposals of the Persians. Being thus without hopes of aid from the Lacedæmonians, Artaxerxes prepared a new army, and made Artabazus and Megabysus, both very valiant men, generals, and sent them against the Egyptians.

CHAP. XXI.

The Persian expedition into Egypt. Wars in Sicily.

AT Athens Euippas was archon, and Quintus Servilius and Spurius Posthumius Albus, consuls at Rome. At which time Artabazus and Megabyzus, appointed generals for the Egyptian war, marched away for Egypt with above three hundred thousand horse and foot. When they came to Cilicia and Phœnicia, they refreshed the army, and commanded the Cyprians, Phœnicians, and Cilicians, to set forth a fleet, who furnished out three hundred sail fitted both with men, provisions, and all other things convenient and necessary for a sea-fight. In preparations for the war, training of the soldiers, and employing themselves in other acts of military discipline, they spent almost a whole year. The Athenians in the mean time closely besieged the Persians at the White Wall, which was valiantly defended, and not likely to be taken after a year's siege. In Sicily the Syracusans, at war with the before-named revolters, daily assaulted the Acradina with the adjoining island; and though they overcame the rebels at sea, yet they could not drive them out of the city, they were so fortified. But afterwards, when both armies were drawn out into the open field, the

fight being obstinate, many were killed on both sides, but the victory was at length gained by the Syracusans. After the battle, the Syracusans crowned six hundred men who were most active in the fight, and gave to every one a mina* in money, as a reward for his valour. During these combustions, Deucetius, general of the Sicilians, began a war against the inhabitants of Catana, for withholding the lands of the Sicilians, in which the Syracusans likewise engaged against Catana.

The Cataneans had these lands divided to them by lot, when they were first placed a colony there by Hiero the late king. And therefore defended their rights with all the force and power they could. But being overcome in several battles, they were forced at length to leave Catana, and possessed themselves of the city of Etna, formerly called Eunetia; and the antient inhabitants of Catana, after a long time of banishment, returned to their own country and former habitations. After this, all others that were driven out of their own proper cities in the times of Hiero, with the assistance of their neighbours, were forthwith restored, and the usurpers were every where ejected, as the Gelones, Agrigentines, and Himerians. The Rhegians and Zancleans likewise threw off the regal power of the sons of Anaxilas, and asserted the liberty of their country. After this the Gelones seating themselves at Camerinum, again divided the land by lots. At length almost all the cities determining to root up all those they took for their enemies, confederated together, (by virtue of a public edict), against all the foreigners, and restored those that had been banished, to their antient cities; transplanting all the strangers (that had before usurped) to Messana. In this manner all the seditions and tumults throughout the cities of Sicily were appeased, and almost all were freed from the power of foreigners, and reduced to the antient form of a commonwealth, and all the public lands divided by lot to the citizens.

Now Phasiclides was governor of Athens, and the eighteenth olympiad was celebrated, in which Tharillus the Thessalian was victor. And at Rome were chosen Quintus Fabius and Titus Quintius Capitolinus consuls. In Asia, the Persian commanders now in Cilicia had got together a fleet of three hundred sail, well manned, and furnished in every respect for the war, and marched with the land-army through Syria and Phœnicia, and came at length to Memphis, (the fleet sailing all along by the sides of them, near the shore), where they forthwith raised the siege at the White Wall; both the Egyptians and Athenians being amazed at the approach of such an enemy. Hereupon the Persians presently called a council of war, and

* About £3:2:6.

prudently resolved to decline fighting, but rather to endeavour to make an end of the war by some politic stratagem. And to that end knowing that the Athenian fleet lay at anchor at an island called Prosopitis, they diverted the course of the river, which encompassed the island, by deep trenches made in the adjoining continent, and by that means joined the island to the main-land. The Egyptians, as soon as they discerned all the ships stood upon dry land, struck with amazement, forsook the Athenians, and submitted themselves to the Persians. The Athenians thus forsaken, and seeing the fleet made useless, set fire to all the ships, that they might not come into the power of the enemy. And nothing terrified with their present circumstances, they encouraged and advised one another, that they should not do any thing that should be a blemish or disgrace to the courage and valour they had before shewn in former encounters.

Soaring, therefore, above the valour of those that lost their lives at Thermopylæ for the safety of Greece, they resolved to fight. But the commanders of the Persians, Artabazus and Megabysus, seeing the courage of the Athenians, and considering their former losses of so many thousand men, they made peace with them upon this condition—That they should depart out of Egypt without hurt or prejudice. The Athenians thus preserved, (through their own valour), leave Egypt; and, marching through Africa to Cyrene, from thence they all came safe (beyond their hopes) to their own country. During these things, Ephialtes, son of Simonidas, tribune of the people at Athens, stirred up the rabble against the Areopagites, to take away the power from the senate in Mars Hill, and to overturn the antient and laudable laws of the country. But such wicked designs went not unpunished, for he was killed in the night, not known by whom, and so ended his days in dishonour.

CHAP. XXII.

The war between the Epidaurians and the Athenians.

THE former year ended, Philocles governed Athens the next; and at Rome, Aulus Posthumius and Sp. Furius were consuls. In their times was begun the war by the Corinthians and Epidaurians against the Athenians, who, in a sharp battle, overcame the other, and with a great fleet made out against the Halienses, and invaded Peloponnesus, where

they slaughtered and destroyed many of their enemies. The Peloponnesians make head again, and with a great army fight them at Cerryphalia, where the Athenians again rout them. Grown now confident with these successes, and observing the Ægineans, (puffed up with the victories they had obtained), to carry it as enemies towards them, they determined to make war upon them; and in execution thereof, sent forth against them a great fleet: they of Ægina on the other hand, trusting to their skill and former successes at sea, despised the great forces of the Athenians, and with a small navy, and some few other ships lately built, venture a sea-fight, but were beaten, with the loss of seventy of their vessels; so that now they were wholly discouraged and dejected, and therefore were forced to submit themselves to the Athenians. These things were done by Leocrates, the Athenian admiral, in the space of nine months war with the Ægineans. In the mean time, Deucetius, king of Sicily, (very rich, and of a noble family), built Menenum, and divided by lot the adjacent lands amongst the colony brought thither. Then he besieged the famous city Morgantium, and was highly honoured by all his countrymen.

CHAP. XXIII.

The war between the Corinthians and Megareans.

THE next year Bion was archon at Athens, and Publius Servilius Structus and Lucius Æbutius Eliuas, Roman consuls. During their government, broke out the war between the Corinthians and the Megareans about the limits of their country. At the first they made inroads into one another's country, and then proceeded with little skirmishes. At length the difference growing higher and hotter, the Megareans, (suspecting their own weakness), made a league with the Athenians, by which means they balanced their enemies in strength and power. And when the Corinthians sent a considerable army from Peloponnesus against Megara, the Athenians sent aids to the Megareans under Myronides their general, a very valiant man. The armies presently engaged, and great valour and obstinacy was shewed on both sides, insomuch as the success was very doubtful a long time; till at length the Athenians got the day, with the slaughter of multitudes of the enemy. And a few days after, the Athenians

were victors in another battle fought at Cimolia, where they likewise killed many. Within a few days after, a third battle was fought.—— Here something seems to be wanting in the Greek copy.

The Phocians made war against the Dorians, who were originally Lacedæmonians, and inhabited three cities lying under mount Parnassus, Cytineum, Boium, and Erineus. At the first, the Dorians (being overcome) lost their cities to the other. But the Lacedæmonians being of the same blood, afterwards sent them aid under Nicomedes, formerly general of Cleomenes, who led forth an army of fifteen hundred Lacedæmonians, and raised as many more out of Peloponnesus as made up ten thousand; with these he marched to the defence of the Dorians, he being tutor and governor of Pleistonactis their king, who was then a child. Having conquered the Phocians, and recovered the cities, he put an end to the war, upon articles of peace between the two nations.

When the Athenians understood that the Lacedæmonians had made an end of the Phocian war, and were ready to return home, they consulted how to cut them off in their passage by the way. To this end, having resolved upon the attempt, they took to their aid and assistance the Argives and Thessalians, and so making out against them with a fleet of fifty sail, manned with above fourteen thousand soldiers, they stopped the passages through Gerania. The Lacedæmonians hearing of the contrivances of the Athenians, turned out of the way towards Tanagra in Bœotia: but the Athenians marched swiftly after them, and at length the two armies joined battle; and although the Thessalians (in the very heat of the fight) deserted the Athenians and joined with the Spartans; yet they and the Argives stood manfully to it, and after many were killed on both sides, the night put an end to the dispute. After this, there being sent much provision out of Attica to the Athenians, which was understood by the Thessalians, they conceiving this to be a fit opportunity to do some notable service, (having refreshed themselves), in the night marched out to meet the carriages: and being that the guard that attended them never suspected any design, but admitted the Thessalians as friends, the contest grew hot which should get or lose all. For the Thessalians (being at first thus admitted) killed all they met, and, being well prepared, and the others taken unawares, made a great slaughter. The Athenians that were encamped, hearing of what mischief the Thessalians had done, hastened to the relief of their countrymen, and fell with great rage upon the Thessalians, and routed them at the first charge with a great slaughter. In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians came in to the aid of the Thessalians, and both armies being now drawn up in battalia, it came to a general bat-

tle, which was fought with great resolution, and many killed on both sides. The issue and event being doubtful, both the one side and the other suspected the loss of the day; but night coming on, and the victory still remaining doubtful, messengers were despatched one to another, and a truce at length agreed upon for four months.

CHAP. XXIV.

The war between the Athenians and the Bœotians.

THIS year ended, Mnesitheides was chosen archon af Athens, and Lucius Lucretius and Titus Viturius Cicurinus were Roman consuls. In the time of their governments, the Thebans being brought low by reason of their league with Xerxes, endeavoured by all the artifices they could, to regain their former power and sovereignty; for being greatly despised by all the Bœotians who had shaken off their authority, they applied themselves to the Lacedæmonians, to assist them in recovering the government of Bœotia: and for this kindness they promised that they would be at all the charge of the war then begun against them by the Athenians, and that the Spartans should not need to bring any land forces out of Peloponnesus.

The Lacedæmonians judging it to be much to their advantage to gratify the Thebans in their request, conceiving that if they were thus strengthened and supported, they would become a bulwark against the Athenians, especially the Thebans having at that time a great and well disciplined army at Tanagra, they enlarged the bounds and circuit of the city of Thebes, and compelled all the Bœotians to the subjection of the Thebans.

The Athenians, to obviate the designs of the Lacedæmonians, raised a considerable army, and made Myronides the son of Callias, general. Having chosen a competent number of the citizens, he told them the day wherein he intended to march out of the city. When the day came, many of the soldiers (notwithstanding the command given) did not appear; yet with those he had, he made for Bœotia. Some of his friends and officers of the army, persuaded him to stay till the rest of the soldiers came up to them. But Myronides being both a prudent and valiant commander, answered—That it did not become a general to loiter, for it was a shrewd sign, that they who were slow and dilatory in their march towards their enemy, would be cowards

in the fight, and would prefer their own safety before the good of their country. For they (said he) that readily appeared at the day appointed, gave an evident testimony of their valour, that they were resolved not to shrink in the day of battle. Which by the sequel did appear; for he marched against the Thebans with an army far less in number of men, but much excelling in prowess and valour, and by the brave resolution of his soldiers, utterly routed the enemy; which victory was not inferior to any that were ever obtained by the Athenians in former times. For neither that at Marathon, nor that at Platæa against the Persians, nor any other exploit of the Athenians, did exceed this of Myronides against the Thebans: for of the former, some of them were obtained against barbarians, and others by the help of their confederates; but this was gained by the Athenians themselves alone, against the most valiant of the Grecks. For the Bœotians were ever accounted for stoutness and hardiness, not inferior to any in Greece: which in after-times was confirmed; for at Leuctra and Mantinea, the Thebans alone fought both with the Lacedæmonians and their confederates, and purchased to themselves great renown, and became reputed (and that not unworthily) the best commanders of all Greece.

Although this battle was one of the most famous, yet no author has written any thing of the manner or order of it. However, by this glorious victory over the Bœotians, Myronides has equalized his memory with those illustrious generals, Themistocles, Miltiades, and Cimon. Immediately after the fight, he took Tanagra by storm, and demolished it. And overrunning Bœotia, laid waste all before him, and divided the spoil and riches of the country among his soldiers.

The Bœotians, enraged with the wasting and destroying of their country, came together from all parts, and with a great army marched against their enemies. The fight began amongst the vineyards of Bœotia, and both sides being fully resolved, the heat of the battle continued a whole day, but at length with great difficulty the valour of the Athenians prevailed.

Myronides speedily won all the cities of Bœotia, except Thebes. Then he raised his camp, and marched with his army against the Locrians, (called Opuntians), routed them at the first onset, and, upon their submission, took hostages, and then broke into Pharsalia, and with as much ease overcame the Phocians as he did the Locrians, and receiving hostages, marched for Thessaly, and charging them with treason, commanded them to recal those they had banished.

But the Pharsalians refusing to obey, he besieged the city, which (after a long and stout defence) he was not able to take by force, and therefore raised his siege, and returned to Athens; where he was re-

ceived with great acclamations of praise, for the noble acts he had in so short a time accomplished. These were the remarks of this year.

CHAP. XXV.

The Athenians invade the Spartans by Tolmides.

THE eighty-first olympiad was celebrated at Elis, wherein Polymnastus Cyreneus was victor, at the time when Callias was archon of Athens, and Servius Sulpitius and Publius Volumnius Amintinus were Roman Consuls. Then Tolmides, the admiral of the Athenian fleet, out of emulation to the glory of Myronides, made it his business to do something more than ordinary remarkable. And therefore, for as much as none before had ever attempted to invade Laconia, he advised the people of Athens to make an inroad into the country of the Spartans, undertaking, that if he might have but a thousand armed men aboard his ships, he would waste Laconia, and bring an eclipse upon the Spartan glory. Having got the consent of the people, and designing privately to get more men than he at first required, he conceived this project.—All were of opinion that a choice should be made of the strongest, young, and most spirited men in the army. But Tolmides, designing far more than the thousand yielded to him for his intended enterprise, he goes to every one of the ablest men, and tells them each singly, that he intended to chuse him for the war, and that it was far more to their credit and reputation to offer themselves of their own accord, than being chosen to be compelled to the service. When by this means he had persuaded above three thousand to give in their names of their own accord, and discerning the rest to be backward, he then proceeded to the choice of the thousand granted him by the consent of the people. And when all things were ready for the expedition, he set sail with fifty ships and four thousand soldiers, and arriving at Methone in Laconia, took it; but by reason of the speedy succour sent by the Spartans, he was forced to quit the place, and made for Gytheum, a port town of the Lacedæmonians, which he likewise took, and there burnt and destroyed all the shipping and naval provisions, wasting the country round about. Thence he bent his course for Zacynthus in Cephalenia, and possessed himself of that city; and after he had brought all the towns in Cephalenia to a submission, he sailed with the

whole fleet to Naupactus, on the opposite shore, which he gained at the first assault, and there placed a colony of the noblest families of the Messenians, who had been before (upon agreement) dismissed by the Lacedæmonians. For about this time, in a war against the Messenians and the Helots, the Lacedæmonians had reduced most of them to their former subjection. And them of Ithome they discharged upon articles of submission, as is before said: and as for the Helots, those of them that were the authors and ringleaders of the defection they had put to death, and made the rest slaves.

Sosistratus, now pretor of Athens, the Romans chose for their consuls Publius Valerius Publicola and Caius Claudius Rhegillanus. During their government, Tolmides continued in Bœotia. But the Athenians made Pericles the son of Xanthes general of a select number of men, and committed to him fifty ships, and a thousand soldiers, with a command to invade Peloponnesus. Hereupon he wasted a great part of it, and passed into Acarnania, near the island Œniadæ, and there brought all the cities to a submission. So that during this year, the Athenians gained many cities, and became famous for their military discipline, and many glorious successes in their wars.

CHAP. XXVI.

The war in Sicily between the Ægesteans and the Lilybæans. The custom of writing upon an olive-leaf the names of such as were to be banished in Sicily, called Petalism.

IN this year Ariston was chief magistrate at Athens, and Quintus Fabius Vibulanus and Lucius Cornelius Curetinus consuls of Rome. In the time of their government, a peace was made between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians for five years, by the mediation of Cimon the Athenian.

In Sicily a war broke out between the Ægesteans and the Lilybæans concerning some lands near to the river Mazarus: after a sharp battle fought, and many killed on both sides, they began to cool for some time; but after an account of the citizens was taken in every city, and a new division of the lands was made by lot, and that every one was to take his share as it fell, the shares fell so confused, that the cities broke out again into civil discords and dissentions; by which mischiefs the Syracusans greatly suffered. For one called Tyndarides, a rash conceited fellow, who, protecting and feeding many poor

people, by that means sought to make a party to further his design in obtaining of the principality: but when it was evident that he aimed at the sovereign power, he was brought to his trial and condemned to die. And when they were bringing him back to the goal, he was by the party he had before prepared, as aforesaid, by force rescued out of the hands of the officers. This raised a tumult through the whole city, and caused the chief and soberest part of the citizens to join together against them, who presently apprehended the innovators, and put them, together with Tyndarides to death. When several attempts were made of this kind, and many were infected with this itch of dominion, the Syracusans were at length forced, after the example of the Athenians, to make a law not much differing from that of ostracism at Athens: for there every citizen was to write in a shell the name of him whom they conceived to be most powerful to possess himself of sovereignty. So the Syracusans were to write the name of him who was thought to be most potent, upon an olive-leaf; and when the leaves were counted, he whose name was upon most of the leaves, was banished for five years.

By this means they conceived they should bring down the aspiring minds of the great ones to some moderation; for they did not hereby intend the punishment of any crime that was committed, but the prevention of mischief, by impairing the estates, and weakening the interest of them that might be ambitious. That, therefore, which the Athenians called ostracism, from the nature of the thing, the Syracusans called Petalism.

This law continued long among the Athenians, but was abolished within a short time after by the Syracusans, for these reasons.—For when several of the chief and best-deserving men were by this law banished the city, the rest who were beloved by the citizens, and were men of great use in the service of their country, withdrew themselves from all public business, and out of fear of the law, betook themselves to private lives: but minding thus their own private concerns, at length they fell into all manner of profuseness and luxury. In the mean time, the basest of the citizens taking upon them the government, stirred up the common people to innovations and disturbances in the commonwealth; and so all things ran a second time into sedition and confusion, and a continual and mighty storm of trouble and disorder shook the city. For there arose many ringleaders and seducers of the people, especially young conceited men, who thought none spoke like themselves, nor no wisdom like theirs. In fine, many, instead of the principles of the antient justice and honesty, instilled nothing into the people but wicked notions, both in

manners and practice. In time of peace, it was their only business to heap together riches, but had no regard at all to amity and justice amongst men. The decree therefore of petalism, upon more mature consideration, was repealed within a short time after it was put in execution. And thus stood the affairs of Sicily at this time.

CHAP. XXVII.

Pericles makes an inroad into Peloponnesus. Besieges Sicyon. Phaylus in Sicily made admiral against the Tyrrhenian pirates; is corrupted and banished. The origin of the Palici: and the stories of the temple, and wonders of the Craters in Sicily.

WHEN Lysicrates was governor of Athens, Caius Nausius Rutillius and Lucius Minucius Augurinus were celebrated consuls at Rome. During their times, Pericles, the Athenian general, made an inroad into Peloponnesus, and wasted the country of the Sicyonians. The Sicyonians marched with a great army against him, and battle being joined, Pericles routed them, and killed many in the pursuit; and having driven the rest within the walls of the city, laid siege to the place. But after he had made a valiant assault, and saw he could not win the place, in regard the Lacedæmonians had sent aid to the besieged, he withdrew his army from Sicyon, and marched into Acarnania, there wasting the country of the Œniadæ; and having loaded himself with booty and plunder, left Acarnania. After this, he marched into Chersonesus, and divided the country by lot amongst a thousand citizens. And in the mean time Tolmides, the other general, made a descent into Eubœa, and divided the country of the Naxians amongst another thousand inhabitants.

As for Sicily, the Tyrrhenians infesting the sea with piracies, the Syracusans chose one Phaylus to be admiral of the fleet, and commanded him to make a descent upon Tyrrhenia. Being furnished with a fleet well provided, upon the first attempt, he wastes the island of Æthalia; but being corrupted by the Etruscans with money, he returned into Sicily, without doing any thing memorable. But the Syracusans banished him for his treason, and chose another called Apelles, and sent him with threescore ships against the Tyrrhenians. Upon which he wastes the sea-coasts of Tyrrhenia, and sails to Corsica, then subject to the Etruscans, and harassed and

destroyed a great part of the island; and having wholly subdued Æthalia, returned to Syracuse, with a multitude of prisoners and much spoil.

After this, Deucetius prince of the Siculi, reduced all the cities of the same nation (except Hybla) into one society and community. This man being both wise and valiant, bent his mind for the accomplishing of something great and unusual; for having a rich treasury, he removed the city of Neas, the place of his birth, into a plain champaign ground, and built a famous city near the temple of the Palici, (as they are called), from whom he called the city Palicon. And because those deities now fall in our way, it is not fit we should altogether pass by the strange and indeed incredible stories that are related concerning this temple, and especially that great wonder called the Craters. For they say, that this temple is to be preferred before all others, both for antiquity and religious worship, especially for the strange and wonderful things done there.

And first, in this temple, there are hollows in the earth, called Craters, not very large in compass, but of incredible depth, from whence break out great sparks of fire and water, like as from boiling pots or caldrons. The water cast forth resembles so many streams of fire; but there is no certainty what it is, for none hitherto durst approach it: for the violent irruption of the fiery matter is so wonderful, that it seems to be the immediate effect of some divine power. It smells like brimstone, as most predominent, and the bottomless gulf roars and makes a most dreadful and horrible noise. And that which is far more to be admired is this—That this river of fire neither flows nor makes any stay upon the land, but in a continual motion, with an amazing force, hurls itself up into the air. This place, therefore, by these wonderful instances of some divine presence, being accounted sacred, the most solemn and sacred oaths were used here to be taken, and due punishments were without delay executed by the deity upon the perjured person; for it hath been observed, that many such have been struck blind as they have gone out of the temple. And the great veneration that persons have had for the place, has often been the occasion that matters of great controversy (where might was likely to overcome right) have been decided by an oath in this place. This temple likewise, at some times, is a place of refuge, and a special help for injured servants to protect them against the cruelty of their severe masters. For they who fly thither, cannot be drawn thence, but continue safe there, till by the mediation of friends they are reconciled to their masters, and mutual oaths taken for the faithful performance of what is promised on both sides. And it was never known that ever any broke his faith with his ser-

vant in such a case, such an awe, through the fear of the gods, was upon them. This temple is situated in a most pleasant plain, adorned with beautiful porches, galleries, and other stately buildings, becoming the dignity of the gods. But of this sufficient is said And now we return to what we were before relating.

Deucetius, after he had walled in his new city Palicon, divided the adjacent country among the inhabitants. They grew wonderfully rich in a short time, both by reason of the fruitfulness of the soil, and the multitude of the people. But this sun-shine lasted not long, for the city was destroyed, and lies waste and desolate to this day. The reason of which shall be declared in its proper place.

In Italy, after the sacking of Sybaris by the Crotonians, one Thessalus, about eight-and-fifty years after getting together the remnant of the Sybarites, rebuilt Sybaris, situated between two rivers, Sybaris and Crathis. But the Sybarites growing rich suddenly, by reason of the fruitfulness of the soil, possessed the city only six years, and were again ejected; which we intend to relate more fully in the following book.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The contests between Deucetius and the Agrigentines. His strange submission to the Syracusans, who sent him to Corinth, with promise to supply him with necessaries.

WHEN Antidotus was governor of Athens, the Romans chose Lucius Publius Posthumius and Marcus Horatius consuls. In their time, Deucetius the general of the Siculi took Ætna, whose prince was killed by treachery. Afterwards he led his army into the country of the Agrigentines, and besieged Motya, a garrison of the Agrigentines. They of Agrigentum sent aid to them of Motya, but his army fought and routed them, and took the place. The winter approaching, all returned to their several cities. The Syracusans put to death Bilco, the general of the army, the author (as was supposed) of that ruin that was brought upon them in this battle, and who was judged to have had secret correspondence with Deucetius. At the return of the year, they made another general, committing to him an army well appointed in all respects, with strict orders to ruin and destroy Deucetius. To which end he led forth the army, and found Deucetius encamped near Nomæ, where a battle

was fought; and after many killed on both sides, the Siculi, after a valiant resistance, at last fled, but a great slaughter was made of them in the pursuit. Many of those that escaped, fled to the forts and strong holds, for few had hearts and courage enough to run the same fortune with Deucetius.

Whilst these things were thus acting, the Agrigentines re-took the castle of Motya by force, wherein at that time was a garrison of Deucetius's; then they marched to the victorious Syracusans, and both encamped together: but Deucetius having lost all his treasure in the last battle, was brought near to the last extremity, partly through the treachery of some, and partly through the cowardice of others of his soldiers who deserted him.

At length, seeing matters brought to so desperate a condition, that his friends who were yet about him were ready to lay violent hands upon him, to prevent the execution of their treacheries he fled with all speed in the night to Syracuse, and whilst it was yet dark, came into the market-place, and fell down before the altars, and as a humble suppliant, gave up both himself and his country into the hands of the Syracusans. The strangeness of the thing brought a great concourse of people together into the market-place. Upon which, a general assembly of the magistrates was called, and there it was debated what was to be done in this matter. Some who were used, and loved to speak much to the people, persuaded them to take him as an enemy, and, for his many acts of hostility against them, to punish him accordingly. But the wiser sort of the senators who were then present, declared that the suppliant was to be preserved, and that a reverend regard was to be had to the providence of the gods; and that they should not have respect so much to what Deucetius deserved, as seriously to consider what was fit and just for them to do in such a case. To kill one whom providence had laid as a suppliant at their feet was unjust; but to preserve and keep to the rules of piety towards the gods, and humanity towards men that submit to mercy, greatly became the generosity of the Syracusans. Hereupon the people unanimously cried out—Let the suppliant be safe. Deucetius thus delivered, the Syracusans sent him back to Corinth, and commanded him there to continue the rest of his days, with a promise to supply him with all things necessary for his comfortable support. And now having performed our promise in setting forth those things that happened the year next before the Athenian expedition into Cyprus under Cimon their general, we conclude this book.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

BOOK XII.

PREFACE.

HE who seriously considers the uncertainty and instability of human affairs, must needs be struck with great admiration; for he will find that nothing which amongst men is accounted good, is purely such: nor any thing that is esteemed bad, is perfectly or absolutely evil, without some ingredient of profit and advantage: which lesson we may learn from what is before related, if we ponder and digest things well. For the expedition of Xerxes the king of Persia into Greece, by reason of his vast army, terrified the Grecians to the highest degree, who were by that war in great danger of being brought into absolute slavery, and might justly fear that Greece was likely to fall into the same condition with the Greek cities in Asia, who were not long before brought under the power of the Persians. But beyond all expectation, the event of this war was wonderful; for the Grecians were not only delivered from this threatening storm, but by that occasion gained an everlasting renown, and every city in Greece thereby abounded with so much wealth, that their sudden turn of fortune into such a height of prosperity was admired by all: for fifty years together from that time, Greece flourished in all felicity; in which time, by the wealth that abounded amongst them, all good arts were highly improved, and excellent artists are recorded to have flourished in this age; amongst whom was Phidias that famous statuary; and several other arts and sciences then advanced to an extraordinary degree. But the great honour of Greece was philosophy and oratory, and chiefly among the Athenians. Those that were eminent for philosophy, were Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle: for oratory, Pericles, Isocrates, and his scholars. There were others no less

famous for military discipline and excellent commanders, as Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, Myronides, and many others, of whom it would be too tedious to give a particular account. For the Athenian name was highly honoured almost through all parts of the world; for they so enlarged their dominion, that by their own strength, without the help of the Lacedæmonians and those of Peloponnesus, they routed the mighty armies of the Persians, both by sea and land; and did so weaken that great empire, that they compelled it upon treaties to set free all the Grecian cities in Asia: the particulars whereof are distinctly and at large related in the former book, and in this we have at present in hand. And now we are come to the matters designed to be treated of, endeavouring (as near as we can) to fix the time when things were done. We began the book next before this with the passage of Xerxes into Greece, and continued it with an account of affairs every where happening from that time to the year next before the expedition of the Athenians against Cyprus under Cimon their general. In this we shall begin with that expedition, and proceed to the war decreed by the Athenians against the Syracusans.

CHAP. I.

Cimon the Athenian admiral. His expedition into Cyprus. Peace concluded between the Persians and Athenians. Cimon dies in Cyprus.

EUTHYDEMUS being chief governor of Athens, Lucius Quintus Cinnatius and Marcus Fabius Vibulanus Roman consuls, fortune frowned upon the Athenians; for, in assisting the Egyptians against the Persians, they lost all their ships in the island Prosopitis; but not long after a new war was determined against the Persians, for the liberties of the Grecian cities in Asia.

For this purpose the Athenians rigged out a navy of two hundred gallies, and made Cimon the son of Miltiades admiral, and ordered him to make straight for Cyprus, and there invade the Persians. Accordingly he forthwith sailed thither with a noble fleet, well manned

and victualled, and in all other things in every respect sufficiently provided. Artabazus was then admiral of the Persian fleet, and lay with three hundred ships at Cyprus: and Megabyzus was general of the Persian land forces, and encamped with an army of three hundred thousand men in Cilicia.

Cimon being master at sea, landed his men at Cyprus, and forced Citium and Malus, but used his victory with great moderation and humanity; having received intelligence that fleets were come from Phœnicia and Cilicia to the assistance of the islanders, he hoisted up sail, fought with them, sunk many of their vessels, and took an hundred, together with their men, and pursued the rest even to Phœnicia. The Persians, with the remnant of the fleet that was left, fled to Megabyzus, where he lay encamped. But the Athenians without delay pursued them, landed their men, and set upon the enemy, but lost in this fight Anaxicrates, vice admiral of the fleet, who fought with much gallantry, and there fell with honour. However, the Athenians got the day, and after they had made a great slaughter of their enemies, returned to their ships, and sailed back to Cyprus. These were the things done in the first year of the Cyprian war.

After this, when Pedieus was archon of Athens, the Romans bestowed the consular dignity upon Marcus Valerius Lactuca and Spurius Virginius Tricostus. In the time of their government, Cimon continuing master at sea, brought most of the cities of Cyprus under the power of the Athenians: but Salamis, the metropolis, was a very strong Persian garrison, well stored with arms, ammunition, and provisions of all sorts; therefore he judged it of mighty consequence and advantage if he could gain this place; for he conceived, if this were done, that the whole island would easily fall into his hands, and the Persians would be altogether discouraged; and not being able to relieve Salamis, (the Athenians being masters at sea), would be deserted and despised by all their confederates. Lastly, he concluded, that if the whole island of Cyprus were by force of arms subdued, the chief ends of the war were obtained; and so it happened: for the Athenians laying close siege to the city, assaulted and battered it every day. But the garrison being well furnished with arms and all other necessaries, easily defended themselves from the walls against all the strength of their enemies.

In the mean time Artaxerxes the king of Persia, hearing of the defeating of his armies in Cyprus, called together a council of war, where it was determined that it was most for the public good to make peace with the Grecians: whereupon expresses were sent to the generals and officers of the Persians to make peace with them upon any terms. Artabazus and Megabyzus forthwith despatched

ambassadors to Athens to treat of Peace, whose conditions being accepted by the Athenians, they sent likewise plenipotentiaries, the chief of whom was Callias the son of Hipponicus.

And these were the articles of peace between the Persians and the Athenians, and their confederates, to wit—That all the Greek cities in Asia should be free and governed by their own laws. That none of the Persian commanders with any force should come within three days journey of the sea. That they should not sail in any man of war between Phaselis and Cyaneæ. When these were confirmed by the king and the officers of his army, the Athenians, on the other side, agreed and engaged not to invade any of the provinces of Artaxerxes, Peace thus concluded, the Athenians withdrew their forces from Cyprus, triumphing in the glory of their victories, and in the advantages of the peace. But whilst the army remained in Cyprus, Cimon fell sick and there died. Afterwards, Philiscus being chief ruler at Athens, the Romans chusing Titus Romilius Vaticanus and Caius Veturius Cicurinus consuls, was celebrated the eighty-third olympiad, in which Crison of Himera carried the victory. At this time the Megareans revolted from the Athenians, and by their ambassadors sent to Sparta, made a league with them; with which treachery the Athenians, enraged, sent their forces into their country, who robbed and spoiled every where, and so, loaden with plunder, returned home. The citizens indeed issued out of the town for the defence of the country, and engaged, but were beaten and driven within their walls.

CHAP. II.

The Megareans revolt from the Athenians, and are beaten. The Athenians routed at Chæronea by the Bœotians. Many cities revolt. A peace is concluded.

AFTER these things, when Tymarchides was chief governor of Athens, Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Aterius Fontinus being created Roman consuls, the Lacedæmonians made an irruption into Attica, and wasted and destroyed the country far and near; and, after they had taken several forts and castles, returned into Peloponnesus. However, Tolmides the Athenian general took Chæronea; but the Bœotians joining together surprised him; upon which a bloody battle was fought at Chæronea, in which Tolmides was killed, though fighting with

great resolution, and the rest of the Athenians were all killed or taken. By this remarkable slaughter the Athenians were compelled, for the redeeming of the captives, to restore all the cities of Bœotia under their dominion unto their antient liberties. Afterwards, when Callimachus was archon of Athens, and Sextus Quintilius and P. Curiatius were Roman consuls, in Greece many cities revolted from the Athenians, who were grown very low by reason of the late defeat at Chæronea, and especially the inhabitants of Eubœa were plotting and contriving some dangerous designs. Therefore Pericles, being made general, made for Eubœa with a great army, and assaulted and took the city of Hestiæa, made all the citizens captives, and transplanted them, and by this so terrified the rest, that they all submitted to the Athenian government. And a peace was concluded for thirty years, and the articles were signed and sealed by Callias and Chares.

CHAP. III.

The war between the Agrigentines and Syracusans in Sicily. The war between the Crotonians and the Sybarites. Sybaris razed. The building of Thurium. Charondas's good laws in Thurium. His remarkable death. The laws of Zaleucus of Locris.

IN Sicily wars arose between them of Syracuse and Agrigentum, for these reasons — After the Syracusans had broken the power of Deucetius prince of the Siculi, upon his submission to the people for mercy, they pardoned him, but commanded him to lead a private life at Corinth: but he continued not long there before he broke all his engagements and agreements, and pretending that he was commanded by the oracle to people the pleasant sea-coast in Sicily, he arrived in the island with a great number of men, as colonies to plant there. Some of the Siculi joined him, and amongst them one Archonides, prince of Erbita: while he was intent upon his colony, the Agrigentines, partly out of envy to the Syracusans, and likewise because they had spared Deucetius, their common enemy, without their consent, make war upon the Syracusans. Upon this the cities of the Siculi divided; some joined with the Agrigentines, others with the Syracusans, and great armies were raised on both sides, and the cities pressed to the war with great importunity. At length, encamping at the river Himera, one over against the other, they came

to a battle, and the Syracusans got the day, and killed a thousand of the Agrigentines upon the field. But presently after the fight, the Agrigentines sent ambassadors to Syracuse to make peace, which was agreed on upon certain conditions. Whilst things were thus acting in Sicily, the city of Thurium was built in Italy: and this was the occasion—

The Grecians having some time before built Sybaris, in a short time the city grew very rich by reason of the fruitfulness of the soil. For being situated between two rivers, Crathis and Sybaris, (from whence it took its name), and the inhabitants having a large and rich country to till, they grew rich on a sudden; and taking many into the freedom of the city, flourished in such a degree, that they seemed to exceed all the inhabitants of Italy. For they were so populous, that this one city had in it three hundred thousand inhabitants. There was at that time in the city one called Telys, who had great influence over the people. This man, by raising scandals amongst the citizens against those who were the richest, so far at length prevailed with the Sybarites, that they banished five hundred of the most wealthy citizens, and confiscated their estates to the public use.

These banished men went to Crotona, and there (after the manner of suppliants) fled to the altars erected in the forum. Hereupon Telys sent ambassadors to the Crotonians, either to deliver up the banished men, or expect war. A council was called, and the question put—Whether they should deliver up the suppliants to the Sybarites, or engage in a war with an enemy more powerful than themselves. The senate and people made some doubt, and the people at first inclined to deliver them up rather than endure the war. But afterwards Pythagoras advising them to protect the suppliants, they changed their opinion, and determined to fight in their defence.

Hereupon the Sybarites took the field with an army of three hundred thousand men. The Crotonians had but an hundred thousand, which were commanded by Milo the wrestler, who at the first onset put to flight that wing of the army which was opposite to him: for he was of invincible strength, and had courage answerable to his strength, and had been six times victor at the olympic games; when he began his fight, he was crowned with olympic wreaths, wearing (like Hercules) a lion's skin and a club; at last he gained an absolute victory, and thereupon was much admired by his countrymen. Upon the rout the Crotonians gave no quarter, but killed all they took, so that most of the army was destroyed, and the city sacked and miserably laid waste and desolate. But within fifty-eight years after, the Thessalians arrived in order to plant there, and within less than five years after they had rebuilt the city, they were likewise ejected

by the Crotonians. For when Callimachus was archon of Athens, this city began to be inhabited: but shortly after it changed both its name and place, being built elsewhere by Lampo and Xenocrates, which was upon this occasion.—The Sybarites, driven out of their country a second time, sent ambassadors into Greece, and desired aid from the Lacedæmonians and Athenians to assist them in restoring them to their country, and likewise desiring that they would send a colony to partake with them. The Lacedæmonians rejected their address; but the Athenians resolved to assist them, and sent ten ships with soldiers to the Sybarites, of which Lampo and Xenocrates were generals: and proclamation was made through all the cities of Peloponnesus by the Athenian heralds, that it should be lawful for any that would, to plant with them in their intended new colony. Many complied, especially being moved thereunto by the oracle of Apollo, who advised them to build a city where there was little water, and yet bread without measure.

Setting sail, therefore, for Italy, they at length arrived at Sybaris, and there made diligent search for the place recommended to them by the deity. And finding a fountain or spring, not far from Sybaris, which was called Thuria, issuing its waters through a brazen pipe, called Medimnum, which signifies a bushel, (judging this to be the place foretold by the oracle), they encompassed it with a wall, and there built the city, calling it, from the name of the spring, Thurium.

The city in length contained four streets: the first they called Heraclea, the second Aphrodisiade, the third Olympiad, the fourth Dionysiad. The breadth was divided into three streets; the first called Heroa, the other Thuria, and the last Thurina. When all these streets were filled with houses, the city appeared very compact and beautiful. But the Thurians continued not long at peace among themselves, for a grievous sedition (and not without some cause) began to disturb the commonwealth. For the Sybarites, the antient inhabitants, shared all the chief places of the magistracy amongst themselves, and left only the inferior offices to the new colonies. And the wives of the antient citizens were first admitted to sacrifice before those that were lately brought into the freedom of the city. And besides, they engrossed all the land next to the city and divided it among themselves, and left that which was far off to the new comers. This fire of dissention broke out into a devouring flame, insomuch that the new colony, (then more powerful than the other), destroyed almost all the antient inhabitants, and brought the whole city into their own power. But the country being very rich, and more than was sufficient for them that remained, they sent for many out of Greece to till and improve the land, amongst whom they

divided both the houses in the city that were destitute of inhabitants, and the land in the country. The inhabitants grew very rich in a short time, and entering into league with the Crotoniana, governed their commonwealth from henceforth with great commendation; and having settled a democracy, they divided the citizens into ten tribes, and gave them names according to their several countries: three that came out of Peloponnesus they called the Arcadian, Achaian, and Elean. The same number of them that came from other more remote parts of Greece, they named the Bœotian, Amphictyonidæ, and Doriadæ, according to their several tribes. The four risidue from other countries of Greece they called the Jadans, Atheniadæ, Eubœadæ, and Islanders. Charondas, one of their most learned and best accomplished citizens, they chose for their legislator, who examined the laws of every country, and picked out of every one what he judged to be the best, and digested them all into one body or system: but he added many himself of his own contrivance: to rehearse some of which it will not be unprofitable to the reader. And first he instituted—That whoever married a second wife, and brought a stepmother amongst his children, should be removed from the senate and common assemblies, for he judged that man could never advise his country well, who was so imprudent in his own family: for they that were once well married, ought to rest satisfied with such a happiness; and such as are unfortunate in their first match, and yet against their own experience commit a second fault of the same kind, justly deserve to be noted for fools. To false accusers he appointed this punishment—That they should be led through the city crowned with the shrub tamarisk, that it might appear to all, that the offender was guilty of the highest wickedness. And it is reported that some convicted of this offence, to avoid the disgrace, have killed themselves. By the severity of this law, false informers (the plague of the commonwealth) were driven out of the city, and the citizens lived in great prosperity. Charondas made likewise a new law (never before instituted by any former legislator) concerning keeping bad company. For he found by experience, that both the manners and judgments of good and honest men, were often depraved by the society and familiarity of wicked men, and drawn aside from the paths of virtue to the filthiness of vice; and that such company, like an infectious disease, seized the minds of the very best with its contagion and corruption; for the way to vice is down the hill with a very easy descent; by reason whereof many of more than ordinary integrity, (ensnared with the enticing charms of pleasure), have fallen into the highest degree of wickedness; desiring, therefore, to prevent this mischief, he severely forbade keeping company and familiarity with

lewd men: and framed a process against ill society, and imposed a severe fine upon such as should be found guilty. And he made moreover another law more excellent than this, overlooked by all the antient law-makers: that is—That all the children of the citizens should learn to write, and the city should pay the master's wages. For he knew that they who were poor were not able to be at the charge, and of consequence must lose the advantage of instruction for their children: for he preferred, and not without cause, the knowledge of writing to be learnt in the first place before all other arts; for by the help of this many things conducing to the public good are preserved to posterity; as suffrages, decrees, epistles, wills, laws, and other things necessary for instruction. Who can sufficiently set forth the praises of this art? By this the memory of the dead is preserved among the living; by these messengers, they that are at the greatest distance, far absent, may be conversed with as present. These preserve the opinions of the wisest men, the answers of the gods, the learning of philosophers, all the sciences of the world, and hand them down to posterity for ever. Life is due to nature, but how to live well we owe to the books of the learned, so that by this good law (at the public care and charge) those who were illiterate before (wholly deprived of those great blessings) were now improved by more happy education; so that we may say he far exceeded those former law-makers who appointed physicians for the curing of private men's distempers, at the charge of the public; for they provided cures for men's bodies, but he for ignorance and disease of men's souls: and we never desire to have need of a physician, but are always unwilling to part with a learned man: many poets have celebrated these laws concerning evil company; among others are these.

If one herd with bad company,
I ask not what he is, but see;
Such as his friends are, such is he.

Of his law concerning step-mothers mention is made thus—The law-giver (say they) Charondas, amongst others made this law:

Let him have no repute but of a fool,
That sets a step-dame o'er his house to rule:
Nor let him for a civil office sue,
Who to an old plague dares to add a new:
If good luck in a wife thou hast had, then . . . .
Stick at a good hand; if bad, as most men,
Th' art mad if thou seek'st to be curs'd again.

In truth he who miscarries twice in one and the same thing, may justly be accounted a fool. For what Philemon the comic poet

says of them that have often escaped shipwreck, some have applied to this case:

> I wonder not that one the sea should enter
> And sail, but that he made a second venture.

It is no wonder to see a man marry; but to see him twice marry. For it is safer and more advisable for a man to expose himself twice to the dangers of the sea, than to the hazards of a second wife. For most sad and cruel discords often arise in families between parents and children by the tricks and devices of stepmothers. Hence we have the frequent and horrid pieces of villany of this kind represented upon the stage by the tragedians.

Charondas framed another very good law concerning the guardianship of orphans. Upon the first view there seems to be little in it worthy taking notice of; but examining it more closely, we may discern in it much wisdom and excellent contrivance. Their estates he committed to the care and guardianship of the next of kin on their father's side, but their education, and the custody of their persons, to them of the mothers. At first here seems nothing of any great weight in this law, but upon more serious consideration, it will evidently appear to be a most excellent constitution: for if the cause be seriously pried into, why he ordered the care of the estate to one, and the education of the person to another, the wisdom and prudence of the law-maker will be very evident: for they on the mother's side would never contrive any thing of prejudice to the person whose estate could never come and descend to them; and the mischief was prevented as to the kindred on the father's side, because the person was not committed to their custody. On the other hand, in regard the estate of the orphan was to fall to the father's kindred in case of his death, it was to be presumed they would take care to preserve and improve it, upon the prospect of the possibility of its coming unto themselves

Another law he made against those that ran away from their colours, or refused to take up arms for the defence of their country: for whereas former lawgivers made it death, his edict was—That such men should sit three days in the forum, clothed in women's apparel; which constitution, as it was more moderate than those in other places, so the greatness of the disgrace did work more upon ingenuous spirits to deter them from softness and effeminacy; judging it far better to die than to undergo so much disgrace in their own country. By this way he destroyed not those that were guilty, but reserved them for the future service of the city, as occasion should be; who, in all likelihood, after such disgrace, would carry themselves better,

and endeavour to wipe off the stain of their former reproach, by doing something more than ordinary for the time to come. The severity and strictness likewise of his laws gave a perpetual vigour to them; for it was absolutely forbidden to depart in the least from the letter of the law, though it were never so severe or inconvenient. But if any were fit to be repealed or amended, he gave power for that purpose. For he judged it fit and just for every man to stoop to the authority of the lawgiver, but to suffer the cavils and exceptions of every private man to prevail (nay though they seemed to tend to the public good) was most absurd. And by this means he restrained those that would in giving of judgment for criminal matters bring in their own glosses and expositions against the express words of the law, lest by their cavils the authority of the laws should come to nothing. And hereupon it is reported that some prosecutors against criminals said to the judges, that either the law or the malefactor must of necessity be preserved; Charondas therefore appointed something more than usual concerning the amendment of the laws. For whereas he saw that there were many in divers cities who rashly, and hand over head, (going about to correct and amend the laws), did nothing else but (by corrupting them) involve the common people in seditions; he published this most excellent law, differing from all that were before—That any person who would have any law to be altered or amended, a council should be called, and he who would have an alteration, should have a rope put about his neck, and so continue while the votes of the people concerning the change of the law were in taking; and if the assembly approved of the new law, then the author should be discharged; but if it were rejected, then he should be forthwith hanged. By this so severe a caution to prevent innovation, new law-makers disappeared, and none durst so much as even whisper any thing concerning the amendment or alteration of the laws.

From that time forward, there were at Thurium only three (forced by urgent provocations) that appeared and stood up to persuade the people to abrogation of some laws. For there was a law, that he who struck out the eye of another, should have his own eye plucked out. It happened that one who had only one eye (by the injury of another) lost that also, so that he was altogether blind. In this case, although the offender was to lose his eye for the injury done to the other, yet the punishment was not thought equivalent to the nature of the offence; for he who made his fellow citizen wholly blind, although by losing one of his eyes he satisfied the letter of the law, yet the loss and prejudice was not equal; and therefore it was conceived to be most equitable and just, that he who deprived another of his sight

wholly, should lose both his eyes, if the punishment were proportioned to the offence. This blind man therefore (moved and heated with the pain and indignity of the thing) complained to the people of his sad condition, and made his address to them for the amendment of the law. At length, having the rope about his neck, he prevailed, and the law was abolished, and another made more effectual in its place, and so he escaped hanging. Another law likewise was moderated, whereby power was given to the wife in some cases, to leave her husband, and marry whom else she thought fit. For one grown old, being forsaken by his young wife, proposed to the people for an amendment of the law to have this further addition—That it might be lawful for any wife that had a desire to leave her husband, to marry any other man, provided he were no younger than her former husband; and that he who cast off his wife, should marry none younger than the wife he rejected. And he succeeded so well in his proposal, that by having the law amended, he not only escaped the rope, but by this means his wife, who had a mind to a young fellow, was forced to return to him again.

The third law (which Solon likewise had made) which was amended, was that concerning virgins and orphans. The law was, that where there was an heiress left, the next of kin might demand her in marriage; and so on the other hand, a young woman, an orphan, might demand him that was of her next kindred in marriage, and he should be forced to marry her; or if she were poor, give her five hundred drachmas for her portion. There was an orphan of this kind left, of a good family, but yet extremely poor; she, by reason of her poverty in no likelihood to get a husband, made her application to the people, and with many tears bemoaned her desolate condition, and despicable state of life, and desired an amendment of the law to this purpose—That in lieu of the five hundred drachmas, the next of kin, whom by the law the orphan might demand in marriage, should be forced to marry her. The people commiserating her condition, changed the law, and so she was delivered from the rope, and the rich kinsman was forced to marry the poor maid without any dowry.

Now it remains we should speak of the death of Charondas, concerning which there happened something remarkable and wonderful; for when he was gone forth against some robbers that made inroads into the country, before he returned, there happened a tumult to be raised by the people in one of their common assemblies. Determining therefore to make diligent inquiry into the cause and authors of the sedition, he came hastily in amongst them, with his sword girt at his side, against a law he had made that none should come armed into the senate-house; but had forgotten his sword then at his side, and so

rushed into the assembly, and thereby gave an occasion to them that maligned him, to accuse him: upon which one cries out—You break the law which you yourself made. No, says he, but I will confirm it; and forthwith ran himself through. Some writers ascribe this fact to Diocles, the law-maker of Syracuse.

But having spoken enough of Charondas, we shall now relate something in short of Zaleuchus the law-maker, because they were much alike in their consultations, and bent their minds and thoughts to the same things, and flourished in cities near adjoining one to another. Zaleuchus was an Italian born at Locris of a noble family, of great learning, and scholar to Pythagoras. He was of great esteem and account in his country, and chosen by the people to be their law-maker. He began his laws first with the worship of the gods. In the preface he requires the inhabitants—That in the first place, and above all, they should be fully persuaded, and undoubtedly believe that there were gods; and that devoutly looking up to heaven, and viewing the beauty and admirable harmony and order thereof, they should judge, and certainly conclude, that that great work was not of men, or came there by chance: and therefore he ordained, they should adore and worship the gods, from whom all that is good descends upon men. And to that end, that they ought to have their minds pure and unspotted, inasmuch as the gods are better pleased with the just and honest actions of righteous men, than with all their costly sacrifices. Having made this preface or introduction, he then subjoins his precepts. First, That none should be implacable one against another, but that all should so manage their animosities, as to keep a reserve in a short time to be reconciled, and in full friendship with their adversaries; and if any did otherwise, such a man should be reputed of a fierce and inhuman disposition. Secondly, He commanded the magistrates that they should not be proud and domineering; that they should not give judgment in any matter either for love or hatred. And in other particulars he devised many things with great wisdom, prudence, and ingenuity. Thirdly, Whereas, in all other countries, by the excess and extravagance of women much silver was spent and wasted; by a witty and ingenious kind of punishment, he restrained their excess, for he ordered—That no woman who was free of the city should be attended abroad with any more than one servant, unless she were drunk. That none should walk abroad in the night, except it were with an intent to play the whore, nor wear golden ornaments, or garments embroidered with gold, unless with the same intent: nor that any man should wear a gold ring, or a Milesian garment, unless he were guilty of fornication or adultery. By these dishonourable exceptions and con-

great and high birth, and the glory of their families, with insufferable pride engrossed to themselves all the power and authority of the city. Amongst the conditions it was further added—That the tribunes of the people, at the end of every year, should appoint as many new ones in their room to succeed, and if they neglected it, they should be burnt alive. And though the tribunes could not agree in their choice, yet they should continue still in their offices in the mean time. And this was the end of the great commotion at Rome.

Diphilus being archon of Athens, the Romans created Marcus Horatius and Lucius Valerius Potitus consuls, who perfected the laws which suffered an eruption by the sedition. For there were then ten out of the twelve tables (as they were called) only finished; the other two were added by these consuls. The Roman laws thus perfected, the consuls ordered them to be engraven on twelve tables of brass, and fixed them to the pleader's desk in the face of the court. And these laws thus written briefly and plainly, without any flourish of words, remain unto this day.

About the time these things were done, most nations through the world were at peace; for the Persians made a double league with the Grecians, and with the Athenians and their confederates, whereby liberty was restored to all the Greek cities of Asia. The other afterwards was with the Lacedæmonians, by which it was agreed quite contrary, that the Greek cities in Asia should remain under the power of the Persians. In like manner, the Grecians were at peace among themselves, the Athenians and Spartans having entered into a league for thirty years. And all was likewise quiet in Sicily, the Carthaginians having made peace with Gelon, and all the Grecian cities submitted to them of Syracuse. And the Agrigentines after the slaughter at Himera, accepted of terms of peace. And all the people of Italy, France, Spain, and most parts of the world, were at perfect concord one with another. Therefore we have no account in history of any thing memorable done in war during this time; but all were every where at rest, solacing themselves with sports and sacred festivals, and other jollities, the common attendants of a prosperous state and condition.

men for making of laws. Appius Claudius, Marcus Cornelius, Lucius Minutius, Caius Sergius, Quintus Pitilius, Marcus Rabuleius, T. Antonius Meranda, Q. Fabius Vibulanus, C. Duilius, and Sp. Oppius. But these could not perfect the business wherein they were employed; for one of them* fell in love with a beautiful virgin, but of small fortune, whom he endeavoured to debauch by money. But when he saw he could not gain his design by those means, he suborned a fellow† fit for his purpose, to claim her for his bondslave, and to bring her before the Decemviri, and demand judgment against her as his slave; which was easily obtained from a corrupt judge, the author of the villany. She being delivered to him, the sycophant knave carried her away as his bond-maid. In the mean time, the father of the young woman, moved with grief and rage at the indignity offered, hastened to the court, where seeing no hopes of redress, he followed his daughter close behind her, and spying a knife in a butcher's shop, as he passed by, he snatched it up, and forthwith stabbed his daughter to death, to avoid the indignity and disgrace of such a condition, and forthwith without delay, hastening out of the city, made to the army that was then encamped at Algidum, and with many tears declared his miserable condition, and implored their assistance; which on the sudden affected them all with commiseration, and great sorrow at his calamity; upon which (being all stirred up with a resolution to relieve the distressed father) in the night they rushed into Rome, and possessed themselves of the Aventine mount. As soon as the day brake, the Decemviri, being informed of the rage of the soldiers against the wickedness of the fact, (by force of arms resolving to defend their colleague), got together a multitude of young men to dispute the matter with their adversaries by the sword. And now a great and bloody fight seemed to be at hand, when some of the citizens of the best quality, foreseeing the danger, interposed by messengers to both parties, in order to compose the difference; entreating and earnestly beseeching them, that they would forbear, and not involve their country in blood and destruction. At length the matter was agreed upon these conditions—That there should be ten called tribunes of the people chosen, who should have sovereign power and authority over all the rest of the magistrates of the city, and who might protect the common liberty of the people: and that one of the consuls every year should be chosen out of the senators, and the other out of the common people. Yea, further, that they should have power to chuse both consuls out from among themselves if they thought fit. And this law was then made to be a check to the exorbitant power of the patricians; for they, under colour of their

* Appius. † One Marcus Claudius.

great and high birth, and the glory of their families, with insufferable pride engrossed to themselves all the power and authority of the city. Amongst the conditions it was further added—That the tribunes of the people, at the end of every year, should appoint as many new ones in their room to succeed, and if they neglected it, they should be burnt alive. And though the tribunes could not agree in their choice, yet they should continue still in their offices in the mean time. And this was the end of the great commotion at Rome.

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CHAP. V.

The war between the Samians and the Milesians. A sedition in Samos, which revolts from the Athenians. The war in Sicily by the Syracusans against the Trinacrians.

TIMOCLES was now chief governor of Athens, and Lartius Herminius and Titus Virginius Tricostus Roman consuls. In their time the Samians broke forth into war against the Milesians concerning Priene; and discerning the Athenians more to favour the Milesians, they revolted from them. Hereupon the Athenians sent Pericles (made admiral some time before) with forty sail against the Samians, who approached their city, easily reduced it, and there established a democracy. And having imposed a mulct of eighty talents upon them, and received as many youths for hostages, he committed them to the care and custody of the Lemnians; and so having in a short time finished with good success all for which he was sent, he returned to Athens.

After this, a grievous sedition happened in Samos, some being for the democracy, others endeavouring to set up an aristocracy, whereby the city was in a mighty popular tumult. They who were against the democracy went over to Sardis in Asia, to Pisuthnes the Persian governor, to desire aid, who lent them seven hundred soldiers, hoping by this means to bring Samos under his power. The Samians with this aid, marching from Asia in the night, stole secretly upon the city, and by the help of their accomplices, entered and surprised it; and being thus easily possessed, forthwith eject all of the contrary faction. Then having stolen and carried away the hostages out of Lemnos, and strengthened Samos with garrisons, they declare themselves open enemies against the Athenians; who again send against them Pericles with sixty sail; who overcame them in a sea fight, though they had seventy sail. Upon this (with the help of twenty-five ships which joined him from Chios and Mitylene) he besieged Samos; and some few days after, leaving part of his forces to maintain the siege, with the rest he made against the Phœnician fleet, which the Persians sent to the aid of the Samians. The Samians taking advantage of the opportunity of his departure, suddenly set upon the rest of his fleet and routed them; with which success they grew very proud and haughty. But Pericles hearing of the ruin of his fleet left behind, returned without delay, and got together a strong and numerous navy, fully resolving utterly to ruin the enemy's fleet; and being

speedily supplied by the Athenians with threescore ships, and with thirty from Chios and Mitylene, he renewed the siege both by sea and land, wearying the city with continual assaults. He was the first that made use of those warlike engines called battering rams and scorpions, by the assistance and ingenuity of Artemon the Lacedæmonian. And by his fierce and violent assaults, battering down the walls with his engines, the city fell into his hands. And after he had put to death the authors of the defection, he caused the Samians to pay two hundred talents in compensation for the charge of the war. He carried away, likewise, all their ships, and demolished the walls; and when he had restored the democracy, returned into his own country. To this time the thirty years truce between the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians continued unviolated. And with these things was this year remarkable.

When Myrichides governed the state of Athens, Lucius Julius and Marcus Geganius were Roman consuls. The Eleans then celebrated the eighty-fifth olympiad, in which Crison of Himera was the second time victor. In these times in Sicily, Deucetius formerly prince of the Siculi, planted the country of the Callatines, and having settled there many colonies, began at length to take upon him the sovereign power over the Siculi: but falling sick, both his life and his designs vanished together.

The Syracusans now being lords of all the cities of Sicily, except Trinacria, resolved to gain that likewise by force of arms; for they were exceedingly jealous of the Trinacrians, because they were very rich, lest they should at any time after gain the sovereignty of the Siculi, to whom they were related as kindred. This city, both then and ever, had many valiant men amongst them, and upon that account was ever esteemed the principal city of the Siculi, for it was full of good commanders, men of brave and daring spirits. The Syracusans therefore gathered together all their forces, both from Syracuse, and from among their confederates, and marched against the Trinacrians; who being destitute of all assistance, by reason the rest of the cities being subject to Syracuse, were, in a bloody battle, hard put to it; and after a resolute and valiant opposition, all gallantly died upon the spot. For those that were wounded, rather than undergo the disgrace of being captives, despatched themselves. They of Syracuse having obtained this victory over a people never before subdued, made all the inhabitants captives, and razed the city to the ground. The richest of the spoils they sent to Delphos, as a grateful offering to the gods.

CHAP. VI.

The Corinthian war against Corcyra. Potidea revolts from the Athenians. Quarrels in Thurium. Meton's year. Heraclea in Italy built. Potidea besieged by Phormio.

GLAUCIDES the chief magistate of Athens; Titus Quintius and Agrippa Furius consuls of Rome: the Syracusans (being victorious as is before related) began building ships of three oars upon a bank, and, doubling the number of their horse, busied themselves in raising a land army. And that they might raise and get together a great treasure and fund of money, they exacted larger contributions from their subjects; and this they did with a design to subject all Sicily by degrees to their dominion.

Whilst these things were in doing, the Corinthian war, as it is called, broke forth upon the following occasion.—The Epidamnians, the inhabitants of the coasts of the Adriatic sea, being colonies brought from Corcyra and Corinth, were greatly distressed with tumults and seditions among themselves, where the stronger party cast many of the contrary faction out of the city; whereupon the exiles joined together, and calling the Illyrians to their assistance and confederacy, they made against Epidamnum with a great fleet: and being the barbarians were very strong, they easily possessed themselves of the country, and besieged the city. They of Epidamnum, not able to resist so great a force, sent to Corcyra for aid, who were of the same stock and kindred; but being disregarded by them, they made their application to the Corinthians, owning that city to be their only metropolis, and desired a supply of more citizens in the room of those that were ejected. The Corinthians, partly out of pity to them of Epidamnum, and partly out of an old grudge they bore them of Corcyra, (for that they only of all the colonies, brought from them thither, neglected to send to them as their metropolis the usual offerings) decreed aid to be sent to them of Epidamnum. And accordingly they sent both a new supply of citizens, and a guard of soldiers sufficient for the defence of the city. The Corcyreans much enraged at this, fitted out a fleet of fifty sail against them; the admiral of which fleet, after his arrival, commanded them of Epidamnum to receive the exiles: and then by ambassadors proposed to the Corinthian garrison.—That the matter relating to the colony might rather be ended in an orderly course of justice, than by force of arms. But the Corinthians refusing, it came at length to a war; and fleets were

prepared, and associations and confederacies made on both sides: and these were the causes of that Corinthian war. In the mean time, the Romans made war against the Volsci. At first they began with light and small skirmishes; but at length in a formal battle the Romans became victorious, and slew most of their enemies upon the field.

When Theodorus governed Athens, and the Romans constituted Marcus Genucius and Agrippa Curtius Chelon consuls, in Italy the nation of the Campanians began to flourish, so called from the fruitfulness of the country round about them. In Asia the Archæanactidæ had now held the kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus for the space of two-and-forty years; to whom then succeeded Spartacus, who reigned seven years. In Greece the Corinthians and Corcyreans were preparing on both sides navies for fights at sea: and presently the Corinthians made towards the enemy with seventy gallies bravely fitted out: and the Corcyreans met them with fourscore, routed them, and took Epidamnum by storm, and made all the Corinthians their prisoners, but put all the rest to the sword. The Corinthians, by this overthrow wholly discouraged, returned into Peloponnesus. The Corcyreans now become masters of this part of the sea, invaded the confederates of the Corinthians, and wasted their country.

This year ended, Euthymenis entered upon the government of Athens, and at Rome three military tribunes were appointed magistrates, with consular dignity, Aulus Sempronius, Lucius Atilius, and Titus Clœlius. At that time the Corinthians, not long before overcome at sea, determined to put forth another navy more glorious than the former. And to that end getting together materials from all parts, and hiring ship-carpenters out of the cities, they built ships with all care and earnestness, and prepared all manner of arms and weapons, and every thing necessary for war; some ships they built new, others they repaired, and some they borrowed of their confederates. Nor were they of Corcyra idle, for they were nothing inferior to their enemies in care and diligence; whence it was apparent how dreadful a war was like to ensue. In the mean time the Athenians sent a colony to Amphipolis, chosen partly out of their own city, and partly out of the neighbouring forts and castles.

Nausimachus being chief ruler of Athens, Titus Quintius and Marcus Geganius Macerinus were chosen Roman consuls. At that time the Eleans celebrated the eighty-sixth olympiad, in which Theopompus of Thessaly carried away the prize. The Corcyreans hearing of the great preparations that were making against them, sent ambassadors to Athens, to desire their assistance, which was done likewise by the Corinthians. The assemblies being called, and

audience given to the ambassadors on both sides, it was determined to join with them of Corcyra. And without delay, they sent them ten ships of three oars in a seat, well manned and provided, promising to send them more as there should be occasion.

The Corinthians (now abandoned by the Athenians) having ninety ships of their own, borrowed sixty more of their confederates, and so made up a fleet of a hundred and fifty sail, and furnished it with choice commanders, and forthwith made out against the Corcyreans, to fight them upon the first opportunity. As soon as the Corcyreans heard that their enemy's fleet was near at hand, they made forth against them with a navy of a hundred and twenty sail, accounting those of Athens.

The fleets engaged, and fought with great resolution; the Corinthians at the first had the advantage, but a fleet of twenty sail from Athens just then appearing, (sent in pursuance of a second address made to them), the Corcyreans got the day. The next day the Corcyreans appeared with their whole strength in a line of battle, daring the Corinthians to fight. but they kept within their harbours, and so avoided further fighting.

Antilochides now archon of Athens, at Rome Marcus Fabius and Posthumius Ebutius* Aulicus were made consuls: in their times the Corinthians greatly resented the confederacy of the Athenians with them of Corcyra, especially because the victory obtained was chiefly by their means. And therefore being enraged, and seeking by all the means they could to be revenged, they stirred up their colony at Potidea to revolt. In like manner Perdiccas the king of Macedonia, not long before incensed against the Athenians, prevailed with them of Chalcidica to revolt, and leave the cities upon the sea-coast, and withdraw only into one called Olynthus.

The Athenians hearing of the defection of Potidea, sent forth a fleet of thirty sail, with command both to destroy the country of the rebels, and storm the city. They, according to order, bent their course for Macedonia, and likewise besieged the city. The Corinthians sent two thousand men to assist the besieged, and the Athenians sent as many to strengthen it. Hereupon a great battle was fought in the isthmus near Pallene, where the Athenians were victors, and killed above three hundred of the enemy. And then closer siege was laid to Potidea. In the mean time, the Athenians built a new city in Propontis, which they called Letanum.

In Italy the Romans sent new colonies into Ardea, and divided the country amongst them by lot.

Now Charetes executed the office of archon at Athens, and the Romans made Quintus Furius Fusus and Manius Papirius Crassus

* Elbus.

consuls. In Italy the inhabitants of Thurium (being composed of people gathered from several places) began to quarrel and disagree concerning what city in particular Thurium should be reputed a colony of, and who should be acknowledged the founder. For first they of Athens challenged it, affirming that most of the inhabitants came from thence. Next they of Peloponnesus (because many cities sent colonies from thence) claimed the right of being accounted founders of the city. In this manner (there being many persons of quality members of the colony, who had done much towards its advancement) there arose great dissentions, every one challenging the dignity and honour as due to himself. At length they of Thurium sent to Delphos to consult there who should be esteemed and taken to be their founder. The oracle answered, that he himself should be so taken: and thus the great doubt being resolved, the Thurians declared Apollo their founder: and so this difference being removed, the people lived in peace as formerly. In Greece, Archidamus king of Lacedæmon died, having reigned forty-two years; and Agis succeeded, who reigned seven-and-forty years.

At the time when Apseudes was chief governor of Athens, and Titus Minenius and Proculus Geganius Macerinus Roman consuls, Spartacus king of Bosphorus died, after he had reigned seventeen years; whom Seleucus succeeding reigned only four years. At Athens flourished that famous astrologer Meton the son of Pausanias, who then published his table of the cycle of the moon called Enneadeceterides, beginning from the thirteenth of the Attic month Scirrophorion*: for in the space of nineteen years the stars return to the same state and place, and complete, as it were, a great year: and therefore by some it is called Meton's year. This man in this discovery seems to be exactly true to a wonder, for the motions and aspects of the stars fully agree with this description: and therefore most of the Grecians following the rule of this table, have never erred to this day. In Italy, the Tarentines drove out the inhabitants of Siris, and bringing a new colony thither, built a city called Heraclea.

When Pythodorus governed Athens, and Titus Quintius and Titus Menenius Agrippa were Roman consuls, the Eleans celebrated the eighty-seventh olympiad, in which was victor Sophron of Amphracion. At this time Spurius Manius† affecting sovereignty at Rome, was killed. In the mean time the Athenians in a signal battle at Potidea (wherein they were conquerors) lost their general Callias. Phormio was advanced to his place, who as soon as he came to the

* Answering to the Roman months June and July. See Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 10, c. 7.

† Milius, killed by Servilius Hala, master of the horse.

army, renewed the siege, and pressed hard upon it with continual assaults: but by reason of the valour and obstinacy of the defendants the siege continued long.

Here Thucydides the Athenian begins his history, and then proceeds to relate the war between the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, called the Peloponnesian war. It continued seven-and-twenty years, but Thucydides writes only of the first two-and-twenty years, in eight books, others say nine.

CHAP. VII.

The Peloponnesian war. Potidea revolts; besieged by the Athenians, and is surrendered upon articles. Nicias made the Athenian admiral. Gorgias, an excellent orator, sent from Leontine in Sicily to Athens. A peace concluded after the war had continued ten years.

WHEN Euthydemus governed at Athens, the Romans created three military tribunes, invested with consular power, Manius Emilius Mamercus, Caius Julius, and Lucius Quintius. At this time broke forth that war between the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, called the Peloponnesian war, of longest continuance of any we read of in history.

According to the design of our history, it is convenient in the first place to declare the causes of this war. The Athenians now endeavouring to have the dominion of the sea, brought over to Athens all the money they had laid up at Delos, which they had gathered together from the cities of Greece, almost to the value of eight thousand talents, and made Pericles treasurer. He was of a very noble family, and in eloquence far exceeded others of his fellow-citizens: but not long after, having spent a great part of the money intrusted with him upon his private occasions, and being called by the people to give an account, through grief of his incapacity to discharge himself, he fell sick: and being thus disturbed in his mind, in regard he was not able to make satisfaction, Alcibiades, his nephew, (who was then under age, and under his care and guardianship), directed him into a way how to extricate himself out of the present trouble. For seeing his uncle so disturbed, he asked the reason, who answered—I am studying how I shall give an account to the people of the money committed

to my care and custody. He replied—That it were better for him to consider and advise how he might give no account at all. Pericles hereupon following the advice of the young man, contrived by all the ways imaginable how he might involve the Athenians in some great war. For by this means he foresaw he should avoid the account, inasmuch as the city would be so distracted with cares and fears in such a conjuncture. To forward this design, an accident fell out very opportunely upon the following occasion. Phidias had made the statue of Minerva, and Pericles the son of Xantippe was employed to see the work done: but some of Phidias's workmen and servants fell out, and stirred up by the enemies of Pericles, they fled to the altars of the gods: and being commanded to declare the reason of a thing so unusual, they said, that they could make it out, that Phidias, with the connivance and help of Pericles, had embezzled a great sum of money belonging to the goddess. Whereupon an assembly was called, at which the enemies of Pericles moved the people to apprehend Phidias, and charge Pericles with the sacrilege. They accused likewise Anaxagoras* the sophist, the master of Pericles, for his impious opinions concerning the gods; with the same calumnies they loaded likewise Pericles, chiefly designing to stain the glory, and weaken the interest of so brave a man. But Pericles being well acquainted with the disposition of the people, as knowing that they highly valued men of worth, in times when they were threatened with war, (the present circumstances of affairs making it at such times of absolute necessity); and on the contrary, that in times of peace, (when they had nothing to do but giving the reins to envy and malice), blackened the same men with all manner of calumny; therefore judged it advantageous for his affairs, if he could engage the city in some considerable war, that thereby having occasion to make use of them, they would be deaf to all accusations against him, and should have no time or leisure to call him to an account. To promote this his design, it was lately decreed at Athens, that they of Megara should have no traffic with the Athenians either by sea or land: the Megareans therefore made their address for relief to the Spartans, who agreed to their requests, and by the unanimous assent of all the assembly, they sent ambassadors to the Athenians, with orders to require them to rescind the decree against them of Megara. And that if they refused, then that their ambassadors should denounce war against them in the name both of them and their confederates. Upon hearing of the ambassadors, an assembly was called to debate

* A famous philosopher who held that the sun was a burning plate or stone. He was tried at Athens for this and other impieties: he held that God was an infinite Being moving of himself. See Laertius. Lact. lib. 1, c. 5.

this matter; where Pericles (who far surpassed all the rest in eloquence and strength of reason) gave his reasons against the abrogating of the decree. He alledged, it was a step to bondage and slavery, and against the common good to yield to the demands of the Lacedæmonians; but advised them rather that they should draw all their goods and concerns out of the country into the city; and being now masters at sea, to enter into a war with the Lacedæmonians. And hereupon making an accurate discourse of the war, he told them what a multitude of confederates they had, what a brave and well-manned fleet they were masters of, what a vast treasure they were possessed of, brought from Delos, gathered from the common contribution of the cities, amounting to ten thousand talents; and though four thousand of it were spent in the building of the Propyle*, or citadel, and in the siege at Potidea, yet every year four hundred and sixty talents were raised by tribute from their confederates: and besides all this, that the adornments belonging to the shows, and the Persian spoils amounted to five hundred talents more: and that in the temples and other public works of the city, there were great riches, so that the very image of Minerva itself alone was worth fifty talents of gold; whose ornaments were so placed that they might be taken off; and all of them, when necessity required, might be borrowed from the goddess, so that they be faithfully restored in time of peace: and as to the state of the citizens, he told them, through the enjoyment of a long peace, the city was grown exceeding rich; he added, moreover, that they had twelve thousand armed men, besides their confederates, and what were in their garrisons: and those in their garrisons, together with their colonies, were more than seventeen thousand; and that they had ready a fleet of three hundred sail. On the contrary the Spartans were poor, and far inferior to the Athenians in naval forces. Having fired the citizens with these discourses, he vehemently pressed the people not to give ear to the imperious demands of the Lacedæmonians: and by the earnestness of his speech he easily prevailed; for which reason he was called Olympius. Aristophanes, the comic poet, who flourished in the time of Pericles, mentions these things in the verses following:

> Ye poor and country swains, consider well
> The words I speak; if you would know they'll tell
> Your country how destroy'd; a spark but small,
> Brought from Megara's law, blown up withal
> By him, hath rais'd such smoke of war, blood, fears,
> As draws from eyes of Greece continual tears.

* The Propyle was a stately gate or porch belonging to the Acropolis or citadel.

And likewise the comic poet Eupolis, in other verses, says of Pericles, whom they call Olympius—

> Thunder and lightning he rais'd in Greece,
> Of eloquence who was the master-piece;
> Only among the orators his darts
> Were left fast fixed in the hearer's hearts.

And these were the causes of the Peloponnesian war, as they are related by Ephorus.

The principal Grecian cities thus provoked to war, the Lacedæmonians (in a general convention with them of Peloponnesus) declared war against the Athenians, and forthwith sent their ambassadors to the king of Persia, to enter into a league offensive with them. Ambassadors were likewise sent to desire two hundred ships of their confederates in Sicily and Italy.

And now being joined with the Peloponnesians, and having raised a land-army from several parts, and prepared with all things necessary for war, they first begin. At that time in Bœotia the city Platea was a free city, in league with the Athenians; but some of the citizens designing to enslave the place, in contrivance with the Bœotians promised to bring the city under their power if they would but send them a guard of soldiers. The Bœotians therefore sent three hundred soldiers in the night to Platea, who being let into the gates, the traitors delivered up the city into their hands. But the Plateans willing to approve their faithfulness to the Athenians, (at first thinking that the whole army of the Thebans were entered) sent ambassadors to them to treat and make terms: but when day appeared, and they of Platea understood how small a number the enemy was, they all as one man came upon them, and fought with great resolution for their common liberty. But because the fight was in the streets, the Thebans, being better soldiers, at the first destroyed many of the Plateans; but afterwards they in the houses, even the very boys and children, by throwing down tiles from the roofs, so severely galled the Thebans that they were forced to fly; that part of them who got out of the city escaped clear, but another part that fled for shelter to a little house, at length were compelled to give up themselves to the will of the enemy.

The Thebans being informed, by them that had escaped, of this misfortune, with all their force hastened to the city; by reason of which sudden incursion many of them who lived in the country, and those abroad, being taken unawares, were killed, and many prisoners made; the whole country being filled with fears, devastations, and robberies. In the mean time the Plateans sent to the Thebans

to entreat them to depart out of their coasts, promising they would release the prisoners; upon which conditions the matter was composed, and the Thebans received the captives, and restored the plunder to them of Platea, and so returned home. The Plateans had some time before sent to Athens for aid, and had brought much of their goods out of the country into the city: the Athenians hearing of their distress despatched to them a competent number of soldiers, who though they marched with all expedition, yet they could not prevent the Thebans: but what was left in the country they brought into the town: the women and children, and those that were infirm, they got together in a body, and conveyed them to Athens.

Hereupon the Lacedæmonians judging the Athenians had broke the league, gathered forces together from all parts, both from Sparta and from the rest of the Peloponnesians. The confederates of the Lacedæmonians were the Peloponnesians wholly, except the Argives, for they then stood neuter. Those out of Peloponnesus were the Megareans, Ambracians, Leucadians, Phocians, Bœotians, many of the Locrians over against Eubœa, and the rest those of Amphissa. Those that sided with the Athenians were the inhabitants of the sea coasts of Asia, the Carians, Dorians, Ionians, them of the Hellespont, and all the islanders, except the inhabitants of Melus and Thera. The Thracians likewise were their confederates, except those of Chalcidica and Potidea. Besides these there joined with the Athenians the Messenians in Naupactus, and the Corcyreans. All the rest sent land-forces*. They all stood firm on both sides.

The Lacedæmonians having at length raised a great army, made Archidamus their king, general, who made an irruption into Attica, besieged their castles, and wasted a great part of the country. The Athenians, inflamed with desire of revenge for this destruction of their country, were eager to be out to fight their enemies; but Pericles the general advised the hot youths to forbear awhile, telling them that he would drive the Spartans out without fighting. To this end he fitted out a hundred gallies well manned, and gave the command of the fleet to Carcinus and some other officers, with orders to make a descent into Peloponnesus. Accordingly they laid waste a great part of the sea coasts, took several castles, and struck the Lacedæmonians with great consternation: so that without delay they withdrew their forces out of Attica, and made it their chief care now to defend Peloponnesus. The Athenians now freed, by this ingenious contrivance, from their enemies, highly honoured Pericles as a wise

* Here seems to be something wanting and lost; that is, who they were that sent the shipping.

commander, and one able to carry on the war against the Lacedæmonians.

Apollodorus now archon at Athens, the Romans chose Marcus Genarius* and Lucius Sergius consuls. In the mean time the Athenian general ceased not to waste and plunder the sea-coast of Peloponnesus, and destroy their castles: and being joined with fifty gallies of three tier of oars from Corsyra, he made a more dreadful incursion into Peloponnesus, and especially on the sea-coast†, and up farther into the land, burning all the towns before him. Then he made for Methone, a city of Laconia, wasting and plundering the country in his way, and attempted the taking of the city itself. There Brasidas a Spartan (a young man, but of great strength and valour) seeing Methone likely to be lost, with some other Spartans joining with him, made his way through the midst of the enemy, who were dispersed here and there in their several posts, and with the slaughter of many of them got safe into the castle. After the Athenians had made several assaults, (in which Brasidas behaved himself with great bravery in the midst of dangers), and saw no hopes of gaining the place, they returned to their ships. But Brasidas, who had preserved Methone by his valour and resolute defence, was highly honoured amongst the Spartans: and being encouraged by this success, in several encounters afterwards, he behaved himself with such valour that he gained a great name and reputation.

The Athenians roved about to Elis, wasted the country, and besieged Pheræ, a castle of the Eleans, to which they sent relief, but were beaten by the Athenians, who took Pheræ by storm. Yet within a while after, the Eleans coming upon them with all their strength, they were forced to their ships, and sailed back to Cephalenia, where they made a league with the inhabitants, and then returned to Athens.

Afterwards Cleopompus, made by the Athenians admiral of a fleet of thirty sail, was commanded into Eubœa, both to defend the island, and to make war upon the Locrians. He invaded and spoiled all the sea-tract of Locris, and took the city Thronium, and afterwards routed the Locrians in a land fight at Ellopia. He then fortified the island Atalante, near Locris, that it might be both a defence against the Locrians, and that from thence he might with more ease make incursions upon them.

About the same time the Athenians cast all the inhabitants out of Ægina for favouring the Lacedæmonians, (as they were accused), and brought new colonies thither, and divided the city and country

* Geganius. † Acte.

amongst them by lot. The Lacedæmonians appointed Thyre* to the ejected Æginites for their habitation, and on the other side, the Athenians forthwith allotted Naupactus for a receptacle for the Messenians, formerly ejected by the Lacedæmonians. At the same time the Athenians sent Pericles with an army against them of Megara, who after he had harassed the country, and taken much spoil and plunder, returned to Athens.

Shortly after, the Lacedæmonians with their confederates broke a second time into Attica, and cut down the trees, burnt the towns, and most miserably destroyed almost the whole country, except Tetrapolis, which they spared by reason of their former kindness in receiving their ancestors, and subduing (by arms from thence) Eurystheus. For they conceived it just and equal to shew kindness to them who had deserved so well from their predecessors. The Athenians during this incursion durst not come into the field, but kept close within the walls of their city, by reason whereof a great plague raged amongst them; for a multitude of all sorts of people being thronged together, it may be reasonably concluded that through the straitness of the place the air was corrupted, and caused the infection. By this means they were so weakened, that they were not able to drive the enemy out of the country, but sent out Pericles again, with a fleet, into Peloponnesus; who wasting the sea-coasts, and taking some cities, caused the Lacedæmonians at length to leave Attica.

The Athenians, by reason of the waste and spoil made in the country, and the great destruction of the people by the plague in the city, fell into great discontent and vexation, and were enraged at Pericles, whom they looked upon as the great incendiary and occasion of the war, and therefore deprived him of the magistracy, and upon slight and frivolous surmises laid a mulct upon him, of thirty talents. Then they sent ambassadors to Sparta, to treat of peace, but being slighted by the Lacedæmonians, who would admit of no reasonable terms, they were reduced to the necessity of chusing Pericles general again. And these were the actions of this year.

Epaminondas this year was chief ruler of Athens, and Lucius Papirius Crassus and Marcus Cornelius Macerinus† Roman consuls: at which time Pericles the general died at Athens: a man in nobility of birth, greatness of estate, in eloquence, arts and stratagems of war, far beyond all the rest of the citizens: about the same time the Athenians were very hot and earnest to recover Potidea by force, and to that end sent Hagno thither with the army formerly commanded

* Assigning it to the Messenians. † Malugiensis.

by Pericles. Hagno thereupon sailed thither with the whole fleet, and made all the preparation for the siege imaginable, viz. engines of all sorts for an assault, arms and darts, and sufficient provision for the whole army. However, though he continually battered the walls of the city in many places, yet he spent much time to no purpose: for the fear of being taken by storm added courage to the defendants, and the height of the walls commanding the port, made them very resolute: besides, a disease happened among the besiegers, which destroyed many of them, so that they were greatly discouraged. Notwithstanding, Hagno knowing that the Athenians had been at the charge of a thousand talents to carry on the siege, and that they were highly incensed against them of Potidea, (because they were the first that made a defection), durst not leave the siege; but with all his might persisted, and stirred up the soldiers even above their strength to force the city. But at length considering that many of the citizens were lost both in the assaults, and by the infection of the disease, leaving a part of the army to maintain the siege, he returned with the rest to Athens, having lost above a thousand men. After he was gone, they of Potidea (being brought to the utmost extremity for want of provisions) sent to the besiegers to treat with them on terms of peace, which was readily accepted, and embraced with both arms (as they say) by the Athenians, and peace was made upon the terms following, to wit—That all the inhabitants should draw out of the city, and take nothing away with them but every man one suit of apparel, and every woman two.

Matters being thus composed, the Potideans, with their wives and children, (according to the articles), left the city and settled themselves among the Chalcidicans in Thrace, after which the Athenians sent a colony of a thousand persons, and divided both the city and country adjacent amongst them by lot.

Phormio being now made admiral at Athens, with twenty ships sailed round Peloponnesus, and arrived at Naupactus, where possessing himself of the creek Criseus, he stopped the passages against the Lacedæmonians, so as that their ships could not come forth. But their king Archidamus, with a great army began a new expedition, and marched into Bœotia, and when he came into Platea (ready and prepared to waste and destroy the country) he first solicited that city to revolt: but not being able to prevail, he fell a robbing and spoiling the country all along as he went. Afterwards he besieged the city, in hopes to weary them out for want of provisions: he incessantly likewise battered the walls with his engines, and made frequent assaults. But with all his attempts not being able to gain

the place, he left a part of the army to carry on the siege, and with the rest marched back into Peloponnesus.

About this time the Athenians made Xenophon and Phanomachus generals, and commanded them with a thousand men to go into Thrace. When they came as far as Pactolus in Bœotia, they burnt, spoiled, and robbed the country all before them, and destroyed the very standing corn. But they of Olynthus joined with the Bœotians, fell upon the Athenians, and slew most of them, together with their generals.

In the mean time the Lacedæmonians, by the advice of the Ambracians, with a thousand men and a few ships under Cnemus their captain, made for Acarnania, and being enforced by a considerable number of their confederates, Cnemus arrived there, and encamped near the city Stratos. But the Acarnanians in a body came suddenly upon him, surprised him with the loss of many of his men, and drove him into the country of Œniadæ. About the same time Phormio, the Athenian commander, with his twenty ships, met with the Lacedæmonian fleet of forty-seven sail, and fought them, sunk the admiral, and disabled many others, took twelve with the men in them, and pursued the rest to the continent. The Lacedæmonians thus unexpectedly beaten, with the remaining part of their fleet got into Patræ in Achaia. This battle was at a place called Rhion. Hereupon the Athenians erected a trophy, and dedicated a ship in the Isthmus to Neptune, and so returned to their confederate city Naupactus. But the Lacedæmonians sent other ships to join the remainder of their fleet that were at Patræ: and all of them rendezvoused at Rhion*, whither likewise the Lacedæmonian land-army marched, and there encamped near to their fleet.

Phormio, encouraged by the late victory, set upon the enemy though they far exceeded him in numbers, and destroyed many of their ships, but not without some loss of his own, so that he went off but half conqueror; but being enforced with twenty more ships from Athens, the Lacedæmonians made off for Corinth, and durst never attempt any more to fight at sea. And these are the things reported to be done this year.

Diotinus executing the place of chief magistrate at Athens, the Romans created Caius Junius†, and Proculus Virginius Tricostus consuls: and they of Elis celebrated the eighty-eighth olympiad, in which Simmachus of Messana in Sicily carried away the prize. About this time Cnemus the Lacedæmonian admiral, while he lay at Corinth, contrived how to surprise the Pyreum. For he understood by his

* A promontory near the isthmus of Corinth. † Julius.

spies that no shipping lay there, nor was any guard appointed to defend the place; and that the Athenians were secure, and therefore negligent, conceiving none durst be so bold as to come up thither to attempt any thing of that nature.

To this end having brought forty ships a little before to Megaris, with these well manned, he set sail from thence in the night, and passed over to Salamis, where he surprised and took the castle Budorum, and seized their ships and harassed the rest of the country. They of Salamis firing their beacons, the Athenians suspected that the Pyreum was taken, and ran all with great fear and confusion to their arms, for the defence of the place: but being better informed, made away for Salamis. The Lacedæmonians thus frustrated in their design, left Salamis and returned home: after their departure, the Athenians had a more watchful eye upon Salamis, and placed there a strong garrison; and fortified the Pyreum with walls, and sufficient guards for its defence.

About this time Sitalces king of Thrace, though he had but a small kingdom, yet by his valour and prudence greatly enlarged his dominions, being a man both just and kind to his subjects, and valiant and diligent in time of war: he made it his chief care to preserve and increase his stores, by which means he grew so very rich, that he gained larger territories than ever any king of Thrace had done before him. For that part which lay by the sea-coast ran along from the borders of the Abderites to the river Ister; and that from the sea, up into the main land, was of as great extent as a swift footman could travel over in thirteen days.

This prince was possessed of so large a country, that his yearly revenue amounted to above a thousand talents. During his reign a war broke forth, upon which occasion he raised out of Thrace more than a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifty thousand horse. But it is necessary that we declare the causes of this war, that so the following account may be better understood.

Sitalces had entered into a league with the Athenians, and one of the articles was—That he should faithfully assist them in the war wherein they were engaged in Thrace. To this end he raised a powerful army, with a design to join the Athenians to take Chalcidica by force: and likewise for the hatred he had to Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, he resolved to restore Amyntas the son of Philip to his father's kingdom. For these causes he was necessitated to raise a very great army. When all things were in readiness, he marched all his forces out of Thrace, and entered Macedonia: but the Macedonians, struck with terror at the multitude of their enemies, dared not to oppose them, but, getting in all their fruits and goods they

could within their garrisons, they kept close within their forts and walls. The Thracians brought Amyntas along with them as king, and first treated with the cities by messengers and fair speeches; but when none would hearken to them, he assaulted the first castle in his way, and took it by storm. Upon which many of the cities and garrisons, through fear, surrendered of their own accord. After they had run through all Macedonia, loaded with rich booty, they made against the Greek cities of the Chalcidicans.

Whilst Sitalces was thus employed, the Thessalians, Achaians, Magnesians, and all the other Grecians inhabiting within Macedon and Thermopylæ, confederated and raised a mighty army; for they were afraid lest the Thracians, who were so powerful, should make an inroad into their country, and bring them under the Thracian yoke: and the Chalcidicans did the like. Sitalces hereupon being informed of the great armies raised against him by the Grecians, and knowing his army was not able to endure the sharpness of the approaching winter, struck up a peace with Perdiccas, and, in confirmation thereof, contracted a marriage with him, and so marched his army back into Thrace.

In the mean time, whilst these things were on foot, the Lacedæmonians with their confederates made another irruption out of Peloponnesus into Attica, under their king Archidamus, who had the sovereign command of the army; and after they had destroyed all the standing corn when it was nearly ripe, and made havock and spoil all over the country, they returned to their respective habitations. The Athenians on the other hand were not in heart to oppose them, but were under sore calamities by plague and famine, and therefore altogether despaired of any good issue and event of the war. And these were the things observable this year.

Euclides was ruler of Athens, when the Romans chose three military tribunes in the room of consuls, Marcus Mannius*, Quintus Sulpitius Pretextatus, and Servitius Cornelius Cossus. At this time in Sicily, the Syracusans made war upon them of Leontium, a colony brought thither from the Chalcidicans, originally Athenians, who being overpressed by the power of the Syracusans, and in great danger of losing their city, sent ambassadors to Athens for speedy and seasonable aid, to deliver them from their present exigency. The chief among them that were sent, was Gorgias the orator, the most eloquent man of his time. He was the first that taught the rules of rhetoric, and was so famous for his wise and learned orations, that all his scholars, as a gratuity, gave him a hundred minas a-piece.

* Manlius.

When he came to Athens, and had audience, he made an oration to the people concerning the league desired; and by his new and ingenious way of speaking, the Athenians were so taken, (who were otherwise men of great wisdom and eloquence), that they were struck with admiration. For he adorned his speech with most excellent figures, and artificial composures of words and sentences, as by opposites, paranomacisms, equal periods like terminations, and the like gingling strains of rhetorical wit, to allure and entice his auditors; which at that time for its novelty was much admired: but now it is looked upon to savour too much of affectation, and to be ridiculous, especially when by frequent repetition it becomes fulsome and tedious. Gorgias having persuaded the Athenians to enter into a league with the Leontines, returned to Leontium with great reputation for his eloquence.

The Athenians, for some time before, had a hankering mind after Sicily, by reason of the richness of the soil, and therefore were now more willingly persuaded by Gorgias, and decreed to send aid as was desired. The pretence was to assist them who were their own countrymen, and were brought into great straits, but in truth their chief design was to gain the island; for not many years before, when the war broke forth between the Corinthians and them of Corcyra, and both addressed themselves to the Athenians for aid, to make them their confederates, the people of Athens resolved to side with the Corcyreans, because Corcyra was so situated, that it was a very ready and convenient pass over from thence into Sicily. In short, the Athenians being now masters at sea, and every where successful, had many confederates, and were richly furnished, both with men and money; had many cities under their power, and were possessed of a mighty treasure in ready money, brought from Delos, gathered from the inhabitants of Greece, to the value of above ten thousand talents*.

Moreover, they had likewise many excellent officers, and expert commanders; by these advantages, the Athenians were grown very confident that they should both overcome the Spartans, and (having subdued all Greece) win also the whole island of Sicily. These were the reasons which induced them to assist the Leontines; to that end they sent them a hundred sail of ships, under the command of Lachetes and Chabrias. With these they arrived at Rhegium, and from their colonies there and at Chalcidica, they had a hundred ships more, which joined with the former; from thence they departed, and came first to the Lipari islands, where they ravaged the country,

* Ten thousand talents amounts to £1,875,000 sterling, the lesser talent: the greater talent is £250; the lesser is £187: 10s.

because they were confederates of the Syracusans.' Then they made for Locris*, and took five ships belonging to the Locrians, and besieged one of their castles. The Siculi bordering upon the Myleans† coming to their aid, the armies engaged, and the Athenians were conquerors, and killed above a thousand of their enemies, and took no fewer than six hundred prisoners: and presently after they took the castle by storm. In the mean time forty ships more were sent to the fleet by the Athenians, to carry on the war with more vigour, under the command of Eurymedon and Sophocles: and when they were all joined, they made up a fleet of two hundred and fifty sail. But while the war was carrying on, the Leontines, by their ambassadors, struck up a peace with them of Syracuse; upon which the Athenian fleet returned home. But the Syracusans received all the Leontines into the city, and made them all free of Syracuse, and from that time appointed the city of Leontium to be a fort or garrison of the Syracusans. And this was the condition of Sicily at this time.

In Greece, they of the island of Lesbos revolted from the Athenians: and the reason was, because all the inhabitants of the cities throughout Lesbos, were by order and decree of the Athenians, removed and brought into Mitylene‡. For this reason also they entered into a league with the Lacedæmonians, and advised them how they might become masters at sea: to accomplish which design they promised them a great number of ships. The Spartans gave a very quick ear to this, and whilst they were preparing a navy, the Athenians were beforehand with them, and commanded Clinippedes with forty sail, forthwith to waft over an army into Lesbos; who being joined with other confederates, made for Mitylene, and in a sea-fight routed the Mityleneans, and then besieged them.

Hereupon the Lacedæmonians resolved to assist them of Mitylene, and to that end prepared a brave navy; but the Athenians reinforced their army with a thousand men more sent into Lesbos, before the Lacedæmonians arrived. Paches, the son of Epiderus, was general of this expedition, who, when he arrived at Mitylene, joining with the former army, laid closer siege to the place, and continually assaulted the city both by sea and land. The Lacedæmonians in the mean time sent five-and-forty ships, under the command of Alcidas, to assist the Mityleneans, and again invaded Attica, with the assistance of their confederates; who fell upon those places that were before untouched, and after they had most shamefully pillaged and wasted the country, they returned home. But the Mityleneans, oppressed

* In Italy, upon the sea-coast. † Myle, a city in Sicily.

‡ The greatest city of Lesbos.

with famine, the sword, and seditious tumults, upon conditions surrendered the city: after which a council was held at Athens, as to what they should do with them of Mitylene. There was one Cleon, an orator, (a cruel and violent spirited man), stirred up the people to kill all the Mityleneans that were men grown up, and to sell all the women and children for slaves. The Athenians voted it to be so as Cleon had persuaded them, and sent messengers to Mitylene to acquaint the governor with the decree. When Paches had read it, another to the contrary presently came to his hand; upon which Paches understanding the Athenians had changed their minds, with great joy called the Mityleneans together, and both remitted their faults, and likewise freed them from their fears. But the Athenians demolished the walls of Mitylene, and divided the whole island of Lesbos by lot, except the lands belonging to Methymna. And this was the issue of the Lesbean defection from Athens.

About the same time, the Lacedæmonians (still carrying on the siege at Platea) drew a wall round the city, and fortified it with several forts and strong guards for its defence. The siege continuing long, and no relief coming from Athens, the besieged were greatly pressed both with want of provision, and the loss of many of the citizens, who were cut off in the frequent assaults: all therefore being doubtful what the issue might be, a council was called to advise what was fit to be done in order to their preservation. Many thought it most advisable to capitulate, but there were others, to the number of two hundred, that were for breaking through the guards in the night, and so fly to Athens. In pursuance whereof, observing the darkness of the night, those that were for capitulating, were prevailed upon to assault a remote part of the enemy's wall; by which means they who intended to break through the guards, whilst their enemies were busied in assisting their fellows that were assaulted, scaled another part of the wall, (having got ladders for that purpose), and killed the guards, and so escaped to Athens.

The next day, the Lacedæmonians were in great vexation at the escape of them out of the city, and brought their forces close to the walls, and bent all their minds and strength with all expedition to force the place; upon which, the Plateans being terrified, gave up both themselves and their city to the mercy of their enemies.

But the Lacedæmonian commanders put this question to every one that they sent for from among the Plateans—What good offices or services they had ever done to the Lacedæmonians? and when one by one confessed that they knew of none, they asked them again—Whether they had ever done the Spartans any harm? and when none denied that, they ordered them all to be slain; so that

all who remained in the city were put to the sword, the town itself razed to the ground, and the lands belonging to it let to farm. Thus the Plateans, for their faithfulness to the Athenians, became involved in great misery, and undeservedly perished.

Whilst these things were in doing, a great sedition and civil discord arose in Corcyra, upon the following occasion: in the battle at Epidamnum many of the Corcyreans were taken prisoners; and while they were in custody, they promised the Corinthians, that if they might be released, they would undertake to deliver up Corcyra into their hands. This was a very welcome and grateful offer to the Corinthians. A considerable number of talents, therefore, being colourably procured from their friends for their redemption, they were all discharged.

As soon as they returned into their country, minding the performance of their contract, they first seized upon the chief of the citizens, and especially those who could most influence the people, and afterwards cut their throats, and so quite dissolved the democracy. But the Corcyreans were presently assisted by the Athenians, and recovered their liberty, and were resolved to execute justice upon the ringleaders of the defection. But they, through fear of punishment, fled for refuge to the altars of the gods, and as suppliants begged pardon both of the gods and the people.

Euthydemus was governor of Athens, when three military tribunes invested with consular power were again chosen at Rome, Marcus Fabius, Phalinius, and Lucius Sextilius. In their time the plague broke out afresh, when they were freed from this contagion but very lately before: it raged so exceedingly, that they lost four thousand foot soldiers, and four hundred horse; and of others, freemen and servants, above ten thousand. And now because the course of the history may require a declaration of the causes of this violent distemper, it is necessary for us in this place to set them forth.

Abundance of rain had fallen in the winter, by reason whereof the earth being over wet in many places, especially in low and hollow grounds, the water lay like standing pools; and those being corrupted and putrified by the heat of the summer, thence proceeded a mist of gross and stinking vapours, which corrupted the air, as it often happens about filthy marshes: and besides, the want of good food much advanced the progress of the disease, for the year before, the fruits, by too much rain, were crude and unwholesome.

There was likewise a third cause of this distemper, which was this; the Etesian* winds this summer blew not, by whose gentle breezes

* That is, winds which come at certain stated times every year. Plin. lib. 2, c. 47.

the violent heat of the air was constantly allayed at other times; so that the heat being now excessive, and the air as it were inflamed, men's bodies now wanting the usual refreshment, contracted an evil habit, from whence arose (through the vehement and immoderate heat) all sorts of burning distempers. And hence it was that many who were seized with this disease, to free themselves from the burning heat that was in their bodies, cast themselves into pits and wells. But the Athenians judged so grievous a distemper was from the gods; and therefore, according to the charge given them by the oracle, they purged the island of Delos, (which was formerly dedicated to Apollo), now polluted, as they conceived, by burying many dead bodies there. therefore all the graves of the dead were dug up, and the urns were transported into the next island to Delos, called Rhene; and a law was made, that it should not be lawful for any, for the time to come, either to bury or to bear any child in Delos. They then likewise revived the panegyric festival in Delos, now for a long time disused. While the Athenians were thus religiously employed, the Lacedæmonians, with their confederates in Peloponnesus, encamped in the isthmus, and there consulted together concerning the invading of Attica again. But there then happened such terrible earthquakes in several parts of Greece, that it so terrified and possessed them with fear and awe of the gods, that they all returned to their respective countries. For the horrible concussions of the earth were so great, that many cities near the sea were sunk and drowned. And whereas that tract of land near Locris was before a peninsula, by the violence of the earthquake a channel was made through the isthmus, and the place turned into an island now called Atalante*.

While these things were doing, the Lacedæmonians sent new colonies into Trachinia, and changed its name into Heracleat. The reason was, that the Trachinians, having had wars with the Œteans for many years, had lost most of their citizens; and therefore being almost depopulated, they addressed themselves to the Lacedæmonians (whose colonies they were) to repeople their city. The Lacedæmonians, in regard they were their countrymen, and Hercules their ancestor, in times long past had resided at Trachis, resolved to make it a large and beautiful city; and to this end they sent a colony thither, out of their own city, and out of others in Peloponnesus, to the number of four thousand; and out of the rest of Greece, as many as pleased were received as members of the colony: the whole number

* Near Eubœa, now called Negropont.

† There are many of this name, but this is near the mountain Œta, and the straits of Thermopylæ.

was little less than six thousand. To conclude, Trachis was at length so far enlarged, that it contained ten thousand men; and when they had divided the land adjoining by lot, they called the city Heraclea.

Stratocles being archon of Athens, the consular dignity was conferred upon the three military tribunes at Rome, Lucius Furius Metellus*, Lucius† Pinarius, and S. Posthumius Albus. In the time of their government, Demosthenes, made admiral of the fleet by the Athenians, with thirty ships well manned, joined with fifteen more from Corcyra, and other aids from the Cephalenians, Acarnanians, and Messenians inhabiting Naupactus‡, and so set sail for Leucas, and when he had harassed and wasted the country of Leucadia, he bent his course for Ætolia, and there burnt and destroyed many of their villages; but the Ætolians making head against them, routed the Athenians, who fled to Naupactus. The Ætolians, encouraged with this victory, with the aid of three thousand Lacedæmonians, marched against Naupactus, (which the Messenians then inhabited), but were repulsed. From thence they made an expedition against Molycrion§, and took the city.

The Athenian general Demosthenes, fearing lest they would attack Naupactus, sent a thousand men out of Acarnania, to strengthen the garrison. He himself continued in Acarnania, and fell upon a thousand Ambracians in their march, and cut them almost all off. Upon this the whole strength of the city‖ came out against him, and he destroyed most of them likewise, so that the city was almost made desolate. Hereupon he entered into a consultation of assaulting Ambracia, hoping it might be easily won, by reason there were few left to defend it: but the Acarnanians fearing that if the Athenians were master of the town, they would have more troublesome neighbours than the Ambracians were, refused to follow Demosthenes: on this mutiny the Acarnanians became friends with the Ambracians, and entered into a league of peace and amity for a hundred years. Demosthenes thus deserted by the Acarnanians, returns with twenty sail to Athens. Presently after, the Ambracians (having lately smarted so much, and in great fear of the Athenians) desired a garrison from the Lacedæmonians.

Demosthenes afterwards marching with an army to Pylos¶ in Peloponnesus, determined to draw a wall round the place; which was naturally fortified, and four hundred stadias from Messena: and

* Medullinus. † Mamercus.
‡ A city of Achaia, now called Lepanto by the Venetians.
§ A city of Ætolia. ‖ Ambracia.
¶ A town in the western part of Peloponnesus.

being well furnished with multitudes of men, in twenty days space he finished the work. But the Lacedæmonians hearing of the fortifying of Pylos, prepared great forces, both by land and sea, and with a fleet of forty-five sail, well manned and provided, and with twelve thousand land soldiers, made against Pylos: for it seemed to them a thing dishonourable, to suffer them who durst not come into the field to defend Attica from devastations, now to nestle themselves, and to make fortifications in Peloponnesus. They encamped therefore with their army, under the command of Thrasymedes, near to Pylos, and were resolved to undergo all hardships and hazards, in order to subdue the place. To this end they stood with their fleet in the very mouth of the port, to block up all the passage and entrance from the enemy: and by their forces at land, they assaulted the walls with one body after another by turns, pressing on with wonderful obstinacy and resolution.

They likewise put some of the choicest of their soldiers, both of the Lacedæmonians and their confederates, into the Sphacteriæ islands, which was near at hand, and ran out at length over against the port, by which the harbour was the safer and securer from storms: and this they did to prevent the Athenians, it being a place very commodious, and useful for the carrying on of the siege. They likewise continued the assaults every day, without intermission, and received wounds upon wounds, from the towers and bulwarks upon the walls, and yet remitted nothing of their heat and resolution; so that multitudes were killed, and many wounded, in striving to storm a place most strongly fortified. For the Athenians being possessed of a town of natural strength, and abundantly furnished with arms, and all things necessary for a defence, most vigorously repelled their enemies. For they hoped, that if they frustrated this design, Peloponnesus would be the seat of the whole war; and that they should by degrees waste and destroy their country.

In the mean time, whilst these things were managed at the siege with the greatest heat imaginable on both sides, and the Spartans exercised all their force and power, amongst many others that purchased honour by their gallantry, Brasidas mounted to the highest step of glory; for when the other captains and commanders in the fleet durst not make up to the shore with the ships, by reason of sharp rocks, and the difficulty of the place, he, acting the part of an admiral, with a loud voice commanded, and incessantly urged the pilot of his own vessel, without any regard to the ship, to force it ashore; for he said it was a base thing for the Spartans, if they resolving, as they pretended, to be victorious, should be more sparing of their ships than their lives; and in the mean time suffer the Athenians to lord it

in Laconia. Hereupon the pilot was forced to run the ship ashore, and forthwith Brasidas (resolutely fixing himself upon the hatches) encountered with a whole troop of Athenians that made up in a body upon him, and killed many of them that first assaulted him; but darts flying thick about him, and receiving many wounds, at length, through the loss of much blood, he fell down as dead; and his arm slipping off board, and hanging out of the ship, his buckler, caught by the waves, dropped out of his left hand into the sea, and was presently seized by the enemy; and he himself lying half dead amongst the heaps of those he had killed, was taken up and carried out of the ship by his own men; thus far excelling all others in valour, that when others have been put to death because they basely threw away their shields, he by the loss of his, gained the highest honour and reputation. However, the Lacedæmonians obstinately persisted in the siege at Pylos, with great loss of their men.

Here any one may justly admire the wonderful and various turns and changes of fortune at Pylos: for the Athenians drove the Spartans out of Laconia; and they who were usually victors at land (now forced from land) overpower the Athenians at sea; and they who were before masters at sea, now repel their enemies at land. But the siege continuing very long, they who were in the island were in great hazard of being famished, because the Athenian fleet, now commanding at sea, stopped all provision that way. The Lacedæmonians therefore now fearing what would become of them that were blocked up in the island, sent to Athens to treat upon terms of peace: but when nothing of peace would be hearkened unto, they desired that they would accept of an exchange, and receive as many prisoners of their own men, as they were that were in the island: but when this was refused, the Lacedæmonian ambassadors very freely and sharply, even in Athens itself, told them, that by their refusing to exchange one equal number for another, they owned that the Lacedæmonians were of more worth and value than the Athenians. Being reduced to these straits and necessities, they in the Sphacteriæ islands were forced to submit, and the Athenians took them all prisoners. The number of those that were Spartans (who then delivered up themselves) were an hundred and twenty; of those that were their confederates, an hundred and fourscore. Cleon, the admiral of the fleet, brought them all bound to Athens, where it was decreed by the people, that if the Lacedæmonians would make an end of the war, they should all be preserved; but if they persisted, they should all be put to death. After this, the Athenians sent for the best soldiers of the Messenians that inhabited Naupactus, and joined some of their confederates with

them for the defence of Pylos, judging the Messenians, for the inveterate hatred they had towards the Spartans, would be very eager to spoil Laconia by sallies from so strong a fortification: and in this condition were things at Pylos.

In the mean time Artaxerxes king of Persia died, having reigned forty years: Xerxes succeeded him, and reigned only one year. In Italy the Æqui rebelled against the Romans; to suppress whom, the Romans created Aulus Posthumius dictator, and Lucius Julius master of the horse, who made an inroad with a brave army into their country; upon which the Æqui presently fought them, and were routed: a great slaughter was made, and many taken prisoners, and the Romans carried away great spoil. After this slaughter the Æqui submitted to the mercy of the Romans. Posthumius having thus bravely managed the war, according to custom, triumphed. A thing something incredible is reported to be done by this Posthumius; to wit, that he put his own son to death, for that in the battle, out of a sprightly heat of youth, pressing on upon the enemy, he left his post assigned him by his father.

This year ended, Isarchus* was chief magistrate at Athens, and at Rome, Titus Quintius and Caius Julius were consuls; at which time the eighty-ninth olympiad was celebrated at Elis, in which Simmachus was again victor. At this time the Athenians made Nicias admiral of their fleet, who with threescore sail, and three thousand men at arms under his command, was ordered to invade the Lacedæmonian confederates; whereupon he forthwith made up to the island of Melos, spoiled the country, and besieged the city many days. For this only, of all the islands of the Cyclades, stood firm and constant to the Lacedæmonians, because they were a colony from Sparta. Nicias, knowing he was not in a condition able to storm the place, (which made a resolute defence) passed to Oropus in Bœotia, and leaving his fleet there, marched with his forces into Tanagra, where he was joined with new supplies from Athens, under the command of Hipponicus the son of Callias: both these together proceeded in wasting and spoiling the country. Hereupon the Thebans came out against them, and fought them; but the Athenians routed them with a great slaughter. When all was over, Hipponicus, with his forces, returned to Athens, and Nicias to the fleet; who, sailing along the coasts of Locris, wastes and destroys many places upon the sea shore. Here forty ships came up to him from the confederates, which, with those he had before, made up a navy of a hundred sail; he had likewise a brave army of land soldiers, with which he made for Corinth;

* Or rather Iparchus.

and landing his men, engaged with the army of the Corinthians, beat them twice, and after the slaughter of many of his enemies, erected a trophy. In this fight there were only eight of the Athenians killed, but three hundred of the Corinthians. Thence he sailed towards Cremmyon*, spoiled the country, and took the castle by assault. Presently after, he marches back, fortifying the castle in Methone† by the way; and having put in a strong garrison, wasted the country adjoining, and at length (spoiling and harassing all along upon the sea-coast) returned to Athens. Not long after, the Athenians sent forth threescore sail, and two thousand men at arms against Cythera‡, under the command of Nicias and some others. When he had landed his men in the island, the city after a short siege surrendered, and leaving there a good garrison for the defence of the island, he passed over to Peloponnesus, and spoiled the country upon the sea coast, and took Thyre§ (situated between the confines of Laconia and Argos) by assault, and demolished the walls, and made all the inhabitants captives. But the Æginites who inhabited there, and Tantalus, the governor of the castle, he sent prisoners to Athens, where they were detained with other prisoners.

Whilst these things were acting, the Megareans, now tired out with the war they had both with the Athenians and their exiles, after many messages backwards and forwards between the two cities, some of the citizens of Megara, incensed against the exiles, promised the Athenian commanders to betray the city. To that end Hippocrates and Demosthenes, the Athenian generals, by compact with them of Megara, sent in the night six hundred soldiers into the city, whom the traitors let in within the walls; but the treachery being discovered, the people were divided into two factions, one sided with the Athenians, and the other with the Lacedæmonians. In the mean time, one, of his own accord, made proclamation, that whosoever would, might join with the Megareans and Athenians. The Lacedæmonians thus deserted by them of Megara, the watch which was all along upon the walls, left their station, and fled into the arsenal called Nicea, where the Megareans kept all their naval stores and provisions. But the Athenians intrenched round and besieged the castle; and a little time after, sending for workmen from Athens, encompassed Nicea with a wall. Upon this the Peloponnesians, fearing they should all be put to the sword if the place were taken by storm, delivered up Nicea upon conditions to the Athenians. Thus stood the affairs of Megara at this time.

* A town near Corinth. † In Laconia.

‡ An island on the south-east side of Laconia.

§ In Peloponnesus, now called Cerigo, belonging to the Venetians.

But Brasidas, with a great army raised in Sparta and other parts of Peloponnesus, marched to Megara, and drove the Athenians (surprised with this sudden and unexpected approach) out of Nicea, and reduced the city to its former obedience to the Lacedæmonians. Then he marched through Thessaly, and came to Dion in Macedonia. Thence going on to Acanthus, he assisted the Chalcidicans, and partly by threats, and partly by fair and plausible arguments, wrought upon the chief city of the Acanthians to desert the Athenians: afterwards he brought over many other of the Thracians to join, as confederates, with the Lacedæmonians; and henceforward desiring to carry on the war with more vigour, sent for soldiers out of Lacedæmon to strengthen his army.

The Spartans hereupon sent to him a thousand of the best soldiers amongst the Helots, whom they had long before designed to root out, hoping most of them would be cut off in the war: and there was another vile act of cruelty committed by them, by which they determined utterly to destroy all the Helots. For they made a proclamation that whosoever of the Helots had done any service for Sparta, should be made free, and to that end they should send in their names: when two thousand had written their names, they ordered the most powerful and chief of the citizens to cut all the Helots' throats in their several houses; for they were in great dread of them, lest, when they saw an opportunity, they should join with their enemies, and so be instrumental to the ruin of Sparta. However, when these Helots, with some other supplies from their confederates, joined with Brasidas, his army was very strong: and thus strengthened, he marched his forces to Amphipolis Aristogoras the Milesian was the first that brought colonies into the city, when he fled from Darius, the king of Persia. But after Aristogoras's death, the inhabitants were ejected by the Thracians called Edones. Two-and-thirty years after, the Athenians sent thither a colony of ten thousand men: but these being destroyed by the Thracians at Drabiscum two years after, the Thracians recovered the city under Apion, their general. This city, subject to so frequent changes of war, Brasidas made it his business to subdue. To this end, marching thither with a great army, he encamped at the bridge near to the city, and presently possessed himself of the suburbs. The next day they of Amphipolis being greatly terrified, surrendered the place, upon condition that all who would might leave the city, and take their effects with them: and soon after he took in many other neighbouring cities, amongst which the chief were Syme and Galepsus, both colonies of the Thracians, and Myrcinus, a town of the Edones.

He likewise began building new ships at the river Strymon, and sent for fresh supplies from Lacedæmonia and other confederates.

He also caused great store of arms to be made, by which he armed the new raised men, and furnished himself with darts, weapons, and all other provisions: and being thus completely provided, he marched from Amphipolis, and encamped at a place called Acte. Here were five of the towns partly inhabited by Grecians of Andros, and partly by a mixed multitude of barbarians, descended from the Bisalte, people of a double tongue. Having brought these under his power, he fell upon Torone, built by the Chalcidicans, but then in the power of the Athenians. Here, by the treachery of some of the inhabitants, in the night he was let into the town, and so won Torone. And thus far the expedition of Brasidas prospered this year.

In the mean time there was a battle fought by the Athenians at Delium in Bœotia, with the Bœotians, upon the accounts following.—The then present government in Bœotia was displeasing to some, who desired to set up a democracy in the cities: these malcontents discovered their designs to the Athenian generals Hippocrates and Demosthenes, and engaged to deliver up the cities in Bœotia. This was a very welcome overture to the commanders: and that the business might the better be effected, they divided the army, and Demosthenes with the greater part made an incursion into Bœotia; but the Bœotians being well prepared, having had notice of the treachery, he marched back without doing any thing. Hippocrates in the mean time invaded Delium, possessed himself of the place; and to prevent the march of the Bœotians that way, fortified Delium with a wall, which lies near to Oropus, and the borders of Bœotia lying towards the mountains. But Pantoedas, the Bœotian general, gathered out of all the cities of Bœotia, the best and choicest soldiers, and with a great army and a swift march made for Delium; for he had with him little less than twenty thousand foot, and a thousand horse. The Athenians on the other side were more in number, but not so well armed; for coming hastily and suddenly out of the city, many were ill furnished, both as to arms and other necessaries. This was the condition of both armies, yet very hot and eager on both sides to fight. In the army of the Bœotians the Thebans were in the right wing, the Orchomenians in the left, and the Bœotians in the main body. Those that were called Heniochi and Parætacæ, that is, the charioteers, or those that fought in chariots, were placed in the front; these were the best soldiers, in number three hundred. The Athenians were forced to join battle before they were perfectly drawn up in battalia; but it was fought with great courage and resolution on both sides. The Athenian horse charged with that bravery, that in the beginning they put the enemy's horse to flight. Then the foot engaged, and that part of the Athenian army that opposed the The-

bans, by the violence of the enemy's charge, were quite broken in pieces and routed: but the rest of the Athenians chased all the other Bœotians, and pursued them a long way with a great slaughter. On the other side the Thebans (being strong-bodied men) left the chase of their enemies, and fell upon the other pursuers, hewed them down, dispersed, and utterly routed them; and thus the Thebans highly advanced their reputation by this signal victory. As for the Athenians, some of them fled to Oropus, others to Delium; some made to their ships, and the rest fled any way, as their lot and fortune led them, till night put an end to the pursuit. There were not above five hundred of the Bœotians killed, but many more of the Athenians, and if night had not come on, most of them had been cut off; but that saved them, and gave a check to the fury of the conquerors. Yet the number of the slain was so great, that with the price of the spoils the Thebans built a great walk or gallery in the forum, and adorned it with many statues of brass; and even covered over the temples with brass, and the public buildings in the market place, with the arms and shields of their enemies. And with the riches got in this fight they set up sports and shews at Delium.

After this victory, the Bœotians assaulted Delium with that fury, that the greater part of the garrison were killed in defending the place. Two hundred only were taken, the rest escaped to their ships, and with the other inhabitants came to Athens. Into this disaster fell the Athenians by their crafty designs against the Bœotians.

In Asia, Xerxes the Persian king died, after he had reigned one year, some say only two months: to him succeeded Sogdianus for the space only of seven months, who being killed, Darius enjoyed the kingdom for nineteen years. With this year Antiochus of Syracuse, the noble writer of the affairs of Sicily, ends his history, beginning at king Cocalus, and consisting of nine books.

When Amyntas was chief magistrate of Athens, Caius Papirius and Lucius Julius were Roman consuls. In their time the Scioneans now slighting the Athenians, by reason of the late defeat given them, made a defection to the Lacedæmonians, and gave up their city into the protection of Brasidas, then general of the army in Thrace: and those who escaped out of Lesbos, after the taking of Mitylene by the Athenians, who were no small number, some time before contriving how to return into their country, joined together, and possessed themselves of Antandros; from whence, taking their opportunity, they issued forth, and set upon the garrison at Mitylene: at which the Athenians being incensed, command was given to Aristides and Symmachus, to lead the army against them; who having passed over

the forces into Lesbos, after some few assaults, took Antandros, and put part of the exiles to the sword, and expelled the rest out of the city: and after they had strengthened the place with a garrison, they departed from Lesbos. After this, Lamachus, with ten ships under his command, sailed for Pontus, and lay with his fleet at Heraclea, and near the river Cacheta lost all his ships: for abundance of rain falling, the rain, by the violence of the stream, dashed in pieces all the vessels against the rocks lying upon the shore. Hereupon the Athenians made a truce with the Lacedæmonians for a year, upon these conditions, that all that was then under the power and government of each other, should so remain on both sides: and after several debates and consultations, it was judged to be the wisest course to put an end to the war, and those destructive contentions between themselves for ever after. That which chiefly moved the Lacedæmonians was the earnest desire they had to release those who were taken in the Sphacteriæ islands. Thus far the truce went on; but they could not agree concerning Scione, though all other things were consented to on both sides. The contention was so hot, that all further overtures of peace were at an end, and the war was still carried on upon the account of Scione.

About this time the city of Menda fell off to the Lacedæmonians, which caused a greater heat and resolution for the keeping of Scione. To this end Brasidas removed all the women and children, and their best goods, out of Scione and Menda, and put strong garrisons into them. The Athenians were so enraged at this, that they made a decree to put all the inhabitants of Scione to the sword, whenever they took the city.

To that end they sent Nicias and Nicostratus with fifty sail against them: they first set upon Menda, which they took by the treachery of some within: then they besieged Scione, compassing it round with a wall, and pressed upon it with continual assaults. But the garrison in Scione being very strong, and well provided with all things necessary, easily defended themselves, and from the top of the walls greatly galled the besiegers. And these were the things done this year.

The year following, Alceus governing at Athens, and Opicter Lucretius and Lucius Sergius Fideniates* Roman consuls, the Athenians cast the Delians out of the island, and took the city into their own hands, because they kept secret correspondence (as they alledged) with the Lacedæmonians. Being thus expulsed, Pharnaces, the Persian lord lieutenant, gave them the city of Adramyttium to inhabit. The Athenians at the same time sent forth Cleon, with a great body of

* Fidenas.

foot unto the coasts of Thrace, who arriving at Scione, shipped part of them that lay before the town, and sailed with them to Torone. For he had intelligence that Brasidas was gone from those parts, and had left but few soldiers at Torone; to which place, he approached as close as he could, and besieged it both by sea and land; at length he took it by storm, and made the women and children captives; the soldiers he bound in chains, and sent them to Athens; having left at Torone a small garrison, he marched with the rest of his forces to the river Strymon in Thrace, and thence to the city of Scione, (which is distant thirty stages from the city of Amphipolis), which he fiercely assaulted. But here having intelligence that Brasidas was encamped with his army at Amphipolis, he made against him with a swift march, who being informed of the approach of the enemy, set forth in battalia to meet the Athenians; whereupon they presently joined battle, and the victory continued very doubtful for some time, both sides behaving themselves bravely: in the mean time the generals fought with that resolution, as if each would gain the victory with his own hands, and the officers themselves, with undaunted courage rushed into the heat of the battle, insomuch as many brave men on both sides breathed their last: at length Brasidas fell in the bed of honour, amongst heaps of his enemies, slain by his own hand. Cleon likewise was slain in the thickest of the combatants; and now both armies were at a stand, and in a consternation at the loss of their generals; but at length the Lacedæmonians got the day, and set up a trophy: and the Athenians upon a truce made, buried their dead, and sailed back to Athens. When some who returned to Lacedæmon gave an account of the victory and death of Brasidas, it is reported that his mother asked how he behaved himself in the battle; to whom answer was made—That he went beyond all the Lacedæmonians. Upon which she replied—Her son Brasidas was an honest and good man, but much inferior to many other Spartans in valour. What she said being noised through the city, the Ephori decreed her public honours, because she preferred the glory of her country, before the particular praise of her son. After this battle, the Athenians determined to make peace with the Lacedæmonians for fifty years, and did so upon these conditions—That the prisoners on both sides should be discharged, and that the cities taken in the war should be restored: and so the Peloponnesian war, that had now continued ten years, was thus ended at this time.

CHAP. VIII.

The continuance of the Peloponnesian war. The war by the Romans against the Fidenates, for putting their ambassadors to death. The quarrels between the Egesteans and the Selinuntines in Sicily. The expedition of the Athenians against Sicily, under Nicias, being the sixteenth year of the Peloponnesian war.

ARISTON was archon at Athens, when the Romans committed the consulship to Titus Quintius and Aulus Cornelius Cossus. The Peloponnesian war was scarcely ended, when new commotions and dissentions broke out afresh, occasioned as follows—The Athenians and Spartans, with the common consent of all their confederates, had entered into terms of truce and peace: but in the mean time they privately confederated in a league offensive and defensive, without taking in the cities that had sided with either party; which raised a suspicion as if there was a design laid by this secret association, to enslave all Greece; and therefore the chiefest cities in Greece sent one to another, and entered into mutual leagues to join together against the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. The most potent Grecian cities in this confederacy were four, Argos, Thebes, Corinth, and Elis. And indeed there was some reason to suspect these two cities had some design against Greece; for in the articles of the league, there was a clause subjoined, that it should be lawful for the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, at any time when they thought fit, either to add to, or take any thing from that which was before solemnly agreed to. Besides, the Athenians had created ten magistrates, who were invested with full power to manage all affairs relating to the city: and whereas the Lacedæmonians did the same thing, it was very evident at what the insatiable ambition of the two cities pointed. Many of the cities, therefore, now resolved to defend the common liberty, and to that end, considering the power of Athens to be low, by their late overthrow at Delium, and the honour and glory of Sparta much diminished upon the account of so many captives of the noblest of their citizens taken in the Sphacteriæ islands, they conspired against them, and committed the sovereign power and management of the war to the city of Argos. For the antient noble actions done by that city, challenged, above all others, that preeminence and prerogative; for long before, and to the very time of the

migration of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, the greatest kings of Greece came out of Argos; and besides, by the advantage of a long peace, it was grown very rich and populous.

Argos now concluding that the chief command was lodged in themselves, picked out a thousand of the strongest young men, and best ability for estates, whom they freed from all public affairs, and maintained at the common charge. These were continually, by daily exercise, to inure themselves to martial discipline: and by the help of a plentiful allowance, and constant care and diligence, in a short time they became most expert soldiers. But when the Lacedæmonians perceived all Peloponnesus had conspired against them, and foreseeing the greatness and danger of the war, they made preparation for defence of the government, as far as was possible. To that end, in the first place, they manumitted a thousand of the Helots that were with Brasidas: and afterwards they restored the citizens to their former privileges, who had been taken prisoners in the Sphacteriæ, whom they had before degraded by reason of the disgrace they had brought upon their country. Moreover, they brought in many who had formerly done great service in the wars, by crying them up, and feeding them by rewards, to encourage them to shew the like instances of their valour in the hazards of the approaching war. They carried themselves likewise with more kindness towards their confederates, and strove to gain and win, by courtesy and civility, those they had disobliged and alienated from them. But the Athenians went quite a contrary way; for conceiving that those whom they suspected to be false, were to be discouraged by fear of punishment, they put them in mind of that severe revenge taken in the business of Scione*; for there, when the city was taken, they put all the men to the sword, and carried away all the women and children as captives, and planted the island with the Plateans who were banished their country for their faithfulness to the Athenians.

About the same time the Campanians in Italy marched against Cuma with a great army, and routed and destroyed most of the Cumeans. Then they besieged the city, and after several assaults at length took it by force, and having plundered it, and carried away all the inhabitants who were left as slaves, they repeopled it with colonies sent out of their own city.

The chief of the senate at Athens was Aristophilus, Lucius Quintius and Aulus Sempronius Roman consuls, when they of Elis celebrated the ninetieth olympiad, in which Hiperbius the Syracusan was crowned with victory. And at that time the Athenians, by command of the oracle, restored the island of Delos to the Delians; and

* Scione is an island in the Ægean sea. There is another Scione in Thrace.

they that inhabited Adramyttium in Delium, returned to their own country. And now because Pylos was not given up, and restored to the Lacedæmonians, the war began to break out afresh between the two cities, which being understood by them of Argos, they entered into league with the Athenians. And the breach growing wider and wider, the Lacedæmonians persuaded the Corinthians, that leaving their association with the confederate cities, they would join with them. In this condition and confusion of affairs stood Peloponnesus.

As to other places out of the bounds of Peloponnesus, the Æneans, Dolopians, and Meleans, confederated together, and set upon Heraclea in Trachinia. The Heracleans marched against them with great forces, wherewith they bravely fought the enemy, but were totally routed, with the loss of a great part of their army; the rest by flight got within their walls. Then they sent to the Bœotians for aid, who sent them a thousand heavy-armed men from Thebes; by which assistance they repelled their enemies. In the mean time, the Olynthians made an expedition against the city Myciberna, then a garrison of the Athenians, and having forced out the guards there, possessed themselves of the place.

Archias was archon of Athens, and Lucius Papirius Mugillanus and Caius Servilius Structus were consuls at Rome, when the Argives proclaimed war against the Lacedæmonians, because they neglected to offer the usual frankincense to Apollo Pythius. At the same time Alcibiades the Athenian general came with his army into the country of Argos, by whom the Argives being forced, invaded Trœzene, which was confederated with Sparta, and after they had wasted and spoiled the country, and burnt many of their towns, at length they returned. The Lacedæmonians being greatly enraged at the injuries done against all law and justice to them of Trœzene, denounce war against Argos; in prosecution whereof, they raised an army, and thereof made Agis their king general, who marched with all speed against the Argives, and after he had made spoil and havoc in the country, made up close to the city, and offered them battle. Hereupon the Argives being joined by three thousand of the Eleans, and as many of the Mantineans, marched out of the city; and just as they were ready to join battle, the generals on both sides by their ambassadors, made a truce for four months; so both armies returned without doing any thing: but both the cities were incensed at the authors of the truce, insomuch as those of Argos cast stones at the officers of the army, and had ordered them all to be put to death, which had been executed if by great intercession their lives had not been

spared; but their goods were confiscated, and their houses pulled down.

The Lacedæmonians also intended to have put Agis to death; but upon his promise to wipe off the stain of the late miscarriage by his future services, with much ado he was spared. However, for the future, they joined with him ten persons, approved for their wisdom and prudence, without whose advice he was strictly charged not to do any thing for the time to come.

After this, when the Athenians had sent forth a thousand well-armed men, and two hundred horse by sea to them of Argos, under the command of Nichetes and Nichostratus, to whom Alcibiades joined himself, though then in no command, for the great love and kindness he bore towards the Matineans and Eleans, the Argives in a common assembly decreed, that notwithstanding the former agreement, they should make it their business to carry on the war with all their power. To that end all the officers encouraged every one their own soldiers; who readily and heartily followed their leaders, and encamped out of the walls of the city. There it was concluded to be most advisable to begin first with an expedition against Orchomenum in Arcadia. To that purpose, having advanced into Arcadia, they besieged the city, and wearied it out by daily assaults; and having taken the town, they marched to Tegea, determining to force that likewise. The Tegeans desiring speedy aid from the Lacedæmonians, they with the strength of their whole city, and of their confederates, made for Mantinea, conceiving that by besieging of that, a stop would be easily put to the siege of Tegea. But the Mantineans (being enforced by the assistance of their confederates) marched out with the youth of their city, and had an army in the field ready to oppose the Lacedæmonians. Presently hereupon battle was joined, and a select band of the Argives, (consisting of a thousand well-disciplined and expert soldiers), were the first that put the enemy to flight, and made a great slaughter in the pursuit. But the Lacedæmonians returning from the pursuit and slaughter of those they had routed in another part of the army, fell upon the conquering Argives, and surrounding them, made no question but to cut them off every man: and whereas these brave men, although far inferior in number, prevailed in a great measure against their enemies, the Lacedæmonian king, being earnest to perform his promise to the citizens, and to wipe off the stain of his former disgrace by some great and remarkable action, at the head of his army ran through all sorts of difficulties in the fight, and had killed them all upon the spot, if he had not been prevented; for Pharax, (one of the ten, joined

with the king as his council, a man of great authority in Lacedæmon), commanded the soldiers to open a way for the Arcadians, lest fighting with men in a desperate condition, they came to experience what valour can do when it is driven to necessity. The king, restrained by his command, a passage was made for the enemy to break through, as Pharax had ordered: and in this manner these thousand men got off, and the Lacedæmonians having gained an eminent victory, set up a trophy, and returned home.

The former year ended, Antopha was chief governor at Athens, and four military tribunes, Caius Furius, Quintilius*, Marcus Posthumius, and Aulus Cornelius, bore the office of consuls at Rome. At that time the Argives and Lacedæmonians had several meetings and messages to and fro, about entering into a league one with another, which was effected accordingly. Upon this, the Mantineans (now deserted by the garrison put in there by the Argives) were forced to come under the power of the Lacedæmonians. About the same time the thousand choice men before spoken of, in the city of Argos, conspired to overthrow the democracy, and set up an aristocracy from among themselves: and having many associates and abettors in this affair, of the wealthiest and most courageous men of the city, they forthwith seized upon the tribunes of the people, and the heads and chief of those that were for popular government, and cut their throats. The rest being terrified, repealed all the antient laws, and began to order all affairs in the commonwealth according to the will and pleasure of these men: and after they had thus governed for the space of eight months, they were, by an insurrection of the people, deposed, and the democracy restored.

Another disturbance likewise arose in Greece; for upon a difference happening between the Phocians and the Locrians, the matter came to a decision by the sword. The Phocians were conquerors, and killed above a thousand of the Locrians. In the mean time, the Athenians, under the command of Nicias, took two cities, Cithera† and Nicæa‡, and in Melus§, which was taken by storm, they put all but the women and children to the sword, and them they made captives.

In Italy the Fidenates put the Roman ambassadors to death upon a light occasion; at which base act of injustice the people of Rome were highly incensed, and decreed to revenge it by a war. To this end they made Manius Æmilius dictator, and according to the custom, joined with him Aulus Cornelius, the master of the horse. When all things were in readiness, he marched against the Fidenates with all expedition, who drew out, and met him; upon which there was a sharp

* Titus Quinctius. † Cithera, in Peloponnesus.
‡ Nicæa, a port town in Megara. § Melus, in Thessaly.

engagement, and so continued for a long time; and after many were cut off on both sides, they parted at length upon equal terms.

At this time Euphemus was chief magistrate at Athens, and the military tribunes Lucius Furius, Lucius Quinctius, and Aulus Sempronius, again executed the consular dignity at Rome. At this time the Lacedæmonians, enforced by the aid of their confederates, made an incursion into Argia, and took the small town of Argias, killed the inhabitants, and razed the castle. Then hearing that they of Argos had enlarged their walls out as far as to the sea, they marched thither, and pulled them down, and returned home. The Athenians made Alcibiades general, who, with twenty ships under his command, was ordered to do the utmost he could to restore the Argives to their former government; for there was such confusion and disorder there, that great multitudes of them were for advancing the aristocracy. Alcibiades, therefore, as soon as he came to Argos, called an assembly of those who were for the popular government, and caused those who seemed to side with the Lacedæmonians to be banished out of the city, and having settled the democracy, returned to Athens. At the end of the year, the Lacedæmonians invaded Argia with a great army, and making waste and spoil in many places of the country, placed the exiles of Argos in Ornea, and fortified and walled the place round, in regard it lay in Argia; and having put in there a strong garrison, they ordered them to waste the country of Argos with continual excursions. When the Lacedæmonians were marched back, the Athenians sent forty ships, and twelve hundred soldiers, to the assistance of the Argives. With this aid they marched against Ornea, and took it by storm, and putting part of the garrison, and the exiles, to the sword, they expelled the rest out of the city. And these were the things done in the fifteenth year of the Peloponnesian war.

In the sixteenth year, when Aristomnestes was archon at Athens, and Titus Claudius Spurius, Nautius Lucius Sergius, and Sextus Julius, military tribunes, executed the office of consuls at Rome, the ninety-first olympiad was celebrated at Elis, wherein Exaneus of Agrigentum was victor. At that time the Byzantines and Chalcidicans joining with the Thracians, passed over with a great army into Bithynia, and wasted and spoiled the country; and after they had taken several small towns by force, they executed most horrid cruelties; for, after they had gathered together a great multitude of prisoners, of men, women, and children, they cut all their throats.

About the same time the Egesteans and Selinuntines in Sicily went to blows, upon the differences between them concerning the bounds of their country. For though the river divided the territories of the

several cities that were at variance, yet the Selinuntines passed over to the other side, and seized upon the lands lying next to the river; and encroaching still by little and little, they gained the next to them, and laughed and jeered at those they thus abused. Provoked with these indignities, the Egesteans at first thought to win them by fair words, and dissuaded them all they could from seizing other men's estates; but when they saw they turned a deaf ear, the proprietors rose up in arms, and drove them out of the country, and so recontinued their ancient possessions. Upon this, a great fire of strife and contention was kindled, and armies were raised on both sides, to decide the controversy by the sword. Both armies being drawn into the field, a sharp battle was fought, in which the Selinuntines got the day, and killed a great number of the Egesteans.

The power of the Egesteans being very much weakened by this slaughter, and so unable of themselves to oppose their enemy, they first sought aid and assistance from them of Agrigentum and Syracuse: but these failing them, they sent ambassadors to Carthage for relief; and they likewise refused. Upon which they sought to get confederates beyond the seas; and this proved successful; for whereas the Leontines had been driven both out of their city and country by the Syracusans, those that were remaining of these exiles consulted together, and determined to enter into a league with the Athenians, from whom they were descended. The matter was debated and decreed in a common assembly of all their allies, that ambassadors should be sent to Athens, to desire their assistance for the relief of the oppressed cities, and withal to promise that they would do their utmost endeavour to serve the Athenians in all their concerns in Sicily.

When the ambassadors came to Athens, the Leontines pleaded their kindred and antient alliances; but the Egesteans promised a great sum of money for the carrying on the war, and with all their power to oppose the Syracusans. Upon this the Athenians thought fit first to send some prudent citizens to Sicily, better to understand the state and condition both of the island and of the Egesteans. When they came to Egesta, the Egesteans, with great ostentation and vanity, shewed them a vast mass of treasure, in part their own, and part borrowed. When the ambassadors were returned, and the great riches of the Egesteans was noised abroad, an assembly of the people was called, where the war to be made in Sicily was proposed, and where Nicias the son of Niceratus, a man of great account amongst the people, argued with great prudence against the war, alleging it impossible both to contend with the Lacedæmonians, and likewise to send so great a force as they must needs do, into parts beyond the seas; and alleged, that when they were not able hitherto

to subdue Greece, it was in vain to think to bring the greatest island of the world under their power. He added, moreover, when Carthage, that was of so large an empire, and had often attempted Sicily, was not able to conquer it, could they suppose that the Athenians, who were far inferior in strength and power, could subdue an island the most potent in arms of all others in the world? After he had spoken this and much more, suitable to the present occasion, Alcibiades, one of the chief of the nobility of Athens, persuaded the people to prosecute the war. This man was the most eloquent speaker of all amongst the citizens, and for the nobleness of his birth, and greatness of his estate, and skill in martial affairs, far exceeded the rest. The people, upon his persuasion, without delay rigged out a fleet of thirty sail from their confederates, and an hundred of their own. In these, completely furnished with all provisions and necessaries, they put five thousand men well armed, and appointed three generals, Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, for this expedition; and thus were the Athenians then employed. And now being come to the war between the Athenians and Syracusans, according to our designed method at first, we shall pursue the things that followed, in the next book. .

DIODORUS SICULUS.

BOOK XIII.

PREFACE.

IF we should imitate others in the compiling of their histories, we should first in the preface of every book, observe some things pertinent to the occasion and subject in hand, and then descend to the continuation of our discourse, upon the actions and affairs that follow next in order: for by some small intermission from writing, we gain a breathing fit; the fruit and advantage by prefaces. But inasmuch as we have promised to endeavour in a few books, not only to relate things that have been done, but likewise to comprehend in that relation, the time of above eleven hundred years, it is necessary to avoid prefaces, and come presently to the matters in hand. Only premising this to inform the reader, that in the six former books are contained the things done in all parts of the world, from the Trojan war to the time the Athenians decreed the war against the Syracusans, to which, from the destruction of Troy, is seven hundred and threescore years: and that we shall begin this book with that expedition against the Syracusans, and end it at the beginning of the second Carthaginian war against Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse.

CHAP. I.

The Athenian fleet rigged out for Sicily. Alcibiades accused; flies; is condemned; goes out of Italy to Sparta. The Syracusans send for aid to Lacedæmon. Gylippus is sent to them. The battle at Syracuse.

WHEN Cabrias bore the office of archon at Athens, and the Romans invested Lucius Sergius, Marcus Servilius, and Marcus Papirius, three military tribunes, with consular dignity, the Athenians having decreed war against the Syracusans, rigged out a fleet, raised money, and prepared with great diligence all other things necessary for the expedition. To this end they commissioned three generals, Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, to whom they committed the management of the whole war. The richer sort, to ingratiate themselves with the people, some of them supplied the fleet with arms, others promised to advance money towards victualling the navy, and providing pay for the soldiers. Many, likewise, of the people, both citizens and strangers, freely offered themselves to the generals, to be listed and enrolled: and all were so confident, that they were ready to divide the country of Sicily amongst themselves by lot.

And now the navy was ready to set sail; when on a sudden in one night, all the statues of the goddess Minerva through the city, (which were very many) had their heads struck off. The populace conceived this not to be done by any of the meaner sort, but by some in authority, with a design to destroy the democracy, and therefore they were highly incensed at the wickedness of the fact, and promised great rewards to find out the authors. In the mean time, one of the citizens came to the senate, and told them, that in the new moon about midnight, he saw several persons go into the house of a foreigner, amongst whom Alcibiades was one: and when the senate asked him how he could know him at such a time of the night? he answered, he discerned him by the light of the moon; by which contradiction he detected his own falsehood: and never after could the least discovery be made of that fact by any person whatsoever.

However, notwithstanding this accident, an hundred and forty gallies were rigged out, besides ships of burden and other ships, for transporting of horses, provisions, and other necessaries, whereof there was a very great number. In this expedition there went forth with them above seven thousand men at arms, and slingers, and

horsemen, sent from their confederates, besides those belonging to their fleet.

During this time the officers had a private consultation with the senate, concerning the administration of affairs in Sicily, in case they should conquer the island, where at length it was determined, that they of Selinus and Syracuse should be carried away as captives and slaves, and that the rest should have only a yearly tribute imposed upon them. The next day the officers, with the army, marched down into the Piræum*, and were followed with a great multitude, both of citizens and strangers, throughout the whole city, every one making it his business to take leave of his friend or relation. The ships lay on every side of the harbour, with their fore-decks adorned with flags and streamers erect, and shining with the splendour of the arms. The shore round the harbour was filled with altars of incense, and silver bowls, out of which were poured into golden cups, drink-offerings to the gods, by those who worshipped the deity, and earnestly prayed for the happy success of this expedition.

At length they set sail from the Pyræum, and sailing round the coasts of Peloponnesus, arrived at Corcyra†: for here they were commanded to remain till they were joined by some others of their neighbouring confederates. Being all come up to them, passing through the Ionian sea, they came to the promontory of Japygia‡: hence sailing along the coasts of Italy, they were refused by the Tarentines; and passing by them likewise of Metapontum and Heraclea, they came to the Thurians, by whom they were courteously received. Sailing from thence, they made for Crotona, and there bought some provisions; and sailing by the temple of Juno Lacinia, passed under the promontory called Dioscurias: after this, leaving Tesasletius (as it is called) and Locris behind them, they anchored near Rhegium, and invited the Rhegians to join with them; who answered that they must first advise with the other Italians.

As soon as the Syracusans heard that the Athenians were within their seas, they made three generals, invested with absolute power, Hermocrates, Sicanus, and Heraclides, who raised soldiers, and sent messengers through all the cities of Sicily, to press them with all earnestness to join with them in arms for the common safety of their country; for that the Athenians, under colour of a war against the Syracusans, had no other design but to subdue the whole island. To which the Agrigentines and Naxians answered, that they were resolved to abide firm in their league with the Athenians. The Cama-

* The port of Athens, five miles from Athens, joined to it with a long wall. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 2, c. 65.

† Now Corfu. ‡ A promontory of Italy.

rinians and Messanians declared they were for peace, and refused to return any answer to what was proposed. The Himerians and Selinuntines, with them of Gela and Catana, promised their assistance. The cities of the Siculi*, though they favoured the Syracusans, yet desired to be at ease; and not knowing what to resolve, judged it most advisable to consider awhile on the business, that they might be better able to discern what was likely to be the issue of so great a war.

The Egesteans plainly declaring that they could not contribute to the Athenians above thirty talents, the Athenian generals accused them of treachery; and setting sail from Rhegium with their whole fleet, arrived at Naxos in Sicily, where they were friendly and courteously received by the citizens; and from whence they made for Catana. But they of Catana refused entrance to the soldiers, yet admitted the generals, and called a common assembly; where the Athenian generals treated with them concerning the entering into a mutual league, offensive and defensive; but whilst Alcibiades was making a harangue to court the people, the soldiers broke through a little gate into the city, by which means the Cataneans were forced to join with the Athenians in the war against the Syracusans.

Whilst these things were acting abroad, they who were enemies to Alcibiades (through private peaks and grudges) at Athens, took occasion, from the maiming and spoiling of the images, to accuse him in the common assemblies of a conspiracy against the democracy; which accusation was much supported and furthered by what had then lately happened at Argos: for some of the chief of the city conspiring with others of their dependants, to overturn the democracy in Argos, were all destroyed by the citizens. This attempt of innovation there, caused the accusation at Athens to be more readily believed, and therefore the people being with all earnestness stirred up by the orators, sent a ship from Salamis to Sicily, to recal Alcibiades, in order to abide his trial.

As soon as it arrived at Catana, Alcibiades was made acquainted by the messengers what orders they had from the people; upon which he (with those who were accused with him) went on ship-board into his own galley, and, together with that from Salamis, set sail from Catana. As soon as he arrived at Thurium, either through consciousness of the guilt of his impiety, or through the fear of the greatness of the danger, he and all those accused with him made their escape. Those who were on board the Salamian vessel made great inquiry after Alcibiades; but when he could not be found,

* The Siculi are those who came out of Italy, and called it Sicily, which was before Sicania. Sicilians is a general name for all the inhabitants.

they sailed back to Athens, and there gave an account of what had happened.

Upon which the Athenians gave judgment of death upon Alcibiades, and all his fellow fugitives, (their names being only put up to the court), without being further heard.

But Alcibiades fled out of Italy to Sparta, and there persuaded the Lacedæmonians to invade the Athenians: but the generals that remained in Sicily sailed with their forces to Egesta, and took Hyccara, a small town of the Siculi, out of whose spoils they raised a hundred talents: and having received thirty talents more from the Egesteans, they sailed back to Catana, where having consulted how to possess themselves of a place near to the chief port of Syracuse, with little or no hazard, they sent thither a trusty fellow of Catana, not suspected by the Syracusan officers, with orders to acquaint them that some of the Cataneans had plotted upon a sudden to set upon the Athenian soldiers in the night, when they had laid aside their arms, and to burn all their shipping in their harbour: and that this might be the better effected, they desired the commanders to appear with their army, that the design might not be defeated. As soon as the Catanean came to Syracuse, he delivered his message. The generals believing what he said, appointed a night when they would march out with their forces, and sent back the man to Catana. At the night appointed, the Syracusans led forth their men towards Catana; and the Athenians, with great silence, made out with their fleet to the great port of Syracuse; and seizing upon Olympius, and all the places bordering round about, they there fortified their camp. But the Syracusans understanding the treachery, returned with a swift march, and set upon their enemy's camp. They on the other side issued forth, and battle was joined, in which the Athenians killed four hundred of their enemies, and put the rest to flight: but the Athenian generals discerning that the enemy exceeded them in the number of their horse, that they might be the better provided for the siege, sailed back to Catana.

Messengers were likewise sent to Athens, with letters to the democracy, to desire more horse and money, because the siege they were about to begin, would be long and tedious. Upon which it was decreed that three hundred talents, and some troops of horse, should be sent into Sicily.

During these things Diagoras, surnamed the Atheist*, accused for his impiety, for fear of the people fled out of Attica; and a talent of silver was promised as a reward by the voice of the common crier, to

* This Diagoras was a Milesian; he questioned, in his writings, whether there were any gods; for which he was prosecuted. Vid. Lact. lib. 1, p. 7.

any that should kill him. In Italy the Romans had war with the Æqui, and took Lavinium by assault: and these were the actions produced this year.

Pisander now executed the office of archon at Athens, and the Romans created four military tribunes as consuls, Publius Lucretius, Caius Servilius, Agrippa Menenius, and Spurius Veturius. At this time the Syracusans sent ambassadors to Corinth and Lacedæmon, to desire aid, and earnestly entreated that they would not suffer them to be reduced to the utmost extremity. The Lacedæmonians, stirred up by Alcibiades, determined to assist the Syracusans, and made Gylippus general. The Corinthians sent only two gallies under Pythes to go along with Gylippus into Sicily for the present, while they were preparing a greater fleet to be sent after them. Nicias and Lamachus, the Athenian generals at Catana, having received three hundred talents, and reinforced with two hundred and fifty horse from Athens, set sail for Syracuse, and arriving there in the night, unsuspected by them of Syracuse, possess themselves of the Epipolæ*, which they of Syracuse perceiving, made a sally with all speed to drive them thence, but were forced back within their walls, with the loss of three hundred men.

After this, there came to the Athenians three hundred horse from Egina, and two hundred and fifty from the Sicilians, which made up a body of above eight hundred horse: being reinforced, they drew a trench round Labdalon, and blocked up the city of Syracuse with a wall; at which the Syracusans were greatly terrified; and, to prevent the building of the wall, they sallied out: but after a skirmish with horse on both sides, the Syracusans were beaten back with great loss. Then the Athenians, with a part of their army, possessed themselves of a place called Polichna, commanding the port, and drew a wall about it, wherein they included the temple of Jupiter; so that now Syracuse was besieged on both sides. With these many misfortunes the Syracusans were greatly discouraged; but when they heard that Gylippus was arrived at Himera, and raising men, they began to take heart. For Gylippus, as soon as he came to Himera, with four gallies only, after he had secured his ships, brought in them of Himera to join with the Syracusans; and from them and the Gelians, Selinuntines, and Sicanians, he raised and listed men, who, when they were all mustered, made up a body of three thousand foot, and two hundred horse; with which he marched through the midst of the country, and entered into Syracuse; and after a few days, led forth his forces, with those of the Syracusans, against the enemy. Whereupon a sharp battle was

* A high piece of land near the city, overtopping it.

fought, wherein Lamachus, the Athenian general, was killed. But at length, after many killed on both sides, the Athenians got the day.

After this fight came in thirteen gallies from Corinth, whereupon Gylippus having drawn the soldiers out of these ships, with them and the Syracusans set upon the enemy's camp, and assaulted the Epipolæ: and though the Athenians made a sally, yet after a sharp dispute, and many of them killed, they were routed by the Syracusans, who presently demolished the walls and fortifications through all the Epipolæ. The Athenians having lost this place, led away their army to another post.

These things thus performed, the Syracusans sent ambassadors a second time to Corinth and Lacedæmon for further supplies; to whom were sent a thousand men from Corinth, Bœotia, and Sicyon; and from Sparta six hundred. In the mean time Gylippus, traversing the country about from town to town, in several parts of Sicily, brought in many to join with him in the war; and being reinforced with three thousand men from the Himerians and Sicanians, he marched his army through the heart of the country: but the Athenians having intelligence of their coming, cut off one half of them by an ambush; the rest came safe to Syracuse.

And now they of Syracuse being encouraged with fresh supplies, determined to try their fortune in a sea-fight: what shipping they had left, they set forth, and built others, which they made use and trial of in the little harbour.

Nicias, the Athenian general, acquainted the people of Athens by letters, that the Syracusans were much reinforced, and that they were putting forth a great fleet, with an intent to come to a sea-fight, and therefore desired more shipping and money to be sent him, and a colleague to bear part of the burthen and care of the war. For Alcibiades being fled, and Lamachus killed, he only remained, and that very infirm and unhealthy. Upon this the Athenians sent into Sicily, about the summer solstice, ten gallies, under the command of Eurymedon, with a hundred and forty talents of silver; but withal preparing and designing to send a greater fleet in the spring: and to that end, they raised men and money in every place, from among their confederates. In Peloponnesus, the Lacedæmonians, by the instigation of Alcibiades, broke the league they had made with the Athenians, and the heat of this war continued for the space of twelve years.

CHAP. II.

The Lacedæmonians invade Attica. The fight at sea between the Syracusans and Athenians. Eurymedon and Demosthenes arrive in Sicily. A plague in the Athenian camp. Another fight between the Syracusans and Athenians. The latter routed at sea. The Athenians ruined in Sicily. Nicholaus's long oration. Gylippus's answer.

THIS year ended, Cleocritus governed in chief at Athens, and at Rome four military tribunes executed the authority of consuls; that is to say, Aulus Sempronius, Marcus Papirius, Quintus Fabius, and Spurius Nautius. At this time the Lacedæmonians invaded Attica under Agis their general, and Alcibiades the Athenian. They seize upon Decelea, a place very strong and fit for a garrison, and there they built a fort; from whence this war was called the Decelean war. On the other side, the Athenians sent Chares with thirty sail into Laconia, and decreed fourscore gallies and five thousand soldiers to be sent into Sicily.

In the mean time the Syracusans, in order to a sea-fight before determined, made out with a fleet of fourscore sail well manned, against the enemy, whom the Athenians met with a fleet of sixty sail, whereupon began a fierce fight; and now the Athenians came running to the sea-side from every quarter, from their posts and forts, some out of curiosity to see the engagement, others to be assistant to their countrymen in their flight, in case they should be worsted. The Syracusan officers foreseeing the Athenians were likely to do as now they did, had before given secret orders to those who were left as a guard for the city, to assault the forts of the Athenians, which were full of money, naval preparations, and other provisions. The Syracusans, therefore, easily possessed themselves of the forts, which were slightly guarded, and made a great slaughter of them that came from the sea shore in aid of their fellows. Hereupon a great noise and clamour being made about the forts and in the camp, the Athenian soldiers now engaged at sea were struck with great terror, and gave way, and at length betook themselves to the defence of the forts and fortresses that were left; whom the Syracusans pursued without observing any order. Whereupon, the Athenians discerning there was no hope nor way left of escaping by land, (the Syracusans having possessed themselves of two of their forts), tacked about, and were

forced to renew the fight: upon which, with their whole fleet in a line of battle, they fell upon the Syracusans, (who were separated one from another, and had their line broken and disordered by the pursuit), and sunk eleven of their ships, pursuing the rest to the island. After the fight, both sides set up a trophy, the Athenians for their victory at sea, and the Syracusans for their success at land. The fight at sea having this issue, and the victory so hardly obtained, the Athenians understanding that Demosthenes within a few days would be with them with a fleet, were resolved not to attempt any thing further till those forces arrived. The Syracusans, on the contrary, resolved to lay all at stake, and try the utmost by force of arms, before the army of Demosthenes came up. And to that end, they faced the Athenian fleet, and did all they could every day to provoke them to a battle.

About that time Ariston a Corinthian commander of a vessel, advised the Syracusans to make the forecastles of their ships shorter and lower, which was of great advantage to them in fights at sea afterwards: for the forecastles of the Athenian gallies were both very slender and high built, by reason whereof their beaks made no impression, but where they met with those equal in height; and therefore the enemy received no great prejudice by them. But the vessels of the Syracusans (having their fore-decks low and strong built), often at the first stroke sunk the Athenian gallies.

The Syracusans (as is before related) many days dared the Athenians to fight both by sea and land, but all to no purpose, for they kept close, and would not be drawn forth by any means. But afterwards, (some of the officers of the fleet not being able longer to endure the insolence of the Syracusans), part of the navy set upon them in the great haven, which at length engaged the whole fleet. The Athenians indeed excelled the other in the swiftness of their gallies, and in the expertness and diligence of the seamen: but because the fight was in a strait and narrow place, this advantage was of no use to them.

The Syracusans therefore being confusedly mixed with their enemies, and giving them no respite or time to withdraw, they drove them from off their decks and their forecastles with stones and spears. And when they had with the beaks of their ships pierced through many of the enemy's gallies, they boarded them, and the fight seemed within the ships, just like a battle on land. All things thus going to wreck on the Athenian side, they fled outright with great precipitation; whom the Syracusans pursued close, and sunk seven of their gallies and disabled many more.

The Syracusans being now grown confident, by their late victories

both by sea and land, presently arrive Eurymedon and Demosthenes, with a great army from Athens, and with many auxiliaries from Thurium and Messapia*, which joined them in their passage. These generals brought with them more than three hundred and ten gallies, and five thousand men, besides seamen: but arms, money, engines for a siege, and other provisions, were on board other transport ships. Upon this the Syracusans were again discouraged, judging they were never able for the future to cope with so potent an enemy.

Demosthenes having now persuaded his colleagues to seize upon the Epipolæ, (for otherwise he could never straiten the city on every side), set upon the Syracusans in the night with ten thousand heavy-armed men, and as many light-armed; and the assault being unexpected, they took some forts; and entering within the fortifications, demolished part of the wall. But the Syracusans running together from all parts to the place assaulted, and Hermocrates with a choice band of lusty young men hastening in with aid and assistance, the Athenians were driven out, and through the darkness of the night and ignorance of the passages, were dispersed and scattered far from one another; so that the Syracusans with their auxiliaries, closely pursuing, killed two thousand five hundred of them, and wounded many that got off, and possessed themselves of a great number of arms.

After this encounter, the Syracusans sent Sicanus, one of the officers, with twelve gallies to the rest of the cities, both to inform them of the victory, and likewise to desire further aid.

The Athenians (their affairs now declining so much for the worse, and the plague breaking forth in the army by reason of a stinking marshy ground near adjoining) consulted what was fit to be done in the present exigency. Demosthenes was of opinion without delay to return to Athens, saying it was far more commendable to venture their lives for their country against the Lacedæmonians, than to lie still in Sicily doing nothing. But Nicias said it was base and dishonourable to leave the siege when they were so plentifully supplied both with shipping, men, and money. And moreover, that they should be involved in great danger by those whose common practice it was to asperse the generals, if they should make peace with the Syracusans, and return to their country without the order and command of the people. Among those that were then present at the consultation, some approved of the advice of Demosthenes for returning; others agreed with Nicias. But nothing being determined, they lay idle without any action.

In the mean time, great aids and supplies came to them of Syra-

* Messapia, an island near Sicily, called Calabria.

cuse from the Siculi, Selinuntines, Gelians, Himerians, and Camarinians, which encouraged them as much as it discouraged the Athenians. And besides, the plague so raged and increased, that a great part of the army perished, which caused them all to repent that they had not returned before. The Athenian army therefore being in a tumult, and crowding to their ships, Nicias himself was forced to a compliance. And now both generals agreeing in opinion, the soldiers shipped their baggage and lumber, and having all on board their ships, hoist up sail. And the generals caused it to be proclaimed, that, upon a sign given, all should be ready; and if any loitered, they should be left behind. But the night before they intended to set sail, the moon was eclipsed, which occasioned Nicias (who was naturally superstitious, and then in great uneasiness by reason of the plague) to advise with the soothsayers. By whom answer was given, that they must not by any means sail for three days: into which opinion Demosthenes and those of his party likewise were led through their superstition. The Syracusans understanding by deserters the cause of the stay, manned all their gallies, to the number of seventy-four; and drawing out their land forces, set upon the Athenians both by sea and land. On the other side, the Athenians manned fourscore and six gallies, and gave the command of the right wing to Eurymedon, against whom was opposed Agatharcus the Syracusan general. In the left wing they placed Euthydemus, in opposition to Sicanus, who commanded for the Syracusans. Menander commanded the middle battle on the Athenian side, and Pythes the Corinthian for the Syracusans. And although the Athenian line of battle stretched out farther in length than the Syracusan, because they had more ships, yet that which seemed to be their advantage, proved to be their ruin in the issue.

For Eurymedon striving to surround the wing opposite to him, (by that means being severed from the rest of the fleet), was driven by the Syracusans (who bore down upon him) into the creek Dascones, before possessed by the Syracusans: where, being hemmed in within the straits, and forced upon the shore, upon a mortal wound given, he fell down dead, and there seven of his ships were destroyed. In the heat of the fight, the report spread abroad that the general was killed, and many of his ships lost: upon which the chiefest of the gallies which were next in place and order to the vessels lost, began to give way, and thereupon the Syracusans pressed forward, and, heated by their late success, fell with great fury upon the Athenians, and forced them to an absolute flight: and driving them into the shallows of the haven, many of the vessels were stranded among the shelves and sands. Upon which Sicanus, the Syracusan admiral, filled a ship with fagots, fire-brands, and pitch, and set it on fire a-

mong the ships floating upon the shallows. On the other hand the Athenians with all expedition extinguised the flames, and when they saw there was no other way left to escape, they valiantly grappled with their enemies, and threw them overboard. In the mean time the land-forces of the Athenians were ready upon the shore to aid them that fled that way, and bestirring themselves with extraordinary valour and contempt of all dangers, routed the Syracusans at land. But they being victors at sea returned into the city, having not lost many men in the sea-fight. But the Athenians lost no less than two thousand men and eighty gallies.

The Syracusans now conceiving that their city was safe, and that their business remaining was to break into the enemy's camp and ruin their army, blocked up the mouth of their haven with ships joined and fastened together, to hinder the flight of the Athenians by sea. To which end they made a bridge with boats, gallies, and other ships fixed with anchors, compacted and fastened together with iron chains. The Athenians perceiving that they were penned up on every side, and no way of escape remaining, consulted and resolved to fill what ships they had remaining with the best of their soldiers, that, with the multitude of their shipping, and resoluteness of their soldiers, (now ready to fight as men in a desperate condition), they might strike a terror into the Syracusans. Hereupon the chiefest of the officers, and best and most expert soldiers embarked, and manned an hundred and fifteen gallies. The rest of the army they placed in order upon the shore. On the other hand the Syracusans (being furnished with land soldiers for the defence of their walls) fitted out seventy-four gallies, attended by many of the young boys of the city, (not yet of full age), in other ships as auxiliaries to be ready to aid and assist their parents. The walls of the harbour and every high place within the city were filled with multitudes of spectators. For both women and children, and all others unfit to bear arms, (with great concern and trembling of heart), stood to view the fight in order to judge how things were likely to go with them. At the same time Nicias, the Athenian general, viewing the fleet, and seriously considering the greatness of the danger, left his post upon the shore, and went on board a vessel, and sailed round the Athenian fleet, and called to the commanders and captains of every galley, earnestly entreating them, with his hands lift up to heaven, that every one would strive to outdo another, and improve to the utmost the present opportunity, being the last ground of hope they were ever likely to enjoy; for in their valour in the sea-fight now approaching, lay the safety and preservation both of them and of their country. Those that were fathers he put in mind of their children; those that were nobly born he earnestly pressed and exhorted that they would be care-

ful to avoid whatever would stain the honour and glory of their families; those that had been advanced by the people for their former good services, he advised now to approve themselves worthy of those marks of honour they then bore. Lastly, he put them in mind of the trophies at Salamis, earnestly adjuring them that they would not prostitute the glory of their country, and become slaves to the Syracusans. After this speech, Nicias returned to the army at land. When they in the fleet had sung the Pæan, they made out with a design to break the blockade at the mouth of the harbour. But the Syracusans sailed up in order of battle against them, with that speed, that they drove them off the boom, and forced them to fight. In this confusion, some sailed towards the shore, others made into the middle of the harbour, and others towards the fortifications; and thus their lines being broken, the fleet was presently separated and dispersed, by which means the Athenians, in this manner disappointed, were forced to fight here and there, up and down in the harbour in little squadrons and small parties: however, the fight was obstinate on both sides. The Athenians exceeding in number of ships, seeing no other hopes of safety, undauntedly despised all dangers, and resolved to die valiantly. On the other hand the Syracusans, knowing their parents and children were observing them, put themselves forth to the utmost, every one striving to improve his valour, to gain the victory for his country. Many there were, that when their ships were pierced through by the violent assaults of the enemy, leaped into the ships that pierced them, and fought bravely upon their forecastles in the midst of their enemies. Others with grappling-irons, so joined the ships together, that they forced their enemy to fight on board, as if they had been on land. And there were not a few that, when their own ships were disabled, boarded their adversaries, and killed and threw them overboard, and so possessed themselves of their vessels. And now the crashing of ships one against another, and the cries and shouts of the combatants and dying men, was heard in every place throughout the whole harbour: for sometimes a single vessel was surrounded, and struck through with the beaks of many, and so the water forcing in at the breaches, the ship with all the men in it sunk together. And many (after their ships were sunk) endeavoured to save themselves by swimming, but were struck through with darts, and wounded with spears, and so miserably perished. In the mean time, the masters of the ships were amazed to see the confusion and disorder of the fight, seeing nothing but tumult and horror about them, one ship often set upon by many, and what was commanded not regarded, and the advice to one disagreeable to the circumstances of another; and after

all, none attending to what was said. For w rus of darts, crashing of ships, brushing off of oars, increa : of and clamour of them that were engaged, and loud shouts of the army upon the shore encouraging them upon the sea, none heard what orders were given: for the shore was full of soldiers, the Syracusans in one part, and the Athenians in another. By which means, they that were driven in the fight near to the land, were sometimes succoured by them upon the shore. The spectators upon the walls gave great shouts when they discerned any advantage gained by their friends; but when they were in danger of being overcome, they filled the air with doleful groans and lamentations, calling upon their gods for deliverance. Sometimes some of the gallies of the Syracusans were destroyed under the very walls, and their kindred and relations butchered before their faces; so that parents were the eye-witnesses of the death of their children, wives of the miserable end of their husbands, and brothers of their brothers.

And after the fight had lasted long, (with much slaughter on both sides), yet the battle was still carried on, for none (though ever so greatly pressed) durst fly to land. For the Athenians asked them who made towards the shore—Whether they intended to sail to Athens by land? So the Syracusans on the shore, demanded of them that fled towards them—Why they were now ready to betray their country, who would not suffer them that staid on shore to embark with them? Did they shut up the mouth of the harbour as if they would prevent the escape of the enemy, to the end that they themselves might have the better excuse to fly to the shore? And being that every man must of necessity die, what more honourable death could they desire, than that for their country, which is now a witness of the engagement, and which they basely and sordidly desert? With these and the like reproaches did they who fled to land, meet with from the soldiers placed on the shore: whereupon they returned to the battle, though greatly disabled in their shipping, and their bodies so wounded, that they were scarce able to defend themselves. At length the Athenians nearest to the city were forced to fly. Presently after, they that were next gave way, till at length the whole fleet made off. Whereupon the Syracusans pursued with a great shout. Those of the Athenians that escaped, being driven upon the shelves and sands), leaped out of their broken and shattered vessels, and fled to the land army. The harbour was now full of arms and wrecks of ships every where. Threescore of the Athenian ships were absolutely destroyed; of the Syracusans eight were lost, and eleven disabled.

The Syracusans towed as many of their gallies to the shore as they could, and took out the dead bodies of their citizens and confede-

rates, and gave them an honourable burial. The Athenians thronged together to the tents of the generals, desiring them not so much to regard the ships, as the preservation both of themselves and the soldiers. Thereupon Demosthenes declared that more ships were forthwith to be manned, in order to force the blockade, which if done presently, they might all easily escape.

Nicias was of a contrary opinion; and advised the leaving the ships, and to march up into the heart of the country to the cities of their confederates, whose opinion all embraced: and having burnt some of their ships, they forthwith made it their business to march away. Their design of decamping in the night being known to the enemy, Hermocrates advised the Syracusans to draw out all their forces in the night, and stop all the passes on the high-ways. But the officers not approving of this, because many of the soldiers were wounded, and all wearied and tired out by the late engagement, sent some horsemen to the Athenian camp, to inform them that the Syracusans had laid all the ways with soldiers to entrap them in their march. The horse coming in late in the night, (the Athenians believing they were sent out of kindness to them from the Leontines), were in a great perplexity, and thereupon continued where they were; though they might have passed with great safety, if they had not been thus deluded. The Syracusans therefore, as soon as it was light, sent out soldiers, and secured all the narrow passes on the road. The Athenians divided the army into two parts, their sick men and carriages they placed in the middle; those that were strong and able to fight, were in the front and rear: Demosthenes led these, and Nicias the other, and so they marched towards Catana. In the mean time, the Syracusans drew fifty gallies left behind, with ropes into the city, ordered all their seamen and soldiers out of the gallies, and armed them, and so pursued the Athenians with all their forces, and continually vexed, galled, and even tired out the rear. Pressing thus upon their backs for three days together, and possessing all the passes before them, the way to Catana was quite blocked up. At length, being chased through the Helorine way, to the river Asinarus, where there was no going forward, they were absolutely cooped up, and there the Syracusans killed eighteen thousand, and took seven thousand prisoners, among whom were Demosthenes and Nicias the generals. The rest were given as a prey to the soldiers; for the Athenians (no way being left to escape) were forced to deliver up, not only their arms but themselves, as captives to their enemy's mercy.

Upon this happy success, the Syracusans erected two trophies, and fixed to them the arms of the generals, and then returned to the city. Hereupon the whole city gave public thanks to the gods.

The next day an assembly was called, to consider what was to be done with the prisoners. There Diocles, one of the highest in esteem among the people, delivered his opinion—That the Athenian generals should be first scourged and then put to death; and that the rest of the prisoners should be sent to the quarries. And that they who had any ways assisted the Athenians, should be sold under the spear; and that no more than two cotyles of corn a-day, should be allowed to every prisoner. When the decree was read, Hermocrates, then in the assembly, began to speak, and say—That it was more commendable to use a victory with moderation and humanity, than to overcome.

The people murmuring and grumbling at this, as not pleasing to them, one Nicholaus, who had lost two sons in this war, ascended the desk, supported by his servants, by reason of his age. At which the people ceased their murmuring, supposing he would be sharp against the prisoners. Silence being made, the old man began thus—Ye inhabitants of Syracuse, I myself have born no small part of the calamities of this war; for being the father of two sons, I readily sent them forth to venture their lives for the defence of their country; and for them was sent a messenger, who informed me of the death of them both; and though I am every day desiring they were alive, yet, considering the manner of their deaths, I cannot but judge them happy, and bewail my own life, and count myself most miserable: for they, by losing their lives (which as a debt to nature, they must of necessity some time or other have parted with) for the safety of their country, have left an immortal honour behind them. But *I*, now in the end of my days, being deprived of the helps of my old age, am doubly afflicted, whilst I have both lost my children, and likewise all hopes of posterity. For the more glorious their ends were, the more grateful and desirable is their memory; therefore, the very name of the Athenians is most deservedly hateful to me, whom you see led and supported by the hands of my servants, and not of my children. Ye Syracusans, if I had discerned that this present assembly had been appointed to consult and advise something in favour of the Athenians, I should, (as justly I might), for the many slaughters and calamities brought by them upon the country, and for my own particular miseries, most bitterly inveigh against them. But seeing we are here debating about shewing compassion to the afflicted, and how to spread abroad through all the world, the honour and glory of the people of Syracuse, I now desire with all lenity and gentleness, to propose what I conceive may be every way for the advantage of the commonwealth. The Athenians, indeed, have justly deserved to undergo all manner of punishments for their madness and

folly: in the first place, for their impiety towards the gods; and next, for their great injury done to us. God is certainly good in this, in bringing those into misery and distress, who, not contented with their own abundance, fall, by an unjust war, upon others. Who would ever have thought that the Athenians, who had brought over ten thousand talents from Delos, and invaded Sicily with a fleet of two hundred sail, and with an army of forty thousand men, should have been brought so low, into such calamities as now they are? for after so great a preparation, neither ship nor man returned to bring the news of their destruction. And now, O ye Syracusans, since ye see by experience, that the proud and ambitious are hateful both to god and man, (adoring the deity), take heed of doing any thing cruel and inhuman. For what honour is it to destroy him that lies prostrate at our feet? What glory to be fierce and cruel in taking revenge? for he that is implacable towards men in distress, is injurious to the common frailty and weakness of mankind. No man is so subtle as to be able to baffle fate; who, as it were, sporting herself with men's miseries, oftentimes, on a sudden, draws a black cloud over their posperity. And here, perhaps, some may say—The Athenians have most unjustly committed many slaughters among us, and now we have power to take full revenge. Have not the Athenians suffered already above the degree and measure of their offence? Have ye not sufficiently punished the prisoners? Consider, when they delivered up themselves with their arms into your hands, they did it relying on the mercy of the conquerors. Therefore, it would be a base thing to deceive them in the good opinion and hope they had of your humanity. Certainly they that are implacable and obstinate in their hatred, will fight it out to the last; but these, instead of enemies, gave up themselves to you as suppliants. For they that render their bodies to the enemy in time of the battle, undoubtedly do it in hopes of preservation; but if they are hurried to execution, (though they were persuaded to the contrary), they indeed fall into an unexpected calamity; but they who act so cruelly, may justly be termed raging fools: but it becomes those who would rule others, to recommend themselves rather by mercy and clemency, than to seek to establish their grandeur by force and power. For they who are driven to obedience through fear, are ready to execute their hatred when they see their opportunity to rebel. But they love those that rule them with gentleness and moderation, and do all they can to advance and strengthen their interest. What overthrew the empire of the Medes, but their cruelty to their subjects? For, as soon as the Persians made a defection, most of the nations together with them rebelled. How did Cyrus, who was but a private man, gain the so-

vereignty of all Asia, but by his courtesy and kindness to those he had subdued? He did not only forbear to execute cruelty upon Crœsus, but heaped many favours upon him. And such was his practice towards other kings and people, that his mercy and lenity being thereon published in every place, all the inhabitants of Asia flocked together to him, and strove to be his confederates. But why do I speak of times and places so far remote, when in this very city of ours, Gelon, from an ordinary man, became prince of all Sicily, all the cities giving up themselves freely to his government? For courtesy and winning behaviour of the man, gained upon every person, especially his tenderness towards them that were in distress. Therefore, guided by this example, (at a time when this our city ruled over all Sicily), let us not slight that which was so commendable in our ancestors, nor behave ourselves like beasts, fierce and inexorable towards men in misery. It will ill become us to give occasion to those that envy us, to say that we used our success and prosperity unworthily. How desirable a thing is it, when we are in affliction, to have some to sympathize with us, and when we are in prosperity to have others to rejoice with us? Victory is many times gained by fortune and chance, but humanity and mercy in a time of success, are clear instances of the virtue of the conqueror.

Wherefore envy not your country this honour, whereby they will be famous all the world over, when it shall be said that it did not only overcome the Athenians by arms, but by mercy and humanity. And hence it will appear that they who engross to themselves all the praise and commendation due to mercy and generosity, are far outdone by your lenity and compassion. And that they who first dedicated an altar to mercy, may find the very same in the city of Syracuse. And it will be a convincing argument to all mankind, that they were most justly cut off, and we most deservedly crowned with success; because they so unjustly fell upon those who afterwards shewed mercy to such implacable enemies; and that we overcame such a sort of men as most unjustly made war upon them who learned to shew mercy even by the cruelty and injustice of their enemies. And hence it will follow that the Athenians shall not only undergo the calamities of others, but will likewise condemn themselves, that they should endeavour by an unjust war to destroy such men. It is certainly a most commendable thing to lay the first foundation of friendship, and extinguish dissentions, by shewing of mercy. A good understanding amongst friends, is to be everlasting, but enmity with adversaries ought to be but temporary. By this means the number of friends would increase, and enemies would be the fewer. But to continue hatred and discord for ever, and entail them to posterity, is

neither just nor safe. For sometimes it falls out that they who now seem to be more potent than the other, in a moment are brought lower than those they formerly overcame: which is clearly evinced to us by the event of the present war. They who even now besieged our city, and to that purpose hemmed us in with a wall, by a turn of fortune are now become our prisoners, as you all see: it is therefore our great prudence in the miseries of others, to shew compassion, if we expect to find the same ourselves in their condition. This present life is full of paradoxes and mutations; as seditions, robberies, wars, among which human nature can scarce avoid loss and prejudice: therefore, if we shut up all bowels of mercy towards the distressed and vanquished, we establish a bloody law for ever against ourselves. For it is impossible that they who are cruel towards others, should find mercy afterwards themselves; and that they who act barbarously should be gently used; or that those who destroy so many men against the common custom of the Greeks, when a change of fortune comes, should obtain the common rights and privileges of all other men. For which of the Grecians ever put to death those that submitted and delivered up themselves upon hopes and belief of mercy from the conquerors? Or who ever preferred cruelty before mercy, or precipitation and rashness before prudence? All mankind indeed agree in this, to destroy an enemy in fight by all ways imaginable; but yet to spare those who submit and yield up themselves. For in the one case obstinacy is corrected, and in the other mercy is exercised. For our rage is naturally cooled, when we see him that was an enemy, upon change of his fortune, now lie at our foot, submitting himself to the will and pleasure of the conqueror: especially men of mild and good tempers are touched with a sense of compassion, through affection to the same common nature with themselves. Even the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war, when they took many of the Lacedæmonians in the Sphacteriæ islands, yet restored them to the Spartans upon ransom. The Lacedæmonians, likewise, when many of the Athenians and their confederates fell into their hands, used the like clemency; and it was honourably done of them both: for Grecians should lay aside their enmity after conquest, and forbear punishment after the enemy is subdued. He that revenges himself upon the conquered, after he hath submitted to mercy, punishes not an enemy, but rather wickedly insults over the weakness of mankind. Concerning this severity one made use of these sayings of the antient philosophers—O man! be not over wise; know thyself: consider fortune commands all things. What, I beseech you, was the reason that all the Grecians in former ages, after their victories, did not make their trophies of stone, but of ordinary wood? was it not, that, as they vol-

tinued but a short time, so the memory of former feuds and differences should in a little time vanish? If you are resolved to perpetuate your hatred and animosities, then learn first to slight the inconsistency of human affairs. Many times a small occasion, and a little turn of fortune, has given a check to the insolencies of the proudest of men. And if you purpose at any time to put an end to the war, (which is probable), how can you have a better opportunity than this, in which, by your mercy and clemency towards the conquered, you lay the foundations of peace and amity? Do you think the Athenians, by this loss in Sicily, have no more forces left, who are lords almost of all the islands of Greece, and of the sea coasts of Europe and Asia? For not long ago, though they lost three hundred gallies in Egypt, yet they compelled the king (who seemed to be the conqueror) to make peace with them upon terms on his part dishonourable. And heretofore, though Xerxes had destroyed their city, yet not long after they overcame him, and became masters of all Greece. This noble city thrives in the midst of the greatest calamities, and nothing small or mean is the subject of any of its consultations. And therefore it is both honourable and profitable, that we should rather (by sparing the captives) enter into a league of friendship with them, than to widen the breach, by destroying of them. For if we put them to death, we only gratify our rage with a little unprofitable pleasure for the present; but if we preserve them, they (whom we use so well) will be for ever grateful; and from all mankind we shall reap eternal praise and honour. Yea, but others may say, some of the Grecians have killed their prisoners. What then? if they have been praised and honoured for this cruelty, let us then imitate them who have been so careful to preserve their honour; but if the best and chiefest among us justly condemn them, let not us do the same thing with them, who acted apparently so wickedly. As long as these men who have yeilded up themselves to our mercy, suffer nothing sad and doleful from us, all the nations will blame the Athenians: but when they hear that you have destroyed the prisoners, against the law of nations, all the shame and disgrace will fall upon yourselves. And if there be any regard to desert, we may consider that the glory of the city of Athens is such, that all acknowledge themselves bound to be grateful for the benefits and advantages reaped from thence. These are they who first ennobled Greece with civil education; for when, by the special bounty of the gods, it was only among them, they freely imparted it to all others. These framed laws, by means whereof, men that before lived like beasts, were brought into orderly society to live together according to the rules of justice: these were they who first of all protected those in distress that fled to them, and caused the laws for

the receiving and defending of suppliants in such cases to be inviolably observed amongst all other nations; and it were a most unworthy thing now to deny the benefit of those laws to them who were the authors of them. And this much in general to all. And now I shall hint something particularly to some of you, concerning the duties incumbent upon such as should have regard to the welfare and happiness of mankind. You that are the orators and men of learning of this city, you, I say, have compassion on them, whose country is the nursery of all learning and honourable education. All you who are initiated into the holy mysteries, spare and save those by whom you were instructed. You who have reaped any advantage by ingenious education, now be grateful for that advantage. You who hereafter hope for improvement thence, debar not yourselves by your cruelty now. For where shall strangers be instructed in the liberal arts, if Athens be destroyed? Some short resentment indeed they do deserve for their present offence, but their many good acts may justly challenge returns of kindness and good will. Besides this merit of the city, if any do but consider the private circumstances of the prisoners, there will be just cause and ground found to shew them mercy. For the confederates, being under the command of their superiors, are forced to be engaged in the same war with them. Wherefore, though it may be thought just to execute revenge upon them that were the chief authors of the injuries, yet certainly it is very fit and commendable to pardon such as are offenders against their wills. What shall I say of Nicias? who from the beginning (favouring the Syracusans) dissuaded the Athenians from this expedition against Sicily; and was always kind and courteous to all the Syracusans that ever came thither. How base and unworthy then would it be to put Nicias to death, who was our advocate in the senate at Athens, and that he (finding no mercy for his kindnesses) should undergo a rigorous and implacable revenge for his obedience to his governors? So that though Alcibiades (who was the great promoter of this war) avoided, by his flight, revenge both from us and the Athenians, yet he who was the most courteous of all the Athenians, cannot be thought worthy of common favour. Considering, therefore, the catastrophe of this present life, I cannot but compassionate so unfortunate a condition. For, not long ago, he was esteemed one of the bravest men of Greece, and most applauded for the integrity of his life and conversation; and the eyes and good wishes of all the city every where followed him: but now, with his arms pinioned in the chains of captivity, of a deformed countenance, suffering under the miserable condition of a slave, as if fortune in this man's life gloried to shew the greatness of her power, under whose bountiful indulgence towards us, we ought to carry it

(as becomes the state and condition of men) with humanity and moderation, and not to insult with barbarous cruelty, even those who are of the same stock and origin with ourselves. Nicholaus having thus spoken to the Syracusans, ended his oration, and much affected his auditors with pity and compasion.

But Gylippus, the Laconian, burning with implacable hatred against the Athenians, ascends the tribunal, and speaks thus: I am in great admiration, O ye Syracusans, to see you led aside by enticing words, even while you are under the smart of the miserable butcheries you really groan under. If in the very height of danger you are so cool in your revenge towards them who came hither on purpose to ruin your country, why do we contend if we are not at all injured? I entreat you by the gods, O ye Syracusans, to give me leave, while I freely declare unto you my opinion; for being a Spartan, I must be forced to speak after the manner of the Spartans: and in the first place, some may inquire, how comes it to pass, that Nicholaus professes himself to bear so much compassion towards the Athenians, who have made his old age the more miserable by the loss of his sons, and now appears in the assembly in a mournful habit, and with the shedding of many tears, pleads for mercy for them, who have murdered his own children? Certainly he is no good man, that so far forgets the death of his nearest relations, as to judge it fit and just to spare them who were their most bitter and implacable enemies. How many are here present now in this great assembly, who are lamenting for the death of their children? At which words, when many of the assembly sent forth loud greans, he added: I discern (says he) that those sighs are the witnesses of the miseries suffered. How many brothers, kindred, and friends, lost in this war, do ye now in vain desire? At which, when many more manifested their sorrow: Seest thou not, (says Gylippus), O Nicholaus! how many the Athenians have made miserable? All these, without any cause, have they deprived of their dearest and nearest relations, who ought so much the more to hate the name of the Athenians, by how much they bore the greater love to their relations, kindred, and friends. How absurd and unjust a thing is it, O ye Syracusans, for men voluntarily to sacrifice their lives for you, and you not to revenge their blood upon their inveterate enemies? nay, being so far from praising those who have lost their lives in defence of the common liberty, as to prefer the safety of the enemies, before the honour of those that have deserved so well. You have made a law, that the sepulchres of your countrymen shall be adorned and beautified: what greater ornament can you invent, than to destroy their murderers? unless it be (if the gods permit) that by making these enemies freemen of the city, you [illegible]

termine to set them up as living trophies for the remembrance of your dead friends. But now the denomination of enemies is changed into that of suppliants. From whence arises this tenderness? For they who first compiled laws concerning these matters, decreed mercy to the distressed, but punishment to them that acted wickedly. And now under which of these denominations shall we account the prisoners; as distressed and afflicted? But what evil spirit was it that compelled them to make war against the Syracusans without any provocation; and, breaking all the bonds of peace, (which is so desirable amongst all), to plot and contrive the destruction of your city? Therefore, as they began an unjust war, let them with courage, or without, suffer and undergo the events of war: for if they had been conquerors, we should have felt their most inexorable cruelty; but now, being subdued, they seek to avoid the punishment in the most low and humble posture of distressed suppliants. What if they should be answered, that their covetousness and wicked ambition has hurled them into these calamities? Let them not therefore accuse fortune, nor challenge to themselves the name of suppliants; for this is only due to them who are fallen into misfortunes, and yet have preserved their innocency and integrity: but they who make it the business of their lives to act all manner of injustice, shut up all the doors and passages of mercy against themselves. What is it that is most base will they not devise; what wickedness will they not commit? It is the special property of covetousness not to be content with its present condition, but violently to lust after things remote, and what is not our own; which is most notoriously done by these men: for though they were the most happy and prosperous of all the Grecians, yet not being able to bear the weight of their own greatness, they thirsted after Sicily, (though separated from them by so large a sea), to divide it by lot amongst themselves. A most horrid and wicked thing it is to make war upon them, who never gave any occasion or provocation: and this these men have done. These are they who not long ago entered into a league of peace and friendship with us, and then on a sudden, begirt our city with their forces. Certainly it is a great piece of pride and presumption to forejudge the events of a war, and to order and determine the punishment of an enemy before the conquest: and this they did not omit; for before they came into Sicily, it was enacted in their common assemblies—That the Syracusans and Selinuntines should be made slaves, and all the rest be brought under tribute. And now, when so many complicated vices center in these men, as insatiable covetousness, fraud, and treachery, insufferable pride and insolency, what man in his wits can shew them mercy? especially when it is so well known how they dealt with them of Mitylene. For

after they had subdued them, although they had committed no offence; but only desired to preserve their liberty, yet they commanded them all to be put to the sword; a most cruel and barbarous act; and this against Grecians, against confederates, and against those that had merited better things at their hands. And therefore let them not think it grievous to suffer that themselves, which they have executed upon others: for it is but just that he who makes a law to bind others, should be subject to the same himself. But why do I speak of this? When they took Melos, they most miserably destroyed all the youth of the city. And the Scioneans of the colony of the Meleans underwent the same fate. So that these two sorts of people, when they fell into the cruel hands of the Athenians, were so totally destroyed, that there was none left to bury the dead. They who acted these things, are not Scythians, but a people who boast of humanity and mercy above all others. These are they, that, by public edict, utterly destroyed these cities. Now, can you imagine how they would have dealt with the city of Syracuse, if they had taken it? Certainly, they who are so cruel towards their own confederates, would have invented something more vile and horrid to have executed upon strangers. By all the rules of law and justice, therefore, there is no mercy remains for these men, who have debarred themselves of all pity and compassion in their present calamities. For whether can they fly? To the gods; whose worship according to the laws of the country they endeavoured to root up? To men, whom with all their might they were studying and contriving to make slaves? Will they make their addresses to Ceres and Proserpina, when they came hither to spoil and lay waste the island dedicated to them? So it is. But say some, the people of Athens are in no fault, but Alcibiades, who advised and persuaded them to this war. What then? we know that they who advise, for the most part frame their speeches that way which they conceive is most agreeable to the humour of their auditors: and he that is to give his vote, often suggests to the orator what he would have to be urged. For the orator commands not the people, but the people order the orator to propose what is advisable, and then determine what they think fit. Besides, if we pardon the malefactors upon their casting the fault upon their advisers, we furnish every wicked fellow with a ready excuse for clearing himself. To speak plainly, it would be the most unjust thing in the world, to give thanks to the people for all the good and advantage we at any time reap, and execute revenge upon the orators for all the injuries we suffer. It is admirable to see some so far besotted, as to judge it fit Alcibiades, now out of our reach, should be punished, and yet the prisoners now justly brought to judgment should be discharged; that

thereby it might be evident to all, that the Syracusans are so sottish, as not to have any sense of what is ill: but admit the truth to be so, that the advisers were the cause of the war, then let the people accuse them because they have led them into such a disaster. In the mean time do you, (as in justice you ought), revenge yourselves upon the multitude, by whom you have most injuriously suffered. The sum of all is this, if knowingly and advisedly they have thus wronged you, they deserve to suffer upon that account; if they came upon you rashly and inconsiderately, they are not to be spared for that reason, lest they make it a practice to injure others, under pretence of unadvisedness and inconsideration. For it is not just the Syracusans should be ruined by the rashness and ignorance of the Athenians, nor, where the damage is irreparable, to admit of an excuse for the offenders. Yea, by Jupiter! But Nicias (say some) pleaded the cause of the Syracusans, and was the only person who dissuaded the people from the war. What he said there, indeed we heard, and what he has acted here, we have now seen. For he who there argued against the expedition, was here general of an army against us; and he who was then the Syracusan advocate, but even now besieged and walled in their city. He who was then so well affected towards you, lately commanded the continuance both of the war and the siege, when Demosthenes and all the rest would have drawn off and returned. I judge, therefore, you will not have more regard to words than things, to promises than experiences, to things dark and uncertain, than to those that are seen and apparent. Yet by Jupiter, I confess, it is a very wicked thing to perpetuate enmities and differences: but is not the due punishment of those that violate the peace, the most natural way to put an end to hostilities? It is certainly most unjust, when it is apparent, if they had been conquerors, they would have made the conquered all slaves, to spare them now they are conquered, as if they had done nothing amiss: for thus getting their necks out of the halter, they will speak you fair for a time, and perhaps remember the kindness so long as it is for their advantage, but no longer. One thing more I have to say, if you follow this advice, besides many other mischiefs, you disoblige the Lacedæmonians, who readily undertook this war for your sakes, and sent hither aids and supplies as your confederates, when they might have been quiet, and suffered Sicily to have been wasted and destroyed. And therefore, if you release the prisoners, and enter into a new league with the Athenians, it will evidently appear that you betray your confederates; and whereas it is now in your power to ruin and destroy the common enemies, by discharging of those who are the best of their soldiers you put them in a better condition for a second encounter. I can

never be persuaded that the Athenians, who bear such an inveterate hatred, will ever continue long to be your friends. Whilst they cannot hurt you, so long they will make a shew of kindness; but when they think they have power enough, then they will execute what before they long designed. To conclude, I earnestly beseech thee, O Jupiter! and all the gods, that the enemies be not spared, that the confederacy be not deserted, and that another danger of ruin be not brought upon the country. And to you, O ye Syracusans, I say if any mischief happen to you by releasing the enemy, you leave no colour of excuse for yourselves.

Thus spoke the Laconian; upon which the people changed their minds, and confirmed the advice of Diocles, and without delay the generals with all their confederates were put to death. But the citizens of Athens were adjudged, and thrust down into the quarries. But some of them that had been well bred and instructed in several useful arts, were by the young men loosed from their fetters and discharged. All the rest almost died miserably through ill usage in their imprisonment.

CHAP. III.

Diocles instituted laws for Sicily: suffered by one of his own laws. Three hundred appointed to govern in Athens. The Athenians beaten at sea by the Lacedæmonians at Oropus. Alcibiades recalled from banishment.

THE war now ended, Diocles prescribed laws for the Syracusans. But one thing very remarkable happened concerning this man: for being of an inexorable nature, and rigid and severe against the offenders, amongst other laws which he made, one was this—That if any man came armed into the court, he should be put to death, without any exception of ignorance, or of any other circumstance of the fact whatsoever. It happened that some enemies made a sudden incursion into the borders of the Syracusans, and he was to go forth against them. In the mean time, a seditious tumult arose near the court: upon which he hastened thither with his sword by his side; which being taken notice of by a private man, who cried out—That he violated the laws he himself had made. No, by Jove, (says he), I will confirm them: and so drawing his sword, ran himself through. These were the actions of this year.

After this, when Callias governed in chief at Athens, the Romans chose four military tribunes to execute the office of consuls, Publius Cornelius, Caius Valerius, Cneius Fabius Vibulanus, and Quintius Cincinnatus. At the same time the ninety-second olympiad was celebrated at Elis, where Exænetus of Agrigentum was victor. At this time the Athenians began to be in contempt, by reason of their misfortunes in Sicily. For soon after, the Chians, Samians, Byzantines, and a great part of their confederates, fell off to the Lacedæmonians. The people of Athens being upon this account in great perplexity, laid aside the democratical government, and chose four hundred to manage the affairs of the commonwealth. The sovereign power being now devolved upon a few, they built more gallies, and rigged out a fleet of forty sail. After some disagreement among the officers, they sailed to Oropus, where the enemy's gallies lay at anchor: hereupon a battle was fought, and the Lacedæmonians prevailed and took two-and-twenty sail.

As for the Syracusans, when the war was ended with the Athenians, they rewarded the Lacedæmonians their confederates, of whom Gylippus was general, with the spoils taken in the war, and sent with them five-and-thirty gallies to assist them against the Athenians, of which Hermocrates, a great man among the citizens, was admiral. Then all the booty and prey was brought together, and out of the spoils they adorned the temples, and rewarded every soldier according to his merit.

After these things, Diocles, a man of great authority amongst the people, prevailed to have the administration of the government altered, by choosing the magistrates by lot, and ordered that there should be law-makers appointed both to settle the commonwealth, and to make new laws for the future government. The Syracusans therefore chose such from among the citizens as they judged most prudent, of whom the chiefest was Diocles: he was a man of such excellent parts, and of so great reputation, that the laws (though made with the joint help of others) were called from him the Dioclean laws. And he was not only admired by the Syracusans whilst he lived, but, when he was dead, they honoured him as a hero, and built a temple to his memory, which Dionysius afterwards pulled down when he built the new wall. All the rest, likewise, of the Siculi, highly valued this man: and upon that account many of the cities through Sicily used the same laws that he had instituted, till such time as the Romans brought all Sicily under the power of Rome. And though in times long after Diocles, Cephalus, in the time of the government of Timoleon and Polydorus, when Hiero reigned, instituted laws for the

Syracusans, yet neither of them were ever called law-makers, but interpreters of the law-maker; because the former laws being written in old and obsolete language, were scarce to be understood. And whereas there are many things in these laws very remarkable, yet the great hatred against knavery and dishonesty appears chiefly from this—That the bitterest and severest punishments are levelled against all those that violate justice. His great dexterity in civil affairs is evident hence—That he appointed a certain mulct or fine almost for every offence or cause, private or public, proportionate to the nature of the thing. He is very concise in his expressions, leaving much to the disquisition of the learned reader. The sad manner of his death is a sufficient testimony of the virtuous resolution of his mind. I am the rather desirous to speak more than ordinary of these things, in regard that most authors heretofore have mentioned very little concerning him.

But to return to the Athenians, when they heard of the ruin of their army in Sicily, they took it most grievously, yet slacked nothing in their contests with the Lacedæmonians about the sovereignty, but prepared a greater fleet, and let their money fly abroad amongst all their confederates that were resolved to stick by them to the utmost extremity, to gain and keep the sovereign power. And to that end they gave full authority to four hundred persons chosen out of the citizens to rule and govern the commonwealth: for, in their present circumstances, they preferred an oligarchy before their former democracy. But the thing did not in the least answer their expectations; for they were much more unsuccessful afterwards; for they sent forth two generals that were at dissention between themselves, with a fleet of forty sail against the enemy. And although the present distressed condition and bad state of affairs with the Athenians called aloud for peace and concord amongst themselves, yet the generals did all they could to widen the breach, and cherish the enmities and animosities they bore one against another. At length sailing to Oropus, unawares and unprepared, they fought with the Peloponnesians, where, through their carelessness at the beginning, and their sloth and inadvertency in the heat of the fight, they lost two-and-twenty ships, and brought the rest with great difficulty into Eretria.

Upon this the confederates of the Athenians (considering the overthrow in Sicily, and the late ill management of the two commanders) joined with the Lacedæmonians. Darius likewise, the king of Persia, sought earnestly to enter into a league with the Lacedæmonians: and to that end Pharnabazus, his lieutenant upon the sea-coasts, supplied the Lacedæmonians with money, and sent for three hundred

ships from Phœnicia, which he had before ordered to be sent to them at Bœotia. And now, when the Athenians were involved in so many mischiefs at one time, all men thought the war at an end: for none had the least hopes that the Athenians could make any further opposition, not for the least moment of time. But the thing had a far different issue from that which was commonly supposed; for such was the brave spirit of the Athenians, that the event was quite contrary, which happened upon this occasion—Alcibiades being banished from Athens, aided the Lacedæmonians for some time in the war, and was very useful to them, being an eloquent orator, daring and bold, of the most noble family, and the greatest estate of any of the citizens, and therefore esteemed the chief man of Athens. This man having a great desire to be recalled from his banishment, did all he could to ingratiate himself with the people of Athens, by doing them some remarkable service, at a time when they seemed to be in the lowest ebb of fortune. And therefore having a great interest in Pharnabazus, Darius's lieutenant, and understanding that he designed to send three hundred ships to aid the Lacedæmonians, prevailed with him to alter his resolution. For he suggested to him, that it was not safe for the king to make the Lacedæmonians too strong, nor for the advantage of the Persians: and that it was much more their interest to keep the balance equal, that so the two commonwealths might be in continual war one with another.

Pharnabazus conceiving Alcibiades had given him sound and wholesome advice, sends back the fleet to Phœnicia: and thus the aid intended for the Lacedæmonians was prevented by Alcibiades. A little time after he was recalled, and made general of the army, and overcame the Lacedæmonians in several battles, and raised up his country from their low estate, to their former height of glory. But of these matters we shall speak more fully hereafter, lest we should transgress the due order of our history by too much anticipation.

CHAP. IV.

The government by four hundred abrogated in Athens. The victory by the Athenians over the Lacedæmonians at sea, between Sestos and Abydos. The Persian garrison driven out of Antandros by the help of the Lacedæmonians. Twenty-two years of the Peloponnesian war ended. Here Thucydides ends his history.

AFTER this year was ended, Theopompus governed Athens, and the Romans invested four military tribunes with consular dignity, Tiberius Posthumius, Caius Cornelius, Caius Valerius, and Cæso Fabius. At this time the Athenians abrogated the authority of the four hundred, and restored the democracy. Theramenes was the author of this change, (a sober and prudent man), who was the only person that advised the recalling of Alcibiades, (by whom they recovered their strength); and by many other good offices performed by Theramenes, to the advantage of the public, he gained great authority and favour with the people. But not long after, the following things happened.

At this time, in order to carry on the war, two generals were chosen by the Athenians, Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus, who rendezvoused a fleet at Samos, and there trained and exercised the soldiers every day to inure them to fighting at sea. Mindarus, the Lacedæmonian admiral, in the mean while lay for some time at Miletus, expecting the aids from Pharnabazus, and hearing that three hundred gallies were arrived from Phœnicia, was confident now he should be able, with so great supplies, utterly to ruin the Athenian state. But presently after, having intelligence that the fleet was returned to Phœnicia, through the persuasions of Alcibiades, (being now out of all hopes of any assistance from him), he furnished some ships he had with him, from Peloponnesus, and from other foreign confederates, and sent Dorieus with thirteen sail, (which some of the Grecians had lately sent him out of Italy), to Rhodes: for he had heard that some innovations were contriving there; with the rest of the fleet, (to the number of eighty-three), he made to the Hellespont, because he heard that the Athenian navy lay at Samos. When the Athenian commanders saw them pass by, they hastened after them with threescore sail. But the Lacedæmonians arriving at Chios, the Athenians determined to sail to Lesbos, to be supplied with more ships from their confederates, lest they should be overpowered by numbers.

While the Athenians were thus busied, Mindarus, with the Lacedæmonian fleet, in the night, with all speed makes for the Hellespont, and the next day arrived at Sigeum. The Athenians hearing that they had departed from Chios, having received from their confederates at the present only three gallies, made after the Lacedæmonians; but when they came to Sigeum, they found the Lacedæmonians had left that place, save only three gallies, which fell forthwith into their hands. Proceeding thence, they came to Eleuntis*, where they prepared themselves for a sea-fight. On the other side the Lacedæmonians, when they saw their enemies were fitting themselves for a conflict, they likewise, for five days together, employed themselves in exercising and trying their rowers, and then ordered their fleet, which consisted of eighty-eight sail, into a line of battle, and stood towards the Asiatic shore. The Athenians on the other hand, drew out theirs all along the tract lying upon the borders of Europe; they were indeed fewer in number, but far more skilful in sea-affairs. The Lacedæmonians placed the Syracusans in the right wing, commanded by Hermocrates; the Peloponnesians in the left, under the command of Mindarus. On the part of the Athenians, Thrasyllus commanded the right, and Thrasybulus the left wing. At the first the great contest was for the tide, each striving to gain that. For a long time therefore they sailed round one another; at length, being in a narrow sea, they fought for a commodious station. For the battle being between Sestos and Abydos, the tide in those straits was a great disadvantage to that side it forced upon. But the Athenian pilots far excelling the others, by that means did notable service in many respects for the obtaining of the victory.

For although the Peloponnesians exceeded the other in number of their ships, and valour of the assailants, yet the skill and diligence of the Athenian pilots over-balanced all this, and made it of no effect; for when the Peloponnesians with all their force strove to pierce them, the Athenian fleet was placed in such excellent order, that no part of their ships could be touched, save only the very end of their beaks. Upon which, Mindarus perceiving they assaulted them in vain, commanded that a few ships only, singly by themselves, should cope with the enemy: but neither in this case was the diligence of the pilots wanting; for, with a little motion they easily declined the strokes of the beaks of their enemies' ships, and so pierced them in their broadsides, that they disabled many. At length the dispute waxing very hot, they not only pierced one another's ships with their beaks, but the soldiers on the decks fought hand to hand: but neither side could as yet prevail. And now in the very heat of the battle, there appeared beyond a promontory five-and-twenty sail

* A town in Thrace.

sent from Athens. Upon which the Peloponnesians being in a consternation at this sudden reinforcement, tacked about for Abydos, and were closely and eagerly pursued by the Athenians. And thus ended the battle, in which all the ships of the Syracusans, Pelleneans, and Leucadians, eight of the Chians, five of the Corinthians, and eleven of the Ambracians were taken by the Athenians, who on the other side lost five, which were sunk. After this, the army under Thrasybulus erected a trophy on the promontory, where stands the monument of Hecuba; and messengers were sent to Athens, to give intelligence of the victory; and he himself sailed with the whole fleet to Cyzicum: for, a little before the battle, this city had revolted to Pharnabazus, governor under Darius, and to Clearchus the Lacedæmonian general. This place not being fortified, was presently surrendered; and after the tribute agreed upon was paid, the fleet returned to Sestos.

In the mean time, Mindarus the Lacedæmonian admiral, who fled to Abydos, refits the shipping, and orders Epicles the Spartan to Eubœa, to bring to him gallies from thence; who hastens thither, and gets together fifty sail, and forthwith made to sea; but in passing under mount Athos, was overtaken with such a violent tempest, that all the fleet was lost, and not a man escaped, save only twelve. In memory of this, there is an inscription on a monument at Coronea, as Ephorus observes in these words—

Out of the fifty gallies of three oars;
But poor twelve men on rocks were thrown,
Of Athos mount and sav'd. With wind sea roars,
Rest of the men or ships spares none.

About the same time Alcibiades, with thirteen gallies, sailed to them that lay at anchor at Samos. The Athenians had before been informed, that (through the persuasions of Alcibiades) Pharnabazus would not send the three hundred ships (as he intended) in aid of the Lacedæmonians. Being therefore courteously received by them that lay at Samos, he made some proposals for his return, and made many promises to serve his country to the utmost of his power, absolutely denying the crimes laid to his charge; and complained of his hard fortune, that he was compelled (through the crafty designs of his enemies) to make use of his arms against his country. His speech was highly applauded by the common soldiers, and by messengers reported at Athens; upon which he was absolved, and created one of their generals; for, considering his valour and great interest every where amongst the Grecians, they hoped it would be much for their advantage if they again received him into favour. And besides, Theramenes, one of the greatest authority in the commonwealth, a man

eminent for wisdom and prudence as ever any before him, advised the recalling of Alcibiades. When the messengers returned to Samos with this account, Alcibiades joining nine ships more to those thirteen he brought with him, sailed to Halicarnassus, and there forced the city to pay him a large sum of money. And then making great devastations in Meropides*, he returns with much plunder to Samos; and there divides the spoil as a common booty, not only amongst his own soldiers, but amongst them in Samos, and by that means gains them all over to his interest.

About this time, Antandros, with the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, drove the garrison out of their city, and so restored their country to their liberty: for the Spartans being angry at Pharnabazus, for sending the three hundred ships into Phœnicia, entered into league with the Antandrians.

Here Thucydides breaks off his history, containing in eight books (which some divide into nine) the affairs of two-and-twenty years. Xenophon and Theopompus begin theirs where Thucydides ends. Xenophon continues his history for the term of forty-eight years; but Theopompus goes on with the affairs of Greece for the term of seventeen years, and ends his history at the sea-fight at Cnidus, comprised in twelve books. Thus stood the state of affairs in Greece and Asia at this time. In the mean time the Romans were at war with the Æqui, and entered their country with a great army, and besieged their city called Bolasus, and took it.

CHAP. V.

Commotions in Sicily. The Carthaginians invited thither by the Egesteans. A sea-fight at Dardanium between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. A sedition in Corcyra. The sea-fight at Cyzicum; and at Claros by land, wherein the Athenians were victors.

THE former year ended, Glaucippus was created archon at Athens, and at Rome, Marcus Cornelius and Lucius Furius were again chosen consuls. About this time the Egesteans, (who had confederated with

* An island in the Archipelago, otherwise called Cos.

the Athenians), after the war was ended in Sicily against the Syracusans, were in great fear (as they had just cause) lest the Siculi should revenge themselves upon them for the many acts of hostility they committed against them. And therefore, when the Selinuntines made war upon them concerning some boundaries that were in dispute, they submitted, lest the Syracusans should take that occasion to join with the Selinuntines, and so hazard the loss of their country. But when they encroached farther upon their territories than was agreed upon, the Egesteans desired aid of the Carthaginians, and freely offered their city to their protection. When the ambassadors came to Carthage, and had delivered their message to the senate, the Carthaginians were much perplexed what to resolve: the desire of so convenient a city strongly inclined them upon one hand, and the fear of the Syracusans, who had lately destroyed so powerful an army of the Athenians, discouraged them on the other. But at length their ambition to gain the city prevailed. The answer therefore to the ambassadors was, that they would send them aid. For the management of this affair, (in case it should break out into a war), they made Hannibal general, who was then, according to their law, chief magistrate of Carthage. He was the grandchild of Amilcar, (who was killed at Himera at the battle fought with Gelon), and son of Gescon, who for killing his father was banished, and lived at Selinus. Hannibal therefore, in regard he bore a natural hatred against the Grecians, and desired by his own valour to wipe off the stain of his family, was very earnest to make himself remarkable by some eminent service for the advantage of his country. Therefore, when he understood that the Selinuntines were not satisfied with that part of land which was yielded to them, he, together with the Egesteans, sends ambassadors to the Syracusans, referring the controversy to their determination; in words seeming to propose all things fair and just; but in truth with hopes that if the Selinuntines should decline the arbitration, the Syracusans would cast off their confederacy and league with them. But when the Selinuntines (who sent likewise their ambassadors) refused to stand to their decision, and strongly opposed both the Carthaginian and Egestean ambassadors, the Syracusans were at length resolved both to be at peace with the Carthaginians, and likewise to stand to their league with the Selinuntines. Upon which, when the ambassadors were returned, the Carthaginians sent to the Egesteans five thousand men from Africa, and eight hundred from Campania. These were formerly hired by the Chalcedonians for the assistance of the Athenians against the Syracusans, but after their overthrow, sailing back, they knew not under whom

to serve. The Carthaginians therefore bought them all horses, and giving them large pay, placed them in a garrison at Egesta. But the Selinuntines, who were then both rich and populous, valued not the Egesteans one jot.

At the first, with a well-formed army, they spoiled the county next adjoining to them; at length, in regard they far exceeded the Egesteans in number, they despised them, and dispersed themselves, ravaging all over the country. The Egestean commanders watching their opportunity, with the help of the Carthaginians and Campanians, set upon them unawares: and the assault being sudden and unexpected, they easily routed and put them to flight. They killed a thousand, and took all their baggage. After this fight, both sides sent forth ambassadors, the Selinuntines to the Syracusans, and the Egesteans to the Carthaginians for aid; which being readily promised on both sides, this was the beginning of the Carthaginian war. The Carthaginians foreseeing the greatness of the war, committed the whole management thereof to Hannibal, giving him power to raise what forces he thought fit, they themselves in the mean time providing all things necessary. Hannibal all that summer, and the next winter, raises many mercenary soldiers in Spain, and lists a great number of his own citizens; and besides these, raises men in every city throughout all Africa, and equips a fleet, intending the next spring to pass over all the forces into Sicily. In this condition were the affairs of Sicily at that time.

In the mean time Dorieus the Rhodian, admiral of the Italian gallies, as soon as he had quieted the tumult in Rhodes, passed over to the Hellespont, with a purpose to join Mindarus, who then lay at Abydos, getting together from all parts what vessels he could from the Peloponnesian confederates. When Dorieus was come as far as Sigeum of Troas, the Athenians (who then lay at anchor at Sestos) having intelligence of his course, proceeded against him with their whole fleet of seventy-four sail. Dorieus altogether ignorant of the preparations against him, sails on securely: but when he understood what a powerful navy was making towards him, he was in great consternation, and seeing no other means left to escape, fled to Dardanium, where he landed his men: and placing a garrison in the city, he forthwith furnished the place with abundance of arms, and placed his soldiers, some upon the foredecks of his vessels, and others all along upon the shore. But the Athenians making up suddenly upon them, endeavoured to haul off the ships from the shore; and by pressing upon the enemy in so many places at once, they almost wearied them out. Mindarus the Peloponnesian admiral, hearing of the distress Dorieus was in, forthwith set sail from Abydos with his whole

fleet, and made for the promontory of Dardanium, with fourscore and four sail to assist him. The land forces likewise of Pharnabazus were near at hand, to support the Lacedæmonian fleet. When the navies came near one another, both sides prepared for fight. Mindarus commanding a fleet of ninety-seven sail, placed the Syracusans in the left wing, and he himself commanded the right. On the Athenians, Thrasybulus led the right, and Thrasyllus the left wing. The lines of battle being thus disposed on both sides, and the sign given by the admirals, the trumpets all at once sounded a charge. And now the rowers neglecting nothing on their part, and the pilots every where minding with all diligence their several helms, a bloody fight began. For, as often as the ships rowed forwards to pierce each other, so often did the pilots at the same instant of time carefully move and turn the ship, that the strokes only fell upon the beaks of the vessels The soldiers upon the decks, when at first they saw their broadsides lie open to the assaults of the enemy, began to be discouraged, but then again presently, when they discerned that the charge made upon them by the enemy was eluded by the art of the pilot, their spirits and courage revived. Neither were they less active, who fought upon the decks, for they who were at a distance, plied the enemy continually with darts, so that the place where they fell seemed to be covered over. They who fought at hand, threw their lances one at another, sometimes piercing through the bodies of their opposers, and sometimes the bodies of the pilots themselves. If the ships fell foul upon one another, then they disputed it with their spears: and many times when they came close, they would board one another, and fight it out with their swords. What with the doleful complaints of them that were hastening in to the succour of those that were worsted, and the triumphant shouts of them that were conquerors, every place was full of noise and confusion. The fight continued a long time with great obstinacy on both sides, till on a sudden Alcibiades (who was merely by chance sailing from Samos to the Hellespont with twenty ships) came in view. Before he came near, both sides hoped to have succour from them. And both being confident, they fought with more resolution on both sides. When he drew near (the Lacedæmonians being still in the dark) he presently set up a purple flag from his own ship as a sign to the Athenians, as it was before ordered and agreed: upon which the Lacedæmonians, in a great fright, forthwith fled. But the Athenians, encouraged with this happy success, pursued them with all their might, and presently took ten of their ships; but afterwards a great storm arose, which much obstructed them in the pursuit: for the sea was so raging, that the pilots were not able to manage the helm, nor could they make any im-

pression with the beaks of their ships upon the enemy, because the ships aimed at were born back by the violence of the waves.

At length the Lacedæmonians came safe to shore, and marched to the land army of Pharnabazus: the Athenians in the mean time endeavoured to gain the empty ships, and pressed on with great valour and confidence through many hazards and difficulties; but being kept off by the Persian army, they were forced to return to Sestos. Pharnabazus was the more earnest in opposing the Athenians, to the end he might convince the Lacedæmonians that he had no ill design against them when he sent back the three hundred gallies to Phœnicia: for he told them he did it, because at that time the king of Egypt and Arabia had some design upon Phœnicia. After this issue of the fight at sea, the Athenian fleet arrived at Sestos in the night: and, as soon as it was day, and all their fleet was got together, they set up another trophy near to the former. Mindarus arrived at Abydos about the first watch of the night, and began repairing his shattered and disabled ships. He sends to the Lacedæmonians for supplies both of land and sea forces. For, whilst his fleet was repairing, he determined to join Pharnabazus with his land soldiers, and to besiege the confederate cities of the Athenians in Asia; the Chalcedonians, and almost all the Eubœans had deserted the Athenians, and therefore were now in great fear (in regard they inhabited an island) lest the Athenians, being masters at sea, would invade them; they therefore solicited the Bœotians to assist them to stop up Euripus*, by which Eubœa might be annexed to the continent of Bœotia. To which the Bœotians agreed; because by this means Eubœa would be but as the continent to them, and an island to others. Hereupon all the cities set upon the work, and every one strove with all diligence to perfect it. And orders were sent forth not only to the citizens, but all foreigners and strangers, to attend upon the business; and all hands were to be at work, that it might be with all speed effected. The mole began at Chalcis in Eubœa on the one side, and at Aulis in Bœotia on the other: for here it was the narrowest. In these straits the sea was very boisterous and rough, but after this work much more unquiet and raging, the passage being made so very close and narrow: for there was left only room for one ship to pass. There were forts built on both sides upon the extremities of the mole, and wooden bridges made over the current for communication.

Theramenes indeed at the first, being sent thither with thirty sail, endeavoured to hinder the project; but being overpowered with the number of those that defended the people employed, he gave up his design, and made off towards the islands. And purposing to re-

* Euripus, a strait of the sea between Bœotia and Eubœa.

lieve the confederate cities who were under the burden of contributions, he wasted and spoiled the enemy's country, and returned home with much spoil and plunder. He went likewise to some of the confederate cities, and imposed upon them great mulcts and fines, because he understood that they were secretly contriving some change and innovations. Thence he sailed to Paros, and, freeing the people from the oligarchy, he restored the democracy, and exacted a great sum of money from them who set up the oligarchy.

About the same time a cruel and bloody sedition arose in Corcyra, which is said to have been occasioned through private grudges and animosities, as much as any other cause. In no city of that time, were ever such horrid murders of the citizens committed, nor ever was more rage to the destruction of mankind heard of; for once before this, in their quarrelling with one another, there were fifteen hundred slaughtered, and all of them the chiefest of the citizens. But these murders following were much more miserable, the sparks of old discords being blown up into a devouring flame: for they in authority at Corcyra, aspiring to an oligarchy, sided with the Lacedæmonians, but the people favoured the Athenians.

These two people contending for the sovereignty, took different measures: the Lacedæmonians set up an oligarchy in the cities of their confederates; but the Athenians established a democracy every where in theirs.

The Corcyrians therefore discerning that the great men of their city intended to betray them into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, sent to Athens for a garrison for the defence of their city: upon which Conon, the Athenian admiral, sails to Corcyra, and leaves there six hundred Messenians drawn out from Naupactus; and passing from thence with the fleet, anchored at Juno's temple.

In the mean time, six hundred of them that were for the democracy rushed into the forum, and forthwith set upon them that sided with the Lacedæmonians, casting some into prisons, killing others, and driving above a thousand out of the city. And because they feared the number and strength of the exiles, they manumitted all the slaves, and enfranchised all the strangers. The exiles presently fled into the continent to Epirus, lying over against them. A few days after, some of the people who favoured them that were ejected, entered the forum in arms, and sending for the exiles into the city, laid all at stake, and fought it out. When night parted them, proposals were made for a pacification, which taking effect, they all continued in their country with equal privileges. And this was the issue of the flight of the exiles from Corcyra.

At the same time Archelaus king of Macedonia marched against

the Pydneans, who had revolted, and besieged their city with a great army; to whose assistance Theramenes came with some ships; but the siege continuing longer than he expected, he returned to Thrace to Thrasybulus, the admiral of the whole fleet. But Archelaus at length takes Pydna after a strict siege, and removes the inhabitants twenty furlongs farther from the sea.

The winter now near an end, Mindarus rendezvouses his shipping from all quarters; for many came both from Peloponnesus and other confederates. The Athenian generals who lay at Sestos, hearing of the great preparations of their enemies, were in no small fear lest, if they should be set upon by their whole fleet at once, they should lose all their navy; and therefore hauling down those ships they had laid up at Sestos, they sailed round Chersonesus, and anchored at Cardia, and thence sent to Thrace to Thrasybulus and Theramenes, to come to them with the whole fleet with all speed: Alcibiades, likewise, they recalled from Lesbos: so that now the fleet was brought together with that expedition, that the admirals longed to fight and put all to the hazard of a battle.

In the mean time Mindarus, the Lacedæmonian admiral, sails in a direct course for Cyzicum, and there lands all his forces, and besieges the city. Pharnabazus joins him with a great army, and by his assistance takes the place by storm. Upon which the Athenian admirals were resolved to make for Cyzicum; and to that end they advanced with their whole fleet, and sailing round Chersonesus, arrived at Eleuntis. Then they contrived all they could to pass by Abydos in the night, lest the enemy should have intelligence of the number of their ships. Sailing thence to Preconnesus, they there lay at anchor all night. The next day they landed their men in the territories at Cyzicum, with a command to Chares, who led the army, to march straight to Cyzicum. The fleet was divided into three squadrons, one under the command of Alcibiades, another under Theramenes, and the third commanded by Thrasybulus. Alcibiades made out with his squadron far from the rest, and dared the Lacedæmonians to fight. Theramenes and Thrasybulus used their utmost endeavour to close in the enemy, so as to prevent their sailing back to the city. When Mindarus saw only that part of the fleet which was with Alcibiades, (having no intelligence of the rest), he despised them, and with fourscore sail, in great confidence, attacks them. When he came near to Alcibiades, the Athenians, as they were commanded, counterfeited a flight: whereupon the Peloponnesians with great joy hotly pursued them as conquerors: but when Alcibiades saw that he had decoyed and drawn them far off from the city, he lifts up his sign from his ship. At which, all his squadron at one instant tacked

about, full in front upon the enemy: Theramenes and Thrasybulus in the mean time making to the city, left them no way to return. Upon this, they that were with Mindarus, considering the strength of their enemies, and perceiving how they were outwitted, were in a great consternation. At length the Athenians appearing on every side, and the return of the Peloponnesians to the city intercepted, Mindarus was forced to fly to a place upon that coast, called Claros, where Pharnabazus was encamped with his army; but Alcibiades making a hot pursuit after them, sunk and took many of their ships, and forcing the rest upon the shore, endeavoured to haul them thence with grapling irons. Upon this there was a great slaughter among the Athenians, in regard the army upon the shore assisted the Peloponnesians: and indeed the Athenians (lifted up with their victory) evinced more valour than prudence; for the Peloponnesians far exceeded them in number; and the army of Pharnabazus assisted the Lacedæmonians with great resolution, and fighting from land, had the advantage of a certain and fixed station. But when Thrasybulus saw the aid that was given to the enemy from the land, he landed the rest of his men with all speed, in order to succour Alcibiades; and commanded Theramenes, that with all expedition he should join the foot under the command of Chares, and fight the enemy at land. Whilst these orders were in execution, Mindarus, the Lacedæmonian general, bore all the brunt in preserving of the ships Alcibiades had laid hold of. Clearchus the Spartan, with the Peloponnesians and mercenary Persians, fought with Thrasybulus, who for some considerable time, with his seamen and archers, bore up with great valour against the enemy, killing many of them, but not without great loss of his own: and just when the Athenians were enclosed round with the soldiers of Pharnabazus, on a sudden falls in Theramenes, with his own and Chares's foot. Upon this, those with Thrasybulus, who were before almost spent, and quite out of heart, gathered courage; so the fight was renewed, and continued very hot and sharp a long time after; till the first that gave ground were the Persians, and by little and little their whole body began to break in pieces. At length the Peloponnesians, with Clearchus, being forsaken by their fellows, (after many wounds given and received, and slaughters on both sides), were forced likewise to give ground. These being thus broken and dispersed, Theramenes hastened to assist Alcibiades, who was sorely pressed in another part. And though now all the Athenian forces were joined together, yet Mindarus was not at all startled at the approach of Theramenes, but divides the Peloponnesians into two bodies, and commands the one to engage the fresh supply, and keeping the other with himself, earnestly adjures them that they

would not stain the honour of the Spartan name; especially when the business was now to be disputed with Alcibiades by a fight at land. And now the battle for the safety of the ships was renewed with great gallantry; and Mindarus, at the head of his men, exposing himself to all manner of dangers, beats down many of his enemies; but at length was killed by the soldiers of Alcibiades, though he fought with that valour as was agreeable to the fame and glory of his country. Upon his death the Peloponnesians and their confederates all as one man fled with great consternation. The Athenians pursued them for awhile, but understanding that Pharnabazus was hastening after them with a great party of horse, they returned to their ships; and having regained the city, they set up two trophies, one for their victory at sea, near the island Polydorus, as it is called, the other for that at land, where the enemy first began to fly. The Peloponnesians who were left to guard the city, with those that escaped out of the battle, marched off to Pharnabazus's camp. The Athenians being now possessed of all the ships, and of a great number of prisoners, were laden with abundance of spoil, the fruits of the conquest of two potent armies.

When the news of this victory was brought to Athens, the success was so unexpected, after all their former losses, that the people were surprised with joy at such a happy turn of fortune, and offered sacrifices to the gods, and instituted festivals: and upon this was raised a thousand foot, and a hundred horse, of the most valiant of the citizens, for the carrying on of the war. The city likewise sent to Alcibiades a supply of thirty sail, to encourage him with greater confidence (especially now when they were masters at sea) to attack the cities who sided with the Lacedæmonians.

CHAP. VI.

The Spartans sue for peace. The speech of Endius. The Athenians refuse.

THE Lacedæmonians receiving certain intelligence of their rout at Cyzicum, sent ambassadors to Athens to treat for peace, the chief of whom was Endius. When he was admitted to an audience, he came in, and spoke in the Laconic manner, in a short and pithy stile; whose oration I judge not fitting to omit.

The oration of Endius.

WE have determined to make proposals of peace to you, O ye Athenians, upon these conditions—That the cities gained on either side be retained; that the garrisons every where be dismissed; that all prisoners be released, one Athenian for one Laconian: for we are not ignorant that the war is very mischievous to us both, but much more to you, which I shall make apparent from the things themselves, if you hearken awhile to what I say. For our use all Peloponnesus is improved and sowed, but of Attica, which is not so large, you have but a part in tillage: this war has brought over many confederates to the Laconians; on the contrary, the Athenians have lost as many as we have gained. The richest king of the world maintains our armies, but you force the charge of the war from the poorest of the nations. Our soldiers therefore being so well paid, fight cheerfully, but yours (being forced every one to bear their own charges) seek to avoid both the toil and the expence. Moreover, when our fleet is out at sea, we are more in want of ships than men; but the greatest part of your men are in your ships. And that which is most considerable, although we are inferior to you at sea, yet by the agreement of all we are your superiors at land; for the Spartan knows not how to fly in a battle at land. On the other hand you fight at sea, not with any hopes to gain the sovereignty at land, but to preserve yourselves from utter destruction. Now it remains that I give you satisfaction, why, when we thus far excel you in feats of arms, we should sue to you for peace. In truth, though I cannot say that Sparta has gained any thing by this war, yet I dare affirm their damage has not been so great as that of the Athenians. But it is the height of folly to take pleasure in common calamities, because our enemies are fellow sufferers; whereas it had been much better neither of us had had the experience. Neither does the content and satisfaction by the destruction of thine enemy, balance the sorrow that is conceived at the loss of thy friend. But it is not for these reasons only that we desire to put an end to the war, but we are prompted hereunto by the custom of our country; for when we saw by these wars so many horrid murders, and so much blood lamentably shed, we conceived it our duty to make it manifest both to the gods and men, that we are the least concerned in the causing of it.

When the Laconian had spoken this and some other things to the like effect, the more moderate of the Athenians were inclined to peace; but those who were accustomed to sow the seeds of dissention, and to make a private gain of the public disorders, were for war.

Of this opinion was Cleophon, a man of great interest among the people, who, coming into the assembly, after he had said many things pertinent to the business in hand, he chiefly encouraged the people, by magnifying the greatness of their late successes, and urging all in such a manner, as if fortune (contrary to her usual custom) had now forgot to dispose and order the successes of war, by turns and mutual changes to each side. But the Athenians at length regreted this mischievous advice, which was so little to their advantage; for, being thus deceived by flattering discourses, framed only to please, they were brought so low that they could never after recover their former strength and grandeur; but these things shall be hereafter related in their due place. The Athenians therefore (being thus puffed up with their victories, and being very confident because Alcibiades was their general) concluded they should recover their former esteem and reputation in a short time.

CHAP. VII.

Hannibal the Carthaginian invades Sicily. The miserable destruction of Selinus. The ruin, likewise, of Himera. The acts of Hermocrates in Sicily.

THE affairs of this year thus ended, Diocles was chosen magistrate of Athens, and at Rome, Quintus Fabius and Caius Furius were consuls. At that time Hannibal the Carthaginian general musters an army out of Spain and Africa, and puts them on board threescore long gallies, and provides fifteen hundred transport ships, to convey provision, engines, weapons, and all other things necessary for a siege. Passing over the African sea with his navy, he arrived at Lilybæum, a promontory in Sicily, over against Africa. About the same time, some Selinuntine horsemen being in those parts, when they saw so great a fleet make towards them, speedily rode off in all haste, to give intelligence to their countrymen of the approach of the enemy; upon which the Selinuntines despatched messengers to Syracuse, to desire aid. In the mean time Hannibal landed his army, and marked out his camp, beginning at a pond called at that time Lilybæum; but many years after, it gave name to a town built in that place.

Hannibal's whole army (as Ephorus relates) consisted of two hundred thousand foot, and four thousand horse. Timæus says there

were not much above an hundred thousand. He drew up all his ships into the creek near Motya, intending the Syracusans should hereby be assured that he invaded not Sicily with a design to make war upon them either by sea or land. Then being joined by the Egesteans and other confederates, he raised his camp from Lilybæum, and marched towards Selinus. When he came to the river Mazarus, he takes the Emporium at the first assault. Approaching afterwards nearer to the city, he divides his army into two parts, and encamping round the city, raises his engines and batteries, and begins to assault the town with great vigour: for he built six high towers, and brought as many battering rams to the walls, and with the multitude of his darters and slingers forced the citizens from the forts and bulwarks. The Selinuntines had been now a long time unused to sieges; and in regard they were the only people of Sicily that sided with the Carthaginians against Gelon, they little expected they should have been brought into such dangers by them whom they had so far engaged; and therefore were in great consternation and amazement, seeing the abundance of engines, the greatness of the army, and imminent danger wherewith they were environed. Yet they were not altogether without hope; but expecting speedy aid from Syracuse, and other confederate cities, all the people as one man joined together and drove the enemy from the walls. The young men courageously slighted all hazards; the old men ran from place to place upon the walls, to furnish the others from time to time with all things necessary for the defence, beseeching them not to suffer the enemy to enter. The women and children brought meat and weapons to them who were fighting for their country, not regarding that modesty and sobriety which in times of peace they were commendable for: the fear was so great, that even women were regardless of the dangers.

Hannibal promised the plunder of the town to his soldiers, applied his engines to the walls, and with the best of his men (whom he relieved from time to time with fresh supplies) began the assault. At the first word of command, at one instant the trumpets sounded to battle, and the whole army with a great shout ran up to their several posts; the walls were battered by the rams, and the soldiers from the high towers galled the Selinuntines with their darts: for the Selinuntines enjoying a long peace, their hands were not inured to action, and therefore were easily driven from thence, the wooden towers being far higher than they. In the mean time, part of the wall being battered down, the Campanians, willing to make themselves remarkable, on a sudden rushed into the city, and at the first greatly terrified those that were in that part of it; but presently many coming in to assist them, the enemy was repulsed with great loss; for the rubbish

lying in the way where they entered, when they were driven back to the breach, they were so encumbered, that many were cut off. Night approaching, the Carthaginians drew off.

In the mean time the Selinuntines sent forth some horsemen in the night to Agrigentum, Gela, and Syracuse, to desire aid with all speed, for that they were not able any longer to stand out against so great an army. The Gelians and Agrigentines thought it best to wait for the aids from Syracuse, that with conjoint forces they might set upon the Carthaginians. But the Syracusans having certain intelligence that Selinus was besieged, without delay made peace with the Chalcedonians, (with whom they were then at war), and gathered all their forces together from every place. But because they supposed that the city was only besieged, and not in any danger to be suddenly taken, they protracted the time, to make the greater preparation. In the mean time, Hannibal, as soon as it was light, renewed the assault on every side of the town, and presently possessed himself of that part of the wall where the breach was made, and of another breach made in another part adjoining; and when he had removed the rubbish, with the choicest of his fresh men he sets upon the Selinuntines, and forces them by degrees to give ground, but was not able quite to break them, who now had all at stake. Many fell on both sides. The Carthaginians were still supplied with fresh men, but the Selinuntines had none to reinforce them: and thus the assault was renewed every day, for the space of nine days, with great resolution and courage, and much loss on both sides. At length, when the Iberians began to enter at the breaches, the women from the tops of the houses filled all places with cries and lamentations: and the Selinuntines now judging the town to be lost, endeavoured to block up all the narrow passages and streets, and by that means the contest continued a long time. But while the Carthaginians were making their way by force, the women and children from the tops of the houses mauled them with tiles and stones; so that the Carthaginians for a long time were sorely galled, not being able to come up together in those narrow passages, the walls on both sides being strongly manned; and besides, being so vexed with those that cast down stones from the tops of the houses This throwing down of darts and other things from the roofs of the houses, continued till evening: but the Carthaginians still renewing the fight, by pouring fresh men into the city, the others were tired out, their number decreasing, and their enemies still increasing, so that the Selinuntines were at last forced to desert the streets.

The city thus taken, nothing was to be seen but weeping and wailing among the Grecians; and on the other side, among the

barbarians, exultation and shouts of victory: those were terrified with the greatness of their misery every where before their eyes; these now victorious commanded to kill and destroy where and whom they pleased. At length the Selinuntines got in a body together in the market-place, and there fought it out to the last man. The barbarians raging in all parts of the city, rifled all the houses: the persons they found there, they either burnt them and their houses together, or dragging them into the streets, without any respect to age or sex, whether they were women or children, young or old, without the least pity or commiseration, they put them all to the sword, and after the barbarous manner of their country, they mangled their carcases; some carried about multitudes of hands tied round their bodies; others, in ostentation, bore about the heads of the slain upon the points of their swords and spears. They only spared wives who fled with their children to the temples; and to these only was favour shewn, not out of any compassion to the miserable, but out of a fear they had lest the women being desparate, without any hopes of mercy, should burn the temples, and by that means they should lose the riches and treasures that were laid up in those places. For these barbarians so far exceed all other men in impiety, that whereas others (lest they should offend the deity) always spare them who fly to their temples, the Carthaginians on the contrary moderate their cruelty towards their enemies, for that very end and purpose that they may have a better opportunity sacrilegiously to rob the temples. The razing and ruining of the city continued till late in the night; all the houses were burnt or pulled down, every place was full of blood and dead bodies, sixteen thousand being there put to the sword, and more than five thousand carried away captives. The Grecians who sided with the Carthaginians, seeing the inconstancy of the things of this life, greatly commiserated the condition of these miserable people; for the matrons in want of food and sustenance, amongst the flouts and jeers of an insulting enemy, passed all that night in sorrow and sadness. Some of them were forced to be eye-witnesses of the sufferings of their daughters in such a kind as is shameful to relate; for the cruel lust of the barbarians sparing neither girls nor virgins grown up, afflicted these poor people with unspeakable misery. The mothers, while they considered the slavery they were to undergo in Libya, and how they and their children were subjected in great contempt and disgrace to the brutish lusts of domineering masters, (whose language they understood not, and whose actions were altogether beastly), were in grief and sorrow even to see their children alive; for every injury and disgrace offered to them, affected them as if a dagger had pierced their own hearts, when they were not able to

yield them any other relief but groans and lamentations; insomuch as they accounted their parents and kindred that had lost their lives in the defence of their country, to be happy, whose eyes saw not those brutish and beastly acts of barbarous cruelty. There were notwithstanding, two thousand six hundred that escaped and fled to Agrigentum, where they were received with all manner of humanity and tenderness; for the Agrigentines distributed to every family corn out of the public stores, and desired every private person (who yet were very ready on their own accord) liberally to supply them with all necessaries for their sustenance.

While these things were doing, three thousand of the best soldiers sent from Syracuse to assist the Selinuntines, came to Agrigentum. But when they heard that the city was taken, they sent ambassadors to Hannibal, to demand the redemption of the prisoners, and that he would forbear robbing the temples of the gods. They returned with this answer from Hannibal, that in regard the Selinuntines were not able to preserve their own liberty, they were now justly brought into the condition of slaves. That the gods were angry at the inhabitants, and therefore had forsaken Selinus. But when they sent Empediones ambassador a second time, Hannibal restored to him all his estate, because he always favoured the Carthaginians, and some time before the city was taken, had advised the citizens not to withstand: he pardoned likewise all those prisoners that were of his kindred, and permitted those that fled to Agrigentum to repeople the city, and till the lands, upon paying tribute to the Carthaginians. Thus was this city taken, two hundred and fifty-two years after the building of it.

After Hannibal had demolished it, he marched off with all his army towards Himera, with a longing desire to ruin this city. For this town occasioned the banishment of his father; and here it was that his grandfather Amilcar was routed by Gelon, who killed a hundred and fifty thousand of the Carthaginians, and took almost as many prisoners. In revenge whereof, Hannibal speeds away with forty thousand men, and encamps upon a hill at some distance from the city, and with the rest of his army (to whom joined the Sicilians and Sicanians, to the number of twenty thousand men) he besieges the place, and batters the walls with his engines in several places at once; and with fresh succours even wearies out the besieged; to the effecting of which, the forwardness of his men (through the late successes) was of no small advantage. Whilst he was undermining the walls, he supported them with great pieces of timber, and then setting them on fire, a great part of the walls on a sudden tumbled down; upon which there was a sharp conflict; these striving to enter by force,

the others in dread of undergoing the same fate and destruction with them of Selinus; so that the besieged, endeavouring with all their might to defend their parents, children, and country, beat the barbarians off, and with all speed repaired the wall. For there had before come to their assistance four thousand Syracusans, and some other confederates from Agrigentum, under the command of Diocles the Syracusan. Then night coming on, it gave a check to the fury of the besiegers, and so there was an intermission of the assault.

But as soon as it was day, the besieged, resolving not to be penned up as the Selinuntines were, through slothfulness, placed the guards upon the walls, and with the rest of their own, and the forces of their confederates, to the number of ten thousand, made a sally, and fell suddenly upon the enemy. Whereupon the barbarians were struck with great terror and amazement, conceiving that all the confederates of the besieged were come to their relief. The salliants, therefore, being far more daring and skilful in their weapons, and especially the last hope of their safety lying in the good success of the present engagement, they cut off all those that first opposed them. And though the whole force of the barbarians in great disorder and confusion fell upon them, (for they never suspected that the besieged durst ever have attempted any such thing), yet they were under no small disadvantages; for fourscore thousand men running in confusion together, beat down one another, and more incommoded themselves than their enemies. The Himerians in the mean time being in sight of their parents, children, and all their friends and relations upon the walls, exposed themselves, without fear, to all dangers for the common safety. The barbarians, therefore, astonished with the valour of the enemy, and unexpectedness of the onset, turned their backs, and fled in great precipitation to their fellows encamped upon the hill, whom the Himerians pursued, calling one to another not to give any quarter. In this encounter there were killed of the Carthaginians above six thousand, as Timæus relates, but Ephorus says twenty thousand. Hannibal, when he saw his soldiers so distressed, drew out those that were encamped, and came to the relief of his shattered troops, setting upon the Himerians, now in disorder by the pursuit; upon which there began another sharp dispute, in which at length the Himerians were put to flight; but three thousand of them stood their ground, and bore the brunt of the whole Carthaginian army; and after they had signalized their valour, all died upon the spot.

After this fight, five-and-twenty gallies, which were some time before sent to the aid of the Lacedæmonians, from the Siculi, now returning home, arrived at Himera; but a rumour spread through the

city, that the Syracusans, with all their forces and confederates, were come to the relief of the Himerians. Hannibal in the mean time embarks many of his best soldiers in his gallies which lay at Motya, in order to sail for Syracuse, to surprise the city, now that it wanted sufficient strength to defend it, as he supposed. And therefore Diocles, commander in chief of them who were sent in aid of the Himerians, advised the captains of the vessels to sail with all speed to Syracuse, lest, when they had lost the best of their soldiers, in the next fight, their own city should be taken by force. To which end it was thought advisable to leave the city for awhile, and to embark one half of Diocles's forces, to go along with the fleet till they were past the coasts of Himera, and to leave the other half for the defence of the city till the gallies returned. The Himerians took this grievously, but being it was not in their power to do otherwise, gallies were filled in the night, with women and children, and other things to be transported to Messana.

Then Diocles, with those under his command, prepared for his journey back into his own country, leaving the bodies of them that were slain unburied. And so many of the Himerians, with their wives and children, went along with him, as could not be otherwise transported for want of shipping. But they that were left for the defence of the city, watched every night in arms upon the bulwarks. And although the Carthaginians constantly upon the approach of day made frequent assaults in every place round the city, yet they upon the walls indefatigably bore the brunt, believing the ships would return speedily; to which very day they held it out courageously: but the next day after the fleet was in sight afar off, at that instant the wall was battered down by the engines, and the Spanish regiment in a full body rushed into the city, part of the barbarians forcing the guard from the walls, and another part possessing the breaches, made way for the rest of the army to enter. At length the city was entered, and the barbarians, with all savage cruelty, killed all in their way, till, by the command of Hannibal, they forbore their butcheries: in the mean time, the soldiers plundered the houses of every thing valuable. Here Hannibal robbed and spoiled all the temples, and after he had taken out those that fled thither for refuge, he set them on fire, and razed the city to the ground, two hundred and forty years after the settling of the inhabitants there. Among the prisoners, the women and children he commanded to be kept safe; but the men, to the number of three thousand, he caused to be brought to a rising ground there near at hand, where Amilcar, his grandfather, perished by the army of Gelon, and there, with all sorts of taunts and marks of

disgrace, put them all to the sword. Afterwards he disbanded many of his forces; among the rest he sent the Sicilians who sided with him to their several countries, and with them the Campanians, who made great complaint of the injustice of the Carthaginians, for that they, contributing so much to their successes, had not rewarded them proportionably to the services they had done them in the war.

However Hannibal shipped his army, leaving a small guard with his confederates, and with his transport ships and gallies set sail from Sicily, and arrived at Carthage, laden with abundance of booty. The whole city came out to meet him, and received him with loud and joyful acclamations, as a general that had performed greater things by far in so short a time than ever any before him.

At this time Hermocrates the Syracusan returned into Sicily. He was in great esteem among the Syracusans, because in the war against the Athenians he was remarkably serviceable to his country. He was afterwards sent as admiral with thirty-five sail, to the aid of the Lacedæmonians; but by a contrary faction at home being condemned to banishment, he delivered up the command of the fleet in Peloponnesus, to those who were deputed by the government. Afterwards, having received a considerable sum of money from Pharnabazus, whose favourite he was, he sailed to Messana, and there built five gallies, and hired a thousand soldiers with his own money; and taking likewise with him a thousand of those that were forced from Himera, he attempted with the help of his friends to return to Syracuse: but being prevented in this design, he marched up into the country to Selinus, and enclosed part of the city with a wall, and got together as many of the Selinuntines as survived the late destruction, and with them and many others which he received into the place, he made up a body of six thousand choice men. From thence he made an excursion, and spoiled the country of the Motyeans, overcame them that issued out of the city against him, and killed many of them, driving the rest within their walls. Presently after, he broke into the borders of the Panormians, and carried away abundance of plunder: he killed likewise five hundred of the citizens that stood in battalia before their city to oppose him, and shut up the rest within their walls, and wasted and spoiled likewise all the other countries that were subject to the Carthaginians, for which he was in high esteem among the Sicilians. Hereupon the Syracusans likewise presently began to repent, when they saw that they had banished one whose valour merited so much to the contrary: so that when he was often named and discoursed of in public assemblies, the people gave many hints and signs of their desire to have him recalled. Hermocrates therefore understanding

that his name was up among the Syracusans, used his utmost endeavour to return, knowing that his enemies and rivals would oppose it with all their might: and thus stood things in Sicily at this time.

CHAP. VIII.

Thrasybulus assaults Ephesus. The Lacedæmonians besiege Pylos; surrender Chalcedon, besieged by Theramenes; and afterwards Byzantium, which was betrayed to Alcibiades.

IN Greece, Thrasybulus, sent from Athens with a fleet of thirty sail well manned, and with a great army of foot, and a hundred horse, sailed to Ephesus; where, landing his men in two places, he assaulted the city; but the townsmen making a brisk sally, there began a sharp engagement; in which four hundred of the Athenians were killed, (for the whole strength of the city fell upon them), the rest getting to their ships. Thrasybulus departed thence for Lesbos. But the Athenian generals, who lay at Cyzicum, passed over to Chalcedon, and built a fort called Chrysopolis, putting into it a sufficient garrison; and commanded the governors to exact the tenth part of all shipping that passed that way from Pontus. Afterwards the forces were divided, and Theramenes was left with fifty sail to besiege Chalcedon and Byzantium. But Thrasybulus was sent into Thrace, and brought the cities of that country under the power of the Athenians. Alcibiades having sent away Thrasybulus with thirty sail, with the rest of the fleet arrived at the province of Pharnabazus. There they wasted and spoiled all that large tract, and filled the soldiers with plunder; and the generals themselves got together a great sum of money, by the sale of the spoils, with a design to ease the people of the burthen of their contributions.

The Lacedæmonians understanding that the Athenian forces were still about the Hellespont, sent forces against Pylos, where the Messenians were in garrison. At sea, indeed, they had eleven ships, of which five were of Sicily, manned with Spartans; but their land-army was but small. With these they besieged the fort both by land and sea. But when intelligence was brought of this, the Athenians sent out thirty sail, under the command of Anytus, the son of Anthemion, to the relief of the besieged. In his passing thither, a great storm arose, so that not being able to recover Malea, he returned to

Athens; upon which the people of Athens were so incensed, that they condemned him to die as a traitor: Anytus brought into this imminent danger, redeemed his life with a sum of money; who is reported to be the first Athenian that ever reversed a sentence for money. In the mean time, the besieged Messenians in Pylos stood out against all assaults for a time, in hopes of relief from Athens: but being pressed by fresh and renewed succours from the assailants, by the loss of men on the one hand, and through want of provisions on the other, they were forced to surrender upon terms. Thus Pylos was reduced, and brought into the hands of the Lacedæmonians; the Athenians having had possession of it fifteen years, from the time it was fortified by Demosthenes.

During these affairs, the Megareans took Nicæa, then belonging to the Athenians. Upon which the Athenians sent against them Leotrophides and Timarchus, with a thousand foot, and four hundred horse. Against whom all the Megareans, with the assistance of some from Sicily, marched out, and drew up in battalia upon the hills called the Horns. There the Athenians fought with that valour, that they put the enemy to flight, though far more in number than themselves. In this battle great slaughter was made amongst the Megareans; but there were only twenty killed of the Lacedæmonians: for the Athenians taking the loss of Nicæa very grievously, waved the Lacedæmonians, and bent all the heat of their pursuit against the Megareans, and in a great rage cut down multitudes of them. About this time, the Lacedæmonians made Cratesipidas admiral, and manned five-and-twenty sail with supplies sent from their confederates, and commanded him to succour their allies; who spent a long time about Ionia, doing nothing considerable. Afterwards, being furnished with money by the exiles of Chios, he both restored them, and took the citadel of the Chians.

When the exiles were returned, they expelled those that banished them, to the number of six hundred, who possessed themselves of a place called Atarnea, opposite upon the continent, naturally fortified; from whence afterwards, growing strong, they wearied the Chians with frequent invasions. During these things Alcibiades and Thrasybulus having fortified Lampsacus, left there a sufficient garrison, and then sailed with the whole army to Theramenes, who was then besieging Chalcedon, having a fleet of seventy sail, and five thousand men under his command. The generals drawing up the whole army together in a body, blocked up the city by a wall of timber, drawn from sea to sea. Upon which Hippocrates, made governor there by the Lacedæmonians, (whom the Laconians call Harmostis), made a sally both with the Lacedæmonians and all the Chalcedonians: and

joining battle with Alcibiades, (whose soldiers fought with great resolution), Hippocrates was slain, and many more killed and wounded, and the rest fled back into the city. Afterwards Alcibiades passed over into the Hellespont and Chersonesus, with a design to raise money. But Theramenes came to terms with the Chalcedonians, and agreed that they should pay the same tribute that they did before; and so drew off his forces, and came before Byzantium, designing to block up that place.

In the mean time, Alcibiades having got together a vast sum of money, procured many of the Thracians to join with him; and then making a league and association with all them of Chersonesus, he went from thence with his whole army, and gained Selymbria by surrender, from whence he exacted a great sum of money; and placing there a garrison, hastened away to Theramenes at Byzantium, where they jointly assailed the town with their whole strength; for they were to subdue a city that was very large, and full of resolute men; for besides the Byzantines, who were very numerous, Clearchus Harmostis the Lacedæmonian, had with him in the city a strong garrison, both of Peloponnesians and of mercenaries, insomuch that, though they violently assaulted it, for a long time they were not able to make any considerable impression upon the besieged. But the governor of the city, being gone to Pharnabazus for money, some of the Byzantines, who had taken a distaste at his government, (for Clearchus was sharp and rigid), betrayed the city into the hands of Alcibiades, in this manner.—The besiegers pretended they would raise the siege, and ship off their army into Ionia; and to that purpose, in the evening, they sailed with their whole fleet, and drew off their land forces to some distance from the town; but at midnight the army marched back close to the city; and having before sent back their gallies with orders, that they should haul the ships of the Byzantines out of the harbour, and set up a great shout, as if all the army were there present, they themselves with the land-forces kept ready drawn up in a body, close to the walls, in expectation of the sign. In the execution of these commands, whilst some of the ships were broken in pieces by the beaks of the ships of the Athenians, and others by grappling irons were hauled forth, and a great and terrible shout was made, the Peloponnesians in the city, ignorant of the treachery, sallied out to the harbour, for the defence of the city. In the mean time the traitors gave the sign from the walls, and by ladders took in the soldiers of Alcibiades, while they of the garrison were out at the port. But the Peloponnesians being informed of the treachery, left half the forces in the port, and with the rest, ran with all speed to guard the walls, of which the enemy was newly possessed. And although

the whole Athenian army had broke in, yet the besieged were not in the least discouraged for a long time; but with the help of the Byzantines so courageously opposed the Athenians, that the city had never come into their hands, if Alcibiades had not made proclamation that none of the Byzantines should be injured; which was a thing very seasonably advised: upon which the townsmen turned their arms upon the Lacedæmonians, so that many of them (fighting with great gallantry) were killed. The rest, to the number of five hundred, fled, as suppliants, to the altars of the gods. The Athenians restored the city to the Byzantines, and renewed the league and confederacy. The suppliants, likewise, were received upon terms, that they should deliver up their arms, and that their persons should be transported to Athens, there to be disposed of as the people should think fit.

CHAP. IX.

Theramenes and Alcibiades return to Athens; are admired by the people. Lysander made general by the Lacedæmonians. Antiochus, one of the Athenian generals, beaten at Ephesus, in a sea-fight. Agis surprises part of the walls of Athens; but was beaten off. Alcibiades accused for assaulting Cuma, a confederate city. Conon made admiral in his place.

AFTER the end of the year, Euctemones was made archon of Athens, and the Romans constituted Marcus Papirius and Spurius Nautius consuls. Then was celebrated the ninety-third olympiad, in which Eubatas of Cyrene got the victory. At this time the Athenian generals (now possessed of Byzantium) gained all the cities of the Hellespont, except Abydos. Then they left Diodorus and Mantitheus, with sufficient forces, governors in the Hellespont; and they themselves, after they had performed many famous exploits for the honour and safety of their country, returned with the fleet, laden with spoils, to Athens. When they drew near, all the people thronged out with great joy to meet them, and a great number of strangers, both women and children, ran together into the Piræus; the arrival of the generals filling all persons with admiration. For they brought along with them no less than two hundred ships, which they had taken, and a multitude of prisoners, with much spoil; and their own ships

were gloriously adorned with arms, rich spoils, and golden crowns, and such like. Every body thronged one upon another to see Alcibiades, so as the city was even left without an inhabitant, whilst both bond and free longed to have a view of him. For he was so highly admired at that time, that none of the former Athenians were judged comparable to this man, who so openly and confidently had stood it out against the people. They who were poor, and under mulcts and fines, now hoped they had an excellent advocate, who by raising tumults and disturbances in the city, could free them from their penuries and pressing necessities. He was a man daring above all others, and an excellent speaker: in times of war a brave soldier, and as skilful a commander; ready in undertaking any desparate enterprise, of a very comely and beautiful countenance, of a noble spirit, and aspiring mind. All were so filled with expectation from him, that they concluded his return, and the prosperity of the city, were coupled together. For as the Lacedæmonians were successful and victorious whilst he assisted them, so they hoped that by his return, their affairs would change to the better.

As soon as the fleet entered into the harbour, all eyes were fixed upon Alcibiades's ship; and upon his landing, they received him with great acclamations, and congratulated his return and victories. After he had with all courteous behaviour saluted the people, he called an assembly, where, having made a long defence for establishing his innocency, he so insinuated himself into the good-will of the people, that all cast the blame of the dooms and judgments against him upon the city itself: and therefore they restored all his estate, not long before confiscated, and threw the records of his condemnation into the sea; and reversed all other things that were decreed against him: and a decree was made, that the Eumolpidæ should take away, and absolve him from that curse they had pronounced against him, when he was supposed to have been guilty of prophaning the sacred mysteries. At last they made him general, and gave him full power, both by sea and land, and committed all their forces to his command; upon which he constituted other generals, as he thought fit: that is to say, Adimantus and Thrasybulus; and he himself, with a hundred sail, passed over to Andros, and there possessed himself of the fort Gaurium, and enclosed it with a wall. But the Andrians, with the whole strength of the city, and the succours sent them from Peloponnesus, sallied out against them, whereupon a sharp engagement followed, in which the Athenians were conquerors; a great part of them that came out of the town being cut off. Of those that escaped, some were scattered abroad in the fields, others got within the walls. After he had several times attempted to take the city by assault, and

saw he could not prevail, he left a sufficient garrison in the fort, (by him before fortified), under the command of Thrasybulus, and he himself sailed off with the rest of the army, and wasted and spoiled Cos and Rhodes, and there got a great deal of provision for his soldiers. As for the Lacedæmonians, although they had lost most of their fleet, and the command of the sea, together with their general Mindarus, yet they were not discouraged, but created Lysander admiral of their navy, a most expert soldier, bold and daring, and ready to undertake any thing, through all hazards whatsoever. As soon as he entered upon his command, he raised no small number of soldiers, throughout all Peloponnesus, and furnished the fleet with seamen, as well as in the present circumstances he was able; and presently arriving at Rhodes, he got together as many ships from thence, and the rest of the towns, as he could, and then departed with what ships he had, to Ephesus and Miletus; where, being further supplied from these cities, and with others from Chios, he set forth from Ephesus with a fleet of seventy sail. But when he understood that Cyrus, the son of Darius, was sent from his father, with orders to assist the Lacedæmonians in the war, he made a journey to him at Sardis; and after several arguments adduced to encourage the young man to prosecute the war against the Athenians, he forthwith received from him ten thousand Daricans, for the pay of his soldiers, with command from Cyrus to proceed, without doubting his assistance; for that he was commanded by his father to spare no costs for the supply of the Lacedæmonians, in whatsoever they should undertake.

From thence he returned to Ephesus, and sent for the principal men of every neighbouring town; and having entered into a league and confederacy with them, promised, if the war succeeded, he would make every one of them a prince in his own city. Upon this each strove to exceed another, and supplied him with more than was required; insomuch as they abundantly furnished Lysander with all things necessary for the war, sooner than could in reason be imagined.

When Alcibiades understood that Lysander was preparing a fleet at Ephesus, he made thither with his whole navy; where he entered the port without opposition, and anchored with many of his vessels near Notium, and gave the command to Antiochus, the captain of his own vessel, with strict charge not to fight till he returned. In the mean time he himself sailed with several men of war to Clazomenæ, which city (yet standing firm to the Athenians) was greatly oppressed by the devastations made by some exiles. But Antiochus, naturally rash and hasty, earnestly desirous to perform something

remarkable by his own contrivance, without any regard to the command of Alcibiades, mans ten of the best gallies, and commands the captains and officers of the fleet, to be ready and prepared, with the rest of the ships, to fall in where there should be occasion: upon this he makes up to the enemy, and dares them to battle. Lysander, being informed by some deserters, that Alcibiades, with the best of the men of war, were gone off, now conceived he had a fit opportunity put into his hands, to do something worthy of the Spartan name: in order thereunto, he makes forth the whole fleet against Antiochus; and one of the ten (which sailed before the rest, and in which Antiochus was) he presently sinks, and puts all the rest to flight, and pursues them till the Athenian officers in the other vessels, in great confusion, came up to their assistance. And now the fleets on both sides were wholly engaged not far off from the land: in short, the Athenians (by reason of the disorder they were in) were beaten, with the loss of two-and-twenty of their ships. Some few of the men were taken, but the rest swam on shore. As soon as Alcibiades heard of the defeat, he returned with all speed to Notium; and having sufficiently manned and refitted his gallies, he sailed into the enemy's port; but Lysander not daring to engage, it was determined to go for Samos.

While these things were done, Thrasybulus the Athenian general, with fifteen gallies, came up to Thasos, where he routed the citizens, and killed about two hundred of them; and so closely besieged them, that at length they were forced to receive again those that favoured the Athenians into the city, and to take in a garrison, and renew their confederacy with the Athenians. Hence he sailed to Abdera, the most potent city of Thrace, and brought them over to the Athenians. These were the things done by the Athenian generals from the time they left Athens.

About this time Agis, the Lacedæmonian king, lay encamped with his army at Decelea; where, having intelligence that the flower and strength of the Athenians were gone off with Alcibiades, he marched up to Athens silently in a dark night, having with him eight-and-twenty thousand foot, half of which were old soldiers, very well armed: the other half were but raw, and lightly armed. Besides these, there followed him twelve hundred horse, nine of which were Bœotians, and the rest from Peloponnesus. He was not discerned by the watch, till he was close at hand; and so fell upon them unawares, and slew some, and forced the rest within the walls. Hereupon the Athenians, both young and old, were commanded generally to betake themselves to arms, to oppose the enemy; upon which, the walls round the city were presently filled with them that ran thither from

all quarters. As soon as it was light, and the Athenian commanders saw the army of the enemy drawn up into a body, four in depth, and eight furlongs or stages in front, they were at first not a little terrified, especially two parts of the walls being now possessed by the enemy.

But after some time, they sent out a body of horse, equal in number to the Lacedæmonians: upon which the horse on both sides engaged, in the face of them upon the walls: and the contest was sharp for a considerable time: for the foot drawn up, as is said before, were as yet five stages from the walls; and the horse fought close under them. On the one side the Bœotians, who had formerly routed the Athenians at Delium, looked upon it as a dishonourable thing to be worsted by them, whom they had before conquered. On the other, the Athenians, in regard they were known by all them upon the walls, who were then eye-witnesses either of their valour or cowardice, resolved, through all difficulties whatsoever, to be conquerors: accordingly at length they routed the Lacedæmonians, and made a great slaughter, and pursued those that fled, even close up to the body of their foot; who making up to them, the horse returned into the city. Hereupon Agis (not conceiving it now a fit time to besiege the city) encamped in Academia. The next day, when the Athenians erected a trophy, he drew out his army in battalia, and challenged them to battle. Upon which the Athenians marched out, and drew up in a body under the walls. The Lacedæmonians gave the onset; but by reason of the showers of darts wherewith they were galled from the walls, they were forced to draw off from the city. And after great devastations made in the rest of Attiça, they returned to Peloponnesus.

As for Alcibiades, he went with his whole fleet from Samos to Cuma, where, under colour and pretence of feigned crimes laid to the charge of the inhabitants, he wastes and spoils the country. And at the first takes a great multitude of prisoners, and forces them away to his ships; but the Cumeans, with the whole power of the city, made out against him, for the defence and rescue of their countrymen: Alcibiades for a while bore the brunt, but being overcome by fresh supplies both out of the city, and from the country, the army was forced to fly to their ships, and leave their captives behind them.

Alcibiades being much troubled to be thus baffled, sent for the regiments from Mitylene, and drew up his army against the city, challenging the Cumeans to a battle. But none coming forth, after many devastations, he returned to Mitylene: but the Cumeans sent to Athens, and put in their bill against Alcibiades in form of law, for that he had wasted and spoiled a confederate city and country,

which had not in the least done them any injury: and many other accusations they brought against him; for some of the garrison in Samos (bearing him a grudge) passed over to Athens, and accused him in the public assembly, that he was a secret friend to the Lacedæmonians, and kept a close and intimate correspondence with Pharnabazus, for this very purpose—That when the war was ended, he might gain the sovereignty of Athens. These calumnies being easily credited by the common people, the glory of Alcibiades began to decline: and the rather by reason of his late ill success at sea, and his miscarriages at Cuma.

Henceforward the people of Athens began to be jealous of Alcibiades, and created ten other commanders, Conon, Lysias, Diomedon, Pericles, Erasmides, Aristocrates, Archestratus, Protomachus, Thrasybulus, and Aristogenes. From among these they chose Conon to be admiral; and forthwith sent him to Alcibiades, to demand the fleet from him, who gave up his charge accordingly; but not daring to return to Athens, sailed only with one ship to Padyen in Thrace. For, besides the rage of the common people, he was afraid many crimes would be laid to his charge; many (now he lay under the hatches) contriving how to load him with accusations, and to upbraid him with his former faults: the greatest of which was that concerning the horses, for which there was set upon him a mulct of fifty talents. For when Diomedes, his friend, lent him a chariot with four horses, to go along with him to Olympia, when he subscribed his name (as the custom was) he affirmed the horses to be his own; and when he was victor by that chariot and horses, he not only carried away the glory, but detained the horses from him that so friendly and kindly reposed a trust in him. Revolving therefore all these things in his mind, he was afraid the Athenians, now they had an advantage against him, would rip up all his former miscarriages, and lay the greater load upon him. Therefore he banished himself.

CHAP. X.

Hermocrates killed at Syracuse, attempting to surprise it.

IN this olympiad, the Synouris* was added to the olympian games. And Plistonax, king of the Lacedæmonians, died, when he had reigned fifty years. To whom succeeded Pausanias, who governed four-

* A new race by a brace of mules in a chariot so called.

teen years. The inhabitants of Rhodes, out of Jalysus, Lindus, and Camirus, incorporated themselves into one city, now called Rhodes. Hermocrates the Syracusan marched out of Selinus with his forces to Himera, and encamped in the suburbs of that lately ruined city; where, after he had by diligent inquiry found out in what place the Syracusans had their post, he gathered up the dead bodies of the Syracusans, and put them in chariots richly adorned, and sent them to Syracuse; and he himself accompanied them as far as it was lawful for a banished man to go, who was not to set a foot within the confines of the country; and there he committed the care of conveying them to Syracuse to others. He did this to bring an odium upon Diocles (who opposed his return) for his neglect in not burying the dead; and to regain the good-will of the people to himself for his humanity.

When the bodies were brought to the city, there arose a dissention amongst the people. Diocles opposed the burial of them, but the people were unanimously against him. At length it was resolved—That they should be buried, and the whole city graced the solemnity with their presence, and Diocles was banished. However, Hermocrates was never the nearer being restored; for they were very jealous of him, that if ever he came into authority, he would usurp the sovereignty. When he understood, therefore, that for the present it was to no purpose to strive against the stream, he returned to Selinus: but not long after, being sent to by some of his faction, he hastens away with three thousand armed men, and marching through Gela in the night, comes to the place appointed, where all his soldiers could not readily follow him; so that with a few he comes up to the gate in Acradina; where he finds some of his friends, who had possessed themselves of the places; there he waited for the rest of his men, who came slowly on, and at length joined him. But the design being discovered, the Syracusans ran armed into the forum; where (a great multitude of people being got together) they killed Hermocrates, and the most of his accomplices. The rest that escaped (after they had cited them to appear, in order for their several trials) they condemned to banishment. Some, therefore, that were badly wounded, were by their friends reported to be dead, to avoid the present fury of the people. Amongst whom was Dionysius, who afterwards usurped the tyranny.

CHAP. XI.

The acts of Callicratides, the Lacedæmonian general. The fight at sea, in the harbour at Mitylene, between Conon and Callicratides.

THUS things passed for this year, at the close of which Antigenes was chosen magistrate of Athens; and Manius Æmilius and Caius Valerius Roman consuls. About this time Conon, the Athenian admiral, made up a fleet of those ships that lay at Samos, and sent for others from the confederates; and having now got together a considerable navy, he hastened away to fight the enemy.

The Lacedæmonians appointed Callicratides admiral, Lysander having been discharged of that command for some time. This Callicratides was a very young man, of a plain and honest mind, and an innocent conversation, not as yet tainted with the vices and ill manners of other nations, and was highly esteemed among the Spartans, for his justice and integrity; and every man owned, that he never swerved from the rules of justice, either in public or private affairs; but on the contrary, if at any time any offered to corrupt him with bribes, he highly resented it, and punished them accordingly. Having now received his commission, he sails to Ephesus, and there had the fleet delivered up to him by Lysander; which with the rest that he got together from other parts, made up a navy of a hundred and forty sail. The Athenians then lay at anchor at Delphinium in Chios, against whom he made with his whole fleet, and in his way besieged a fort of the Athenians; the garrison there being about five hundred, were terrified at the greatness of the navy, and surrendered the place upon articles of safe conduct. Then Callicratides demolished the fort, and sailed against Teios; and, surprising the place in the night, got within the walls, and sacked the city. Passing thence to Lesbos, he lay with his army before Methymna, wherein was an Athenian garrison. At first he prevailed little, though he pressed hard upon it with daily assaults: but not long after, being let in by the treachery of some within, he sacked the city, but put none to the sword, and restored the place to the Methymnians. Things thus prosperously succeeding, he hastened to Mitylene, and committing the heavy-armed men to Thorax the Lacedæmonian, commanded him to march with all speed with the land-army, whilst he himself made with the fleet to the shore. In the mean time Conon, the Athenian admiral, so

prepared his fleet (which consisted of seventy sail) for a sea-fight, that he excelled all the admirals that were ever before him. With these he came to the aid of Methymna, but when he found it was taken, he lay with his fleet at an island, one of those called the hundred islands. About break of day next morning, when he discerned the enemy's fleet making up to him, conceiving it not advisable to fight with a fleet that was more than double his number, he resolved to sail off; and having snapped up some of the enemy's gallies by the way, determined rather to fight at Mitylene, concluding, that if he were conqueror, he could there pursue them with greater advantage, and if he were conquered, he had the port near at hand, wherein to shelter himself. Upon this he embarks all his soldiers, and commands the rowers to row but gently and slowly, that the enemy might come up nearer to him. The Lacedæmonians, the nearer they came, were more eager to press on, in confidence that they should overtake and destroy those that were behind in the rear. But Conon, by degrees falling down behind the rest, the commanders of the best of the Peloponnesian ships pursued with all eagerness. By this means the rowers now waxed faint, and were drawn away far from the rest of the fleet; which advantage being observed by Conon, and that they now approached near to Mitylene, he set up the purple flag from his own ship, which was a sign to the officers to join battle. Upon which the Athenians all at one time tacked suddenly about, and made upon the enemy; and the whole fleet reiterated the Pæan, and the trumpets sounded a charge.

Upon this sudden change, the Peloponnesians were amazed, and made what haste they could in this extremity, to put themselves into a line of battle; but having so little time to tack about, they were in great confusion; especially in regard the ships, where their proper place was, which they had deserted, were so far behind. Conon, therefore, improving the opportunity put into his hands, makes strait upon them, and before they could put themselves in order of battle, pierces some of their ships through, and brushes off the oars of others. But not one of those ships that engaged on that wing against Conon stirred; but with their oars reversed, bravely kept still in one place, till their whole fleet came up. But the left wing of the Athenian fleet put them with whom they were engaged to flight, and hotly pursued them a long time. But when all the Peloponnesian fleet came up together, Conon, considering the multitude of his enemies, drew off, and with forty ships returned to Mitylene. In the mean time the whole Peloponnesian fleet, which had spread themselves every way, greatly amazed the Athenians, (who had before pursued them that fled), and lying in their way to prevent their return to the

city, forced them on shore; whither being closely pursued by the Peloponnesians, the Athenians (seeing no other remedy) forsook their ships, and got to land, and so fled to Mitylene.

Callicratides having thus possessed himself of thirty ships, and seeing that the enemy's fleet was now broken, concluded that for the future he was to fight upon land; and therefore sailed straight to the city. Upon which Conon expecting the city would be besieged, made what preparation he could to block up the mouth of the haven. For in that part where it was shallow, he sunk small vessels, laden with stones; where it was deep, he filled great ships of burden with stones, and fixed them with anchors. The Athenians, and a great number of Mityleneans out of the country, flocked into the city through fear of the war, and forthwith prepared all things necessary for their defence in the siege.

And now Callicratides commanded his men to land, and encamped near the city, and there erects a trophy for his naval victory. The next day, with some of his best ships, he made towards the city, with a design both to enter the port, and to break the enemy's boom; giving strict orders that none of them should be far from his own ship. Conon on the other hand mans the smaller gallies with some of his soldiers, and places them in the mouth of the haven in front, against the enemy, and puts on board the longer vessels the other part of his army. Some likewise were ordered to guard the shallows, that so the port might be defended on every side, both by sea and land: and he himself with his own squadron fought in that part which was open into the harbour. They that were in the great ships pelted the enemies with stones from the main-yard: those that were placed near the shore opposed them that endeavoured to land. The Peloponnesians all this while were nothing inferior to their enemies in courage and resolution; for charging with their ships in a full body, and with the best of their men upon the decks, it resembled both a fight at sea and land together: and they fell on with such fury, that they even dared to hurl themselves upon the fore-castles of the Athenian ships, judging that they whom they had so lately beaten, were not able to stand the shock. On the other hand the Athenians and Mityleneans concluding there was no other hopes for safety left but in victory, resolved to die rather than to desert their posts. This obstinacy on both sides continued the fight a long time; whilst every one, without the smallest fear, exposed himself to all manner of dangers: many upon the decks were sorely galled by showers of darts on every hand; some mortally wounded, fell from the decks into the sea; those that were yet untouched, or at least insensible of

their wounds, were resolved, notwithstanding, to stand it out to the last. Many were killed by stones cast down upon them from the main-yards, which being both very big, and thrown from a high place, fell with the greater force and violence. At length, after the fight had continued a long time, and many fell on both sides, Callicratides commanded a retreat to be sounded, in order to refresh his men: but not long after, he puts them on board again, and renews the fight. And after a long conflict, by the multitude of his ships, (which overpowered the Athenians), and valour of those upon the decks, he so far prevailed, that he drove the Athenians from their post; upon which they fled into the inner part of the harbour; and now the passage being open, Callicratides casts anchor close to Mitylene: for, gaining the place about which the contest was, he was possessed of the whole harbour which yet was out of the walls of the city. For the old city is a little island, but that which is added of latter times lies straight beyond into the land: between these two runs a certain Euripus, or current of the sea, by which the city is more strong and defensible. Callicratides therefore, having landed his men, besieged the city, and begirt it on every side. And this was the condition of Mitylene at this time.

CHAP. XII.

Therma built in Sicily by the Carthaginians. They raise forces to invade Sicily. The noble temple at Agrigentum. The antient grandeur of that city. The riches of Gellius, a citizen there, and some others. Agrigentum besieged. The Syracusans under Daphnæus route the Carthaginians near Agrigentum. Amilcar seizes the Syracusan fleet, and takes all the provisions going to Agrigentum, which was afterwards quitted by the inhabitants. Their miserable condition. The Phalurian bull.

IN Sicily the Syracusans sent ambassadors to Carthage to complain of the late war made upon them, and to persuade them to peace for the time to come; to which the Carthaginians returned a doubtful answer. In the mean time they raise again a numerous army, and were resolved to do their utmost to subdue all the cities of Sicily: but before they transported their armies, having got together out of

Carthage, and other cities in Africa, many that were willing to transplant themselves, they built a new city called Therma, near the hot baths in Sicily.

The affairs of this year concluded, at Athens Callias was made chief magistrate, and at Rome, Lucius Furius and Cneius Pompeius were created consuls. At this time the Carthaginians, puffed up with their successes in Sicily, and coveting the gaining of the whole island, determined to that end to raise a great army; and thereof made Hannibal general, (the same that had razed Selinus and Himera), and invested him with full power for the management of the war. But because he endeavoured to excuse himself by reason of his age, they joined Amilcar in commission with him, the son of Hanno, one of the same family. These generals consulted together, and sent some eminent Carthaginians with great sums of money, to raise soldiers both out of Spain and the Baleary* islands. They raised likewise throughout Libya, Carthaginians and Africans, and out of every city such as were most able for war. There came likewise to them from the nations and princes of their confederates abroad, both Mauritanians and Numidians, and some from the parts near to Cyrene. Besides these, there were transported into Africa, Campanians hired out of Italy. These Campanians they had experienced to be very useful to them, when those whom they had left in Sicily, by reason of some old grudge they bore the Carthaginians, were suspected to be ready to side with the Sicilians. At length, when all the forces together were mustered at Carthage, Timæus reports they were not much above a hundred and twenty thousand men; but Ephorus affirms that they were three hundred thousand.

The Carthaginians now prepare all things necessary for the transporting of the army; they equipped out all their men of war, and brought together no less than a thousand transport ships. Forty of their gallies were sent before into Sicily, which were presently encountered with as many by the Syracusans at Eryx, where, after a long and sharp dispute, fifteen of the Carthaginian ships were sunk; the rest, by the advantage of night, fled clear away. When the news of this defeat was brought to Carthage, Hannibal the general sailed away with fifty gallies, contriving both to make the enemy's victory fruitless, and the better likewise to secure the transporting of his army. When the coming of Hannibal was noised through the island, all were of opinion that he intended forthwith to transport all his forces thither: upon which all the cities (hearing of the greatness of his preparations, and that they were now like to lay all at stake) were

* Now called Majorca and Minorca, near Spain.

struck with fear and amazement. The Syracusans therefore sent ambassadors both to the Grecians in Italy, and to the Lacedæmonians, to desire aid and assistance. They sent letters likewise to all the magistrates of the cities up and down, to entreat them that they would stir up the people to join every where in arms for the common defence of the liberty of their country. The Agrigentines considering the greatness of the Carthaginian army, concluded (as the thing was in truth) that they were likeliest first to feel and undergo the pressure and weight of the war; and therefore determined that all the corn and other fruits of the field, and every thing else that was valuable, should be brought out of the country into the city: for at that time both the city and country of the Agrigentines were very rich; of which it will not be inconvenient to say something here more largely. Their vineyards were large, and very pleasant, and most part of the country abounded with olives, so much as that they were transported and sold at Carthage. For inasmuch as Africa at that time was not planted with this sort of fruit, the Agrigentines grew very rich by their trading with the Libyans. Many marks of their great wealth remain to this very day; to speak a little of which I conceive will not be a digression from the present subject.

And first, the stately buildings and ornaments of their temples, especially the temple of Jupiter, do sufficiently witness the grandeur and riches of the men of that age. The rest of the sacred buildings are either burnt or destroyed by the frequent storming of that city. When the temple of Jupiter Olympus was near to the laying on the roof, a stop was put to the building by the war; and the city being afterwards sacked, the Agrigentines were never able (from that time to this day) to finish it. This temple at Agrigentum was three hundred and forty feet in length, threescore in breadth, and in height (besides the foundation) a hundred and twenty. It is the greatest in the island, and for the largeness of its foundation may compare with any other elsewhere: for though the design was never finished, yet the antient platform is still visible; for whereas some build up their temples only with walls, or compass them round with pillars, this is built both with the one and the other; for, together with the walls, there rise lofty pillars round on the outside of the wall, and four-square within. The compass of every one of these pillars on the outside are twenty feet, and so far distant one from another, as that a man may well stand between each; within, they are of the compass of twelve feet. The largeness and height of the porticoes are wonderful, on the east side of which is carved the giant's war, of exquisite and incomparable workmanship: on the west side is carved the destruction of Troy, where may be seen all the brave heroes and

commanders in their proper habits, most admirably represented. In those former times, likewise, there was a pond out of the walls of the city, cut by art, seven furlongs in compass, and twenty cubits in depth: into this, with wonderful art, were drawn currents of water, by which they were abundantly supplied with all sorts of fish ready for their use, at all public entertainments. Upon this pond likewise fell multitudes of swans and other fowl, which entertained the spectators with great delight.

The grandeur of the city was likewise apparent, by the stateliness of the sepulchres, some of which were adorned with the charging horses of the heroes there interred; others with those little birds that the children, both girls and boys, fed and bred up in their parent's houses. All which, Timæus affirms he saw in his time. In the ninety-second olympiad there were no less than three hundred chariots of Agrigentum, all with white horses, that attended upon Exenetus, the victor at the olympic games, and brought him mounted in a stately chariot with great pomp into the city. Their nice and delicate way of living, (till it came to their very children), both as to their food and raiment, was to that degree, that they wore garments of cloth of gold, and had their water pots, and boxes of ointment, of gold and silver. There was one Gellias, the richest man of all the Agrigentines at that time, who built several rooms for public entertainment, in his own house, and placed porters at his gates, charging them to invite all strangers that passed by, to come in to be his guests. Many others of the Agrigentines imitated his example, who made it their business (after the antient manner) to converse freely and courteously with them they thus invited. And therefore Empedocles says thus of them—

Hospitibus sancti portus, sine labe malorum.

It happened once that five hundred Gelonian horsemen came to his house in winter-time, whom he liberally entertained, and furnished every one of them out of his wardrobe with cloaks and coats. Polyclitus in his history declares, that when he was a soldier in Agrigentum, he saw a wine-cellar in his house, in which were contained three hundred great vessels, cut out of one and the same rock, each of which received an hundred hogsheads: and that near to these was placed a cistern of pure white tempered mortar, containing a thousand hogsheads, out of which the liquor ran into the vessels. It is said that this Gellias was of a very mean presence, but of admirable parts and ingenuity. Being once sent an ambassador to the Centuripes*, when he entered into the assembly, all the people fell a-laughing,

* Centuripes—a people in Sicily: their city called Centuripinum. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 3, c. 8.

seeing the mean aspect of the man, so disagreeable to his great fame and reputation in the world. Upon which, he made this sharp retort—That what they saw in him was not to be wondered at, because the Agrigentines always send the comliest and handsomest men to the noblest cities, but to those that were mean and of little note, such as himself.

And not only Gelias, but many other Agrigentines were very rich. Antisthenes, surnamed Rhodes, at the marriage of his daughter, feasted all the citizens throughout every street, and procured above eight hundred chariots to attend upon the bride: and not only horsemen out of the city, but many who were invited out of the country, went before the new-married lady in great pomp and splendor. To add to the solemnity of the day, there were great preparations for illuminations in the city; for, he ordered that as soon as they saw a flame of fire upon the top of the castle, the altars in all the temples, and the piles of wood in all the streets, and the fuel he had prepared and provided in the taverns, should be kindled together all at the same moment: whose command being observed at the very same instant, when the bride was led forth by a multitude that bore torches before her, the whole city was as it were in a flame, and the common streets and ways of the city were not able to contain those that attended at this solemnity; all were so zealous to further and encourage the gallantry and magnificence of the man. At that time there were more than twenty thousand citizens of Agrigentum; but taking in strangers with them, they were no less than two hundred thousand.

It is reported of Antisthenes, when he saw his son pressing upon a poor man his neighbour, and would force him to sell a little spot of land to him, he chid his son, and advised him to forbear awhile; but his covetous desire increasing the more, he told him he should not strive to make his neighbour poor, but rather desire he should become rich; for being rich, he would covet a greater piece of land, which when he was not able to pay for lack of ready money, he would be content to raise money by the sale of that which he then had.

In short, the excess and luxury of the Agrigentines, by reason of their riches, was such, that not long after, in the very height of the siege, which ended in the sacking of the city, a decree was made, that none of them that were upon the guard in the night, should have above a bed, a tent, a woollen mantle, and two pillows. When this seemed a hard law, and disturbance to their ease and repose, we may easily judge how soft and luxurious they were in all other things. As we were not willing to let these things pass altogether, so we shall now break off, lest we omit things more useful and necessary.

The Carthaginians having landed their forces in Sicily, marched straight against the Agrigentines, and divided their army into two parts, and encamped in two several places; one camp was upon certain hills, where were placed forty thousand Spaniards and Africans; the other was near the city, fortified with a deep trench and a wall. At the first they sent ambassadors to the Agrigentines, to invite them to join with them as confederates, and if they did not approve of that, then that they would be neuter, and enter into league of peace and amity with the Carthaginians. When both offers were rejected, they forthwith pressed on the siege with all vigour. Upon this, the Agrigentines listed all that were able to bear arms, and marshalled them, some of which they placed upon the walls, and others were appointed as reserves to relieve their fellows as occasion offered. Dexippus, the Lacedæmonian, was the man that directed them in all things, who was lately come to their assistance with five hundred soldiers from Gela: for he lived about that time (as Timæus relates) at Gela, in great esteem for the sake of his country: and therefore application was made to him by the Agrigentines, that he would hire as many soldiers as possibly he could, and come to their relief: besides these, they hired eight hundred Campanians who had formerly served under Amilcar. These kept the hill Athenea, which lay over, and commanded the city, a very commodious post.

Amilcar and Hannibal, the Carthaginian generals, having viewed the walls, and found out a place where it was most easy to enter, brought two towers of incredible bigness against the city: the first day out of these they made an assault, and after they had killed and cut off many of the citizens, sounded a retreat. The next night the besieged made a sally and burnt the engines: but Hannibal intending to assault the town in several places at once, commanded his soldiers to pull down all the monuments and tombs, and with the rubbish to raise mounds as high as the walls, which was presently done, forwarded by so great a multitude. But then a sudden pang of religion seized upon the army; for Theron's monument (a large and stately structure) was beaten down by a thunderbolt, which, by the advice of the soothsayers then present, put a stop to the perfecting the design; and forthwith the plague broke out in the army, by which many were destroyed in a short time, and not a few seized with tormenting and miserable pains, among whom Hannibal himself perished. Some that were upon the watch, reported they saw in the night, the apparitions of them that were dead. Upon this, Amilcar seeing the soldiers were possessed with the fear and awe of the gods, first forbore to demolish the sepulchres: afterwards he made (according to the custom of his country) supplications to the deities, and sacrificed a boy to

Saturn, and threw a company of priests into the sea, as a sacrifice to Neptune. Notwithstanding all this, Amilcar forsook not the siege, but choaking up the river with rubbish close to the walls, brought up his engines, and renewed his assaults every day.

In the mean time, the Syracusans weighing the condition of the Agrigentines, and fearing they should undergo the same fate with them of Himera and Selinus, were desirous to send them aid; and to that end having increased their army by the forces of their confederates from Italy and Messana, they made Daphnæus general, and having mustered the army, they set forwards, and in their march were joined by the Camarinians, Gelians, and some others out of the heart of the country, and all marched straight for Agrigentum, having a fleet of thirty gallies, which sailed all along over against them near the shore. Daphnæus had with him above thirty thousand foot, and no less than five thousand horse. Amilcar, upon intelligence of the approach of the enemy, sent forth against them the Iberians and Campanians, and no less than forty thousand out of the rest of the army. When the Syracusans had passed the river Himera, they were met by the barbarians: upon which battle was joined, and after the dispute had continued a long time, at length the Syracusans got the day, who routed the whole army, with the slaughter of above six thousand men, and pursued the rest to the very city. But the Syracusan general perceiving his men to be in disorder and confusion by their pursuit, began to fear lest Amilcar, breaking in upon them with the rest of his army, should recover the day; for he remembered how Himereus had formerly lost all by such an oversight. The barbarians flying into that part of the camp which lay nearest to Agrigentum, the besieged concluded they were beaten and fled, and therefore earnestly desired their commanders that they would lead them forth, crying out—Now was the time come for the utter ruin and destruction of their enemies. But the officers, whether corrupted by money, (as it was reported), or possessed with fear lest Amilcar should slip into the town when the soldiers were gone forth, would not stir, but commanded the soldiers to abide within the town; by which means they that fled came safe into the camp. But Daphnæus marched forward, and encamped in the place where the enemy before lay; to whom flocked presently the soldiers out of the town with Dexippus, and forthwith a council of war was held, where all shewed themselves very uneasy and discontented, that the opportunity was neglected in taking full revenge of the conquered barbarians, and that their officers, when they might have so easily destroyed them by a sally out of the town, had suffered so many tens of thousands clearly to escape. Hereupon a tumult arising in the assemby with a great

noise and clamour, one Menes a Camarinian, one of the officers, stood up, and accused the commanders of Agrigentum to such a degree, that he so exasperated the whole assembly, that those who were accused could not be heard to speak for themselves; but four of them were instantly stoned by the enraged multitude. The fifth, called Argeus, in favour of his youth was discharged. Dexippus, likewise, the Lacedæmonian, was ill spoken of, that he who was general of so considerable a body of men, and ever esteemed a man more expert in martial affairs than most others, should carry it so basely and treacherously. After the council had broken up, Daphnæus endeavoured to force the Carthaginian camp; but discerning it to be excellently fortified, drew off. Then he blocked up all the passages with his horse, intercepted the foragers, and prevented all provision being brought in to the enemy, whereby they were reduced to great straits and necessities; for not daring to engage, and yet in the mean time starving for want of bread, their misery was the greater, and many were famished to death.

Upon this the Campanians, and almost all the rest of the mercenaries, in a body, came to Amilcar's tent, to demand their allowance of bread, and threatened to fall off to the enemy if they had it not. But Amilcar being informed that the Syracusans had loaded their ships with abundance of corn for Agrigentum, (upon which he relied as his last shift), persuaded the soldiers to be patient a few days, and in the mean time pawned to them the drinking vessels of the Carthaginian soldiers. Hereupon he sent for forty gallies from Panormus and Motya, and lay in wait for the ships that brought the provision. For the Syracusans never suspected the Carthaginians durst appear at sea, being now winter, and who had some time before lost their power and dominion there. Therefore, sailing on with great assurance, they were on a sudden attacked by Amilcar, with forty sail; who presently sunk eight of their ships, and drove the rest upon the shore; all which being thus taken, the scene of affairs was so changed on both sides, that the Campanians that were with the Agrigentines, perceiving the desperate condition of the Grecians, corrupted with fifteen talents, fell away to the Carthaginians. Besides, the Agrigentines, at the beginning of the siege, when things went ill with the Carthaginians, were very profuse and prodigal, both in their corn and other things, and therefore, when the affairs of the barbarians were much altered to their advantage, the besieged (being so many thousands penned up together) were insensibly, and by degrees, brought into great want. It is reported that Dexippus the Lacedæmonian also was bribed with fifteen talents; for he on a sudden told the Italian commanders, that it was better to withdraw, and carry on

the war in some other place, for here they were likely to be starved. The officers therefore considering of what he had said, marched away with the army to the sea, as if now the time limited by their commissions had been determined.

After their departure, the generals with the other officers met in a council of war, and ordered that an account should be taken what provision was left in the city; and when a return was made of the scarcity, they saw it was absolutely necessary to quit the place; whereupon they commanded all to be ready to be gone the next night. Upon this there was a lamentable outcry in every house throughout the whole city, of men, women, and children, being in a distraction through fear and dread of the enemy on the one hand, and care of their goods and estates on the other, which now they must be forced in a great measure to leave to the rapine of the barbarians; and, as an aggravation, being those very things wherein a little before they placed their happiness. However, at length seeing that fortune had stripped them of all their riches, they judged it was wisdom to do what they could to save their lives. Then might be seen not only the mighty wealth of a flourishing city forsaken, but also a multitude of miserable people left behind; for those that were sick and infirm were disregarded by them of their own family, whilst every one sought to preserve himself; and those that through old age could not remove, were in the like condition. Many that preferred death before the leaving of their country, killed themselves, choosing rather to die in their own houses. But that multitude of people that did go forth, were guarded by the soldiers to Gela, so that all the ways and country towards Gela swarmed with a promiscuous multitude of women and children; amongst whom were young ladies, who though they had now changed their former soft and delicate way of living, into the fatigues and sorrows of tedious journies, yet being quickened and stirred up by fear, bore all difficulties with eminent patience. They all came at length safe to Gela; and afterwards Leontium was given to them by the Syracusans to inhabit.

Amilcar entering the city with his army, not without some fear and jealousy, killed almost all he found in it, not sparing those that fled into the temples for refuge, but, hauling them from the altars, slew them with great cruelty. There it is said Gellias, who was so eminent above the rest of his countrymen in the greatness of his wealth, and integrity of his conversation, ended his life with the loss of his country: for he with some others fled to the temple of Minerva, hoping the Carthaginians would not commit any outrages against the gods: but when he perceived the cursed impiety of the men, he set fire to the temple, and together with the wealth that was there, (con-

secrated to the gods), burnt himself; by one act preventing three evils, as he conceived; the impiety of the enemy against the gods, the rapine and plunder of the vast treasure that was there, and (that which was the greatest) the abuse of his own body.

Amilcar having spoiled and plundered all places both religious and profane, got together from the spoil so much riches as a city that had been inhabited by two hundred thousand men, and never taken before since it was built, and which was the richest of all the Grecian cities, might, by an easy computation, in that time heap together; especially since the citizens made it their business to be stately and magnificent in a wonderful manner in every thing they undertook: for many curious pictures, drawn with admirable art, and an infinite number of statues of all sorts, cut and wrought with singular ingenuity, were found here by the conqueror. The best and choicest things (among which was the Phalarian bull) he sent to Carthage; the rest of the spoil he caused to be sold under the spear. Timæus, in his history, with great earnestness denies that there ever was any such bull; but fortune has since disproved him in this: for Scipio Africanus, two hundred and threescore years after this destruction, when Carthage was razed, amongst other things which were then at Carthage, restored that famous bull to the Agrigentines, which remains at Agrigentum now at the time of the writing of this history; of which I have been the more desirous to speak, because Timæus with much bitterness inveighs against the historians that were before him as altogether unpardonable; and yet he himself, in those things wherein he most pretends an earnest and diligent search after truth, does nothing but merely trifle; for in my opinion we ought to have a favourable regard and respect to those authors we differ from, because they are but men, and the truth of things that are long before past are not easy to be discovered. On the other hand, those writers that are careless and negligent in their inquiries, are justly to be censured; and those especially may be well judged regardless of truth, who make it their business to flatter some, and out of envy to cast dirt upon others.

CHAP. XIII.

The Syracusan officers accused. Dionysius made general of the Syracusans. He moves to have the exiles recalled. He is invested with the sole command. At length, by several artifices, he gains the sovereignty.

AMILCAR having gained the city after eight months siege, a little before the winter solstice, did not presently sack it, to the end the soldiers might quarter there all the winter. When the ruin of Agrigentum was noised abroad, the whole island was struck with such terror that some of the Sicilians fled to Syracuse, and others transported themselves, their wives, children, and moveables, into Italy. When the Agrigentines that had escaped came to Syracuse, they accused the commanders, affirming that they had betrayed their country into the enemy's hand; but the Syracusans cast the blame upon the other Sicilians, because they chose such a sort of officers as endangered the loss of all Sicily by their treachery.

But when a senate was called at Syracuse, they were in such a consternation as none durst move or advise any thing concerning the war. And being all thus at a stand, Dionysius, the son of Hermocrates, renewed the accusation against the officers—That they had betrayed Agrigentum to the Carthaginians; and stirred up the people forthwith to take revenge, and not to wait for formalities of law in execution of justice. But Dionysius being fined according to law by the magistrates, as a disturber of the public peace, Philistus (who afterwards wrote a history, a very rich man) paid the fine for him, and bid him speak his mind freely, and promised him he would pay whatever was imposed upon him, if they fined him all the day long.

Dionysius being thus encouraged, he stirred up the people, and filled the assembly with tumult by his criminations, charging the commanders that, for bribes, they had drawn off and forsaken the Agrigentines. He likewise accused many others of the best of the citizens, traducing them that they aimed to introduce an oligarchy; and told the senate—That commanders were not to be chosen according to their greatness in power, but according to the good-will and regard they bore towards the people: for the great ones lording it over them, had them in contempt, and enriched themselves by the losses of their country; but men of low fortunes never attempt any thing of such a nature, knowing their own disability.

When he had spoken what he had designed, and so agreeable to the humour of the people, he set all the assembly on a flame; for the people before bore a secret hatred to the commanders, because they were suspected to have dealt falsely in the management of the war; and now being the more exasperated by the speech of Dionysius, they forthwith deprived them of their commands, and chose others in their room, amongst whom was Dionysius, a man of great esteem and reputation with the Syracusans, for his approved valour in several battles against the Carthaginians.

Having gained this step of preferment, he contrived all ways imaginable how to advance to the sovereign power over his country; for after he was invested with the command, he never associated with the other commanders, nor joined with them in any council of war. In the mean time he caused rumours to be spread abroad, that they kept secret correspondence with the enemy, hoping thereby to get them laid aside, and so to have the sole command of the army lodged in himself. While he was executing these projects, the most prudent citizens suspected him, and every assembly gave very hard and ill words. On the other hand the common people, ignorant of his deceit and fraud, praised every thing he did, and published every where, that now at length they had got a faithful and constant guardian and defender of the city.

The consultations concerning preparations for war being very frequent, and Dionysius discerning that the Syracusans were in a great fright, he advised to recal the exiles: for he said it was a very absurd thing to receive aids of strangers from Italy and Peloponnesus, and yet to be backward in making use of their own countrymen to withstand the common danger, who are solicited by the enemy with great promises of reward to join with them, and yet are content to wander up and down amongst strangers, and die rather than do any thing prejudicial to their country. For though they were banished for stirring up sedition in the city, yet such kindness shewn them, would in gratitude oblige them to fight cheerfully for their country. When he had spoken many things to this purpose, he at length procured the suffrages of the people; for none of his colleagues durst contradict him, for that they both feared the rage of the people, and likewise plainly saw, that nothing would redound thence but hatred to themselves, and more love and favour to him.

Dionysius did this because he looked upon the exiles to be men fit for his purpose, such as were given to change, and therefore ready tools to make use of to serve his ambition; who would delight to see their enemies throats cut, their goods and estates confiscated, and

themselves restored. The decree, therefore, for the recalling of the banished being published, they presently returned.

And now letters coming from Gela to desire assistance to be speedily sent them, Dionysius made use of this fair opportunity for the carrying on his design; for he forthwith marched to Gela with two thousand foot, and four hundred horse, where Dexippus the Lacedæmonian was governor, with a strong garrison: when he found the city in a seditious uproar raised by some against the people, he condemns them that were accused in a public assembly, puts them to death, and confiscates their estates; and with part of the money paid the soldiers that were in garrison under Dexippus, all their old arrears, and the rest he distributed amongst the soldiers that came with him from Syracuse, declaring their pay ordered by the city should be double. By this means he won both the hearts of the soldiers at Gela, and of those that went with him thither. The Gelians likewise cried him up to the skies, as one that had freed them from slavery: so that out of envy to the great men of the city, they decreed the supreme power to Dionysius: upon which they sent ambassadors to Syracuse, to publish there his praises, and likewise to shew the decrees of the city, by which they had honoured him with many marks of respect.

In the mean time Dionysius endeavoured to bring over Dexippus into his councils, but not being able to prevail, he determined to return to Syracuse with all his forces: but the Gelians hearing that the Carthaginians had determined to set upon their city with their whole power, before any other, earnestly entreated Dionysius that he would not leave them, nor suffer their city to undergo the same calamity with that of Agrigentum. To whom he promised to return in a short time with greater forces; and so left Gela.

Afterwards, when the people came from the theatre, from the plays, Dionysius at that very hour returned into Syracuse; whereupon the citizens came thronging about him, and inquired what news he brought concerning the Carthaginians: to whom he answered—That he had nothing to say of them, in regard their own officers and governors were more mischievous to the commonwealth than the enemies themselves; for whilst the citizens, led away by their flatteries, were diverted with sports and plays, they themselves empoverished the commonwealth, and defrauded the soldiers of their pay. And now that the enemy at this very time is making incredible preparation for war, and are even upon the borders of Syracuse, with a mighty army, yet it is not at all by them regarded. To what end they acted thus he suspected long since, but now he saw clearly their drift: for

Amilcar, he said, had sent by an herald to him, pretending to redeem some captives, but in truth secretly to persuade him not to use that authority he had, to pry too narrowly into things that were in doing, or at least not to obstruct them, if he was not willing to join in the execution. Therefore he declared he was not willing any longer to be general, but was ready to lay down his commission. For it was altogether intolerable that he only should hazard the loss of all he had with the rest of the citizens, whilst others made merchandise of their country: yea, by this means he should become partaker with them in their treachery. The people being enraged by what he had said, and his words divulged through the whole army, every one went to his own house in great fear and perplexity.

The next day an assembly was called, where he loaded his fellow commanders with many accusations; and by stirring up the people against them, greatly advanced his own reputation. At length some in the assembly cried out to make him generalissimo, and not to have the thing to be done when the enemy was even battering the walls; alledging that the greatness of the war required a general that was able to do eminent service for the commonwealth; and for the traitors, it was better to inquire of them in another assembly hereafter; seeing now it was not so agreeable to the present posture of affairs. It was also remembered that heretofore, when Gelon had the sole command, they had overcome three hundred thousand Carthaginians.

Upon this the people (who are always apt to close with the worst advice) suddenly made Dionysius general, with sole and absolute power.

After things thus succeeded according to his heart's desire, he signed an order, that the soldiers should receive double pay; alleging that thereby they would be encouraged to fight more readily and cheerfully; and bade the Syracusans not trouble or disturb themselves about money, for there would be ways readily found out to bring in sufficient supplies. But when the assembly was broken up, there were many of the Syracusans that condemned what was done, as if they had had no hand in confirming it: for after they had more seriously considered the thing, they foresaw tyranny would follow. Thus, while they sought after freedom, they most imprudently placed a tyrant over their country.

Dionysius, therefore, to prevent the change of the people's minds, began to contrive how he might procure a guard for his person: if he could gain this point, he concluded he could easily fix himself in the sovereignty. Upon this he commanded all that were able to bear arms, not above forty years of age, with thirty days provision and

their arms, to march to the city of Leontium; for this city was a garrison belonging to the Syracusans, full of strangers and exiles, whom he hoped would be assistant to him, being men given to innovations; and to this he was the more encouraged, because he knew but few of the Syracusans would be there. For the better effecting of this design, he encamped all night in the field; and as he lay there, he feigned a plot against his own person, and caused a great noise and clamour to be made by his servants and attendants; upon which he fled to the castle; where, after he had kindled several fires, he sent for a strong guard, and so passed that night.

As soon as it was day, and the multitude were got together into the city, he used many probable arguments suited to the matter in hand, and brought over the people to give him liberty to choose six hundred men, such as he thought best, for his guard. And herein Dionysius is said to imitate Pisistratus the Athenian, for he, wilfully wounding himself, (as if he had been assaulted by treachery), came forthwith into the assembly, and by that means, as it is reported, got a guard from the citizens, by whose help he gained the supreme authority.

By the same fraud Dionysius, cheating the people, became absolute lord and master over his country; for he presently chose above a thousand men, such as were strong in body and low in purse, and put them in arms, and encouraged them with many large and glorious promises. Then he brought all the mercenary soldiers to an entire observance and obedience to him, by his winning and courteous speeches. He made an alteration likewise in the regiments, giving commissions to them that he could most trust. Then he sent away Dexippus the Lacedæmonian into Greece, for he suspected him, lest he should become a head to the Syracusans, in case they should take an occasion to seek to recover their liberty. And now he sends for the mercenaries from Gela, and gets together from every place all the exiles and lewd fellows, not doubting but by the help of these to establish himself in the kingdom.

After his return to Syracuse, when he had lodged his forces in the arsenal, he openly declared himself king: the Syracusans took this grievously, but were necessitated to be silent, because it was not in their power to do any thing else; for the whole city was full of strangers that were in arms, and all were in fear of the Carthaginians, who had a vast army near at hand.

Dionysius now presently marries the daughter of Hermocrates, (he who had routed the Athenians in Sicily), and gave his own sister in marriage to Polyxenus, Hermocrates's brother in law. This he did

to strengthen himself, by matching into an honourable family. After this, he summoned a general council, and contrived all ways imaginable, how to get rid of Daphnæus and Demarchus, the most powerful of all his adversaries.

Thus Dionysius, from a scrivener, and a man of poor and mean abstract, got the sovereignty of the greatest city among the Grecians, and maintained his dominion all the days of his life, for the space of thirty-eight years. What things he afterwards did, and how he enlarged his dominion, we shall relate in its proper place: for very probably he gained the largest dominion, and of the longest continuance of any that have ever been compassed by usurpation.

After the taking of the city of Agrigentum, the Carthaginians transported to Carthage all the dedicated things laid up in the temples; the statues and things of greatest value; and having burnt all the temples to ashes, and plundered the city, they quartered there all winter; and in the mean time furnished themselves with engines, and all sorts of weapons, with a design to besiege Gela the first thing they did the next spring.

CHAP. XIV.

The famous battle of Arginusæ at sea, wherein the Athenians were victors. The officers accused for not burying the dead. The speech of Diomedon. The death of Sophocles.

THE Athenians, weakened with continual losses, made all strangers and foreigners free of their city that would engage with them in the war. When a great multitude were incorporated into the city, the commanders listed all that were fit for war, equipped a fleet of sixty sail, with which (every way well provided) they sailed to Samos, where they found other commanders, who had brought together fourscore more gallies from other islands; and having procured ten more from the Samians, they weighed anchor, and made with their whole fleet (consisting of a hundred and fifty sail) to the islands Arginusæ*, with a design to raise the siege at Mitylene. But Callicratides, the Lacedæmonian general, having intelligence of the approach of the enemy, left Etonicus with a great force to maintain the siege, and sailed himself with all speed, with a fleet of one hun-

* Three islands lying between Lesbos and Eolis, near to Canæ.

dred and forty sail, well manned, to Arginusæ. These islands were then inhabited, and had a little town in them peopled by the Eolians. They lie between Mitylene and Cuma, near to the continent, and the promontory Catanides*. The Athenians, in regard their navy lay not far from thence, heard time enough of the advance of the enemy's fleet; yet, because the wind was very high, they waved fighting that day, and prepared to engage the next. The like did the Lacedæmonians; for the augurs on both sides dissuaded each from fighting. For the head of the Lacedæmonian sacrifice being laid upon the shore, was suddenly washed away by the violence of the waves; upon which the priest foretold the death of the admiral: to which it is reported Callicratides made answer—That the glory of Sparta would not be obscured by his death. Thrasybulus likewise, the Athenian admiral, who had the chief command that day, had this dream; the night before, he dreamt that he and six other commanders, in a full theatre at Athens, acted the tragedy of Euripides called Phenissæ, and that the enemies acted that called the Suppliants; and that at length he obtained a Cadmean victory, and all of them were killed, like those at the siege of Thebes; which, when the soothsayer heard, he thus interpreted—That seven of the chief commanders should fall in the fight: but in regard that the entrails portended victory, they commanded that nothing should be said of their deaths, but only to their friends; but that they should publish abroad to the whole army, that victory was certainly promised by the view of the sacrifices.

Then Callicratides calling the soldiers together, made a speech to them suited to the occasion; and further added—I am so cheerful and ready to undergo all hazards for the sake of my country, that although the augur has foretold my death by the portents of the sacrifice, yet inasmuch as he has also pronounced assured victory to you, I am impatient of delay, and ready and willing presently to die: and that the army may not be disturbed, and in confusion by the death of their admiral, I now appoint another, who may succeed me in case I fall; and that is Clearchus, a man known to be an experienced good soldier. Callicratides stirred up many with these words, to imitate his valour, and to hasten the battle. The Lacedæmonians now encouraging one another, embarked; so likewise the Athenians, heartened by their officers, went aboard, and every one placed themselves according to their squadrons. Thrasybulus and Pericles commanded the right wing, (this was Pericles the son of that Pericles the famous orator, whose surname was Olympus); but the command of part of this wing he delivered to Theramenes, who was at first but

* Or Canæ.

a common soldier, but afterwards at several times commanded considerable forces: the rest of the officers he placed in their order throughout the whole fleet; and compassing the islands called Arginusæ, he drew out his fleet in a line, as long as he possibly could. On the other side, Callicratides advancing into the open sea, commanded the right wing: the Bœotians were in the left, commanded by Thrasonidas the Theban. But when they saw that they could not reach to equal the line of the enemy, because the islands stretched out so far, he divided his navy into two parts, and fought in two places. This amazed the beholders from all parts, as if four fleets, with no less than three hundred sail, close together, were hotly engaged. For this was the greatest sea-fight that ever was fought, by Grecians against Grecians, that any history commemorates. And now at one instant all the trumpets were commanded by the admirals to sound a charge, and the armies on both sides set up great shouts in their turns, one against another, and plying their oars with great heat and earnestness, every one strove who should be the first in making the onset. For there were many that by reason of the long continuance of the war, were well instructed for fights at sea; and the battle was very hot and obstinate on both sides, in regard the best and stoutest men were got together to fight, in order to get or lose all at once: for none doubted but this battle would put an end to the war, which side soever got the victory. But Callicratides knowing by the predictions of the augurs, that he was to die, endeavoured to make his death honourable and glorious. Therefore he made up fiercely upon the gallies of Nausias, the vice-admiral, whom he sunk with those next to him, at the first charge; others he disabled, striking them through with the beaks of his ships, and others he made useless for fight, by brushing off their oars. At length he struck the ship of Pericles with such violence that he tore off one great part from another. But the fore-part of his own ship was so fixed by the fierceness of the stroke in the prow of his enemy's ship, that he could not clear himself off; upon which Pericles cast grappling-irons into Callicratides's vessel, and so forced him up close side to side; and thereupon the Athenians in a great body boarded him, and put all in the ship to the sword. Here it is reported that Callicratides, after he had behaved himself with great gallantry a long time, and received many wounds in all parts of his body, at length wearied out, fell down dead: the report of his death running through the fleet, the Peloponnesians, struck with a panic fear, began presently to fly: but though the right wing fled, yet the Bœotians in the left stuck to it, and fought stoutly for some time; for they of Eubœa, being in the same common danger, were very faithful to them, and all those that

had revolted from the Athenians, were afraid lest they (if they recovered their former power) would revenge themselves upon those that had deserted them. But when the Bœotians saw that the greatest part of the fleet was routed and broken in pieces, and that they were more and more pressed upon by multitudes that made up upon them, they fled outright. Some of the Peloponnesians fled to Chios, others to Cuma. But the Athenians pursued them very far, and filled all the sea-coasts with carcases of the dead and wrecks of ships. After this some of the commanders advised that the bodies of those that were slain should be taken up, because the Athenians used severely to punish those who neglected that last office. Others were rather for sailing back forthwith to Mitylene, and in the first place to raise the siege: but presently arose a most violent tempest, by which the ships were greatly shattered and broken; so that by this, and the toil of the late engagement, the spirits of the soldiers were very low, and the taking up the bodies of the dead was deferred. At length the storm raged and increased to that degree, that they could neither gain Mitylene, nor perform what they ought for the dead; so that being driven back by the storm, they arrived with the fleet at Arginusæ. In this fight the Athenians lost five-and-twenty of their ships, and most of their men in them; but the Peloponnesians seventy-seven. There were so many ships and men destroyed, that all the sea-coasts of Cuma and Phocæa seemed to be filled with carcases and wrecks.

Eteonicus, who was besieging Mitylene, having certain intelligence of the defeat of the Peloponnesians, sent away all the shipping to Chios; he himself marched away with the land-army to a confederate city of the Tyrrhenians, being afraid lest by a sally out of the town, when the Athenian fleet came up, his whole army should be cut off. When the Athenians arrived at Mitylene, they took thence Conon along with them, with forty sail, and passed over to Samos, and there wasted and spoiled all their enemy's country.

After these things, the Lacedæmonians in Eolis and Ionia, and the dispersed islands, met in a common council at Ephesus; and after many bandings and discourses, *pro* and *con*, they at length resolved to send an ambassador to Sparta, to desire that Lysander might be constituted admiral of the navy: for that he approved himself with great commendation when he was in command, and was judged to be the most skilful general.

But because the Lacedæmonians would not alter the antient custom of their country, they made Aratus admiral, and sent Lysander with him, as a private man, to be his assistant; with this strict command, that the general should always follow his advice and counsel. Thus being sent forth to manage the command of the

fleet, they got together from Peloponnesus and their confederates, as many gallies as they possibly could.

The Athenians, when they received the happy tidings of their success at Arginusæ, highly applauded the commanders for the victory; but were very angry that they neglected to bury those who had lost their lives in the defence of the government.

Theramenes and Thrasybulus, coming before the rest to Athens, the other officers suspecting they would accuse them to the people for their neglect in not burying the dead, sent letters against them, whereby they signified, that the care of interring them that were slain was committed to them, which was the chief cause of all the mischief that afterwards fell upon the other officers. For, whereas they might before have easily made Theramenes, and the rest of his party, their patrons and advocates in the accusations laid against them, being men that were excellent speakers, and of great interest, and that which was most considerable, were best acquainted with every thing that was done in the battle: now on the contrary, they had so far disobliged them, that they became their most bitter enemies and prosecutors. For, when the letters were read to the people, they were presently all on fire against Theramenes: but he having cleared himself, their rage was all turned again upon the other officers. The people therefore assigned them a day to be heard, and ordered the forces to be delivered over to Conon, whom they exempted from this bill; all the rest they commanded by an absolute decree forthwith to return: among whom Aristegenes, and Protomachus, fearing the rage of the people, fled: but Thrasyllus, Callixdes, Lysias, Pericles, and Aristocrates, returned to Athens, with a great number of ships, upon this confidence, that by the mediation of those they had brought along with them, who were very many, they should be acquitted. But after the assembly came together, the people yielded a quick ear to the accusations, and whatever the demagogues said, it was well taken; but when the accused began to speak, a tumult arose, and they could not be heard in their own defence. And besides, the relations of them that were killed, did not a little further their ruin; who came weeping and wailing into the senate, earnestly desiring that the commanders might suffer for their neglect, in not burying them, who had valiantly lost their lives for their country. At length, the friends of the dead, and those that prosecuted with Theramenes, (of whom many were then present), prevailed. And thereupon the commanders were condemned to die, and their estates to be confiscated. Sentence being thus given, just as they were being led to execution by the lictors, Diomedon, one of them, an excellent soldier, and reputed a just man, and eminent in

all other virtuous qualifications, stood up, and silence being made through the whole assembly, thus began—Ye men of Athens, we heartily wish that the sentence now pronounced against us, may issue in the prosperity and happiness of this city: but since fortune has prevented us from paying our vows, and giving thanks to the gods for the victory, it is most just and fit you should perform it; see therefore that you do it to Jove, to Apollo, and the glorious goddesses; for by prayers to them we have overcome the enemy. When he had said this, he was hurried away with the rest to execution; many of the best of the citizens bemoaning his fate with tears. For he who now went to suffer, never in the least complained of the hardness of his case, but only advised his countrymen (who then acted so wickedly) to make their addresses to the gods; which was a clear indication of a man of a pious and generous spirit, little deserving such base and unworthy usage. In short the eleven commanders were all put to death by the officers appointed by law, though they had never done the city the least injury, but on the contrary benefited their country by a victory gained in a sea-fight, the greatest that was ever fought by Grecians against Grecians; and besides were men whose valour had been remarkable in several battles, and who had had statues before erected in memory of their victories. The people were then so desperately mad and enraged by the orators, beyond all bounds of justice, that they gratified their anger and revenge upon men that were not only innocent, but deserved rather honour and rewards.

But not long after, both the accusers that stirred up the people, and the people themselves who gave credit to their criminations, sorely repented of what was done, as if God himself had taken revenge of them for the fact: for they that were so willing to be deluded by these malicious instigations, not long after received the reward of their folly; when not one, but thirty domineering masters were by force set over them. Then was Callixenus, (he that gave sentence of death against the accused), upon this change of the people, charged as one that had deceived them, and without being admitted to any defence, was committed, and carried to the common-goal; but by the help of some friends, breaking through the walls, he fled to the enemy at Decelea; so that by the avoiding of death at this time, he was pointed at, as it were, by the finger, for his notorious wickedness, not only at Athens, but amongst all the other Grecians abroad, all the days of his life after.

These are almost all the things that are reported to be done this year. Amongst the writers, Philistus concludes the first part of the affairs of Sicily with this year, and with the taking of Agrigentum;

comprehending, in seven volumes, the history of above eight hundred years. He begins the other part where the former ended, and proceeds in his relations contained in four books. About this time died Sophocles the tragedian, the son of Theophilus, ninety years of age. He gained eighteen victories upon the stage. It is reported of him, that when he acted his last tragedy, and came off conqueror, he fell into so violent a laughter, that he fell down dead. Apollodorus, a writer of chronicles, reports that Euripides likewise died this year. But others relate, that being entertained with Archelaus, king of Macedonia, once walking abroad into the fields, some dogs met him, by whom he was torn in pieces, and so miserably perished, a little before this year.

CHAP. XV.

Lysander made sole admiral of the Lacedæmonian fleet. He takes Caranium. The ruin of the Athenian fleet at Ægos Potamos. Athens taken by Lysander. The end of the Peloponnesian war.

THE year next before being ended, Alexias was made archon of Athens this year, and at Rome three military tribunes again executed the places of consuls, Caius Julius, Publius Cornelius, and Caius Servilius. During their magistracy, after the commanders were put to death, the Athenians made Philocles general of the army; and delivering the fleet to him, sent him away to Conon, commissioning them with a joint power, in the management of the war. When he came to Conon at Samos, he manned all the ships, to the number of a hundred and seventy-three. Twenty of these he left there, and with the rest he and Conon set sail for the Hellespont.

Lysander, in the mean time, high admiral of the Lacedæmonian fleet, with thirty-five sail, which he had got together from Peloponnesus, and their confederates next adjoining, passed over to Ephesus, and fitted out a fleet, which he sent for from Chios. Then he goes to Cyrus, the son of Darius, and receives from him a great sum of money, for payment of the army. Cyrus being sent for by his father into Persia, intrusts the management of the affairs of his provinces to Lysander, and commands all the tribute to be paid to him: who being now fully supplied with all things necessary for the war, returns

to Ephesus. At this time some in Miletus, that favoured an oligarchy, by the help of the Lacedæmonians, abolished the democracy. And to that end, in the beginning of the sedition, when the Dionysian festivals were celebrated, forty that were the greatest enemies against their faction, were surprised in their houses, and murdered. Afterwards, observing their opportunity, when the forum was full of people, they cut off the heads of three hundred of the richest of the citizens. In the mean time above one thousand of the most considerable persons of quality, who were for the democracy, afraid of the present imminent danger, fled to Pharnabuzus, the Persian lord-lieutenant, who received them very courteously, and bestowed upon every one a stater of gold, and ordered Clauda, a castle of Claudia, for their residence.

Lysander, with a great navy, making for Thasos*, a city of Caria, in league with the Athenians, takes it by storm, and puts all the men, to the number of eight hundred, to the sword, and sold all the women and children for slaves, and razed the city to the ground. After this he sailed to Attica, and many other places, but did nothing memorable; therefore we have nothing to write further concerning these matters. The sum of all is, having taken Lampsacus, he dismissed the Athenian garrison there, and sent them home; and after he had plundered the city, restored it to the inhabitants.

The Athenian admirals having intelligence that the Lacedæmonians had besieged Lampsacus with all their forces, got together all their fleet from every place, and with all speed made for Lampsacus, with a hundred and fourscore sail; but hearing that it was taken, they anchored at Ægos Potamos, and there lay. Not long after, they weighed anchor, and made out against the enemy, and dared them every day to a battle; but when the Peloponnesians would not stir, the Athenians began to consider what was best to be done, for that they could not stay long there with the fleet. Hereupon Alcibiades came to them, and assured them that Medocus and Seuthes, kings of the Thracians, who were his special friends, had offered him a great army if he would fight against the Lacedæmonians; and therefore if he might have some share in the command, he engaged either to force the Lacedæmonians to fight at sea, or to fight them at land, by an army out of Thrace. This Alcibiades did to evince how great his desire was to procure some eminent advantage to his country, and by fresh service to regain their former good opinion of him. But the Athenian commanders concluded, that if matters fell out ill, all the

* This is said to be mistaken for Caramium, a bay in Caria; for that Thasos is an island, and lies far off, and was taken some time after. Ush. Ann. 160. Æmil. Probus in the Life of Lysander.

blame would be laid upon them; and if well, Alcibiades would reap all the honour of the victory. Therefore they ordered him to withdraw, and not to come near the army for the future.

The enemy still avoiding a fight, and provision growing scarce in the army, Philocles, who commanded that day, ordered the rest of the officers of the fleet to ship their men, and follow him, who having thirty sail in readiness, forthwith loosed out of the harbour. Lysander having intelligence of this by some deserters, makes out to sea with his whole navy, puts Philocles to flight, and sails up to the rest of the Athenian fleet. Hereupon the Athenians which lay there (in regard they had but few of their men on board) were all in a great consternation, through the unexpected approach of the enemy. Lysander, therefore, understanding the confusion and disorder of his enemy's fleet, commanded Eteonicus on shore with the land-army, who forthwith being now landed, judged it highly necessary to improve the present opportunity, and therefore suddenly forces into part of the enemy's camp; and Lysander himself coming up with all his fleet, well manned and provided, hauled as many of the Athenian vessels as there were in the harbour, with grappling-irons, to the shore. Upon this the Athenians were so amazed, and struck with such a sudden astonishment, (not having time either to make out to sea with their ships, or to form themselves into a body at land), so that after a short resistance they turned their backs: hereupon some forsook their ships, others fled out of the camp; every one seeking where he could best preserve himself. Scarce ten of all the commanders and officers of the fleet escaped; amongst whom was Conon, who not daring to return to Athens, out of fear of the people, fled to Evagoras, prince of Cyprus, his special good friend. Many of the soldiers fled by land to Sestos. Lysander possessed himself of all the rest of the fleet, and took Philocles, one of the generals, prisoner, and carried him to Lampsacus, where he put him to death. Then he commanded messengers to Lacedæmon, to carry the news of the victory; and ordered one of the best of the gallies to transport them, magnificently adorning it with the arms and spoils taken from the enemy.

Next he marched with his whole army to Sestos, in pursuit of those that fled thither, took the city, and dismissed the Athenians upon terms. From thence he sailed with all speed to Samos, and forthwith prepares to besiege the city; but sent away Gylippus (he who so eminently assisted the Syracusans at sea) to Sparta, with fifteen hundred talents of silver, besides the spoils. The money was made up in little bags, and to every bag was fixed a scytale, upon which was written the sum of money therein contained. Gylippus being

ignorant of what was done, unties the bags, and takes out three hundred talents; but his theft being discovered to the ephori, by the scytales, he fled, and thereupon was condemned to die. Clearchus, the father of Gylippus, in former times, for his having received money of Pericles not to invade Attica, likewise fled, and was adjudged to die, and lived all his days a banished man, among the Thurians in Italy. These two men, who were otherwise virtuous, yet by these sordid acts stained and blemished all the worthy actions of the rest of their lives.

When the Athenians were fully satisfied that they were totally ruined, they determined to strive no longer to be masters at sea, but now employed all their care to repair their walls, and blocked up the haven, expecting nothing more certain than a siege, which happened accordingly; for presently both Agis and Pausanias, the Lacedæmonian generals, broke into Attica with great forces, and encamped under the very walls of Athens: and Lysander entered the Piræus with above two hundred sail. The Athenians, though they were pressed on every side with so many mischiefs, yet stood out, and easily defended the city for some time. But the Peloponnesians resolved in council, in regard it would be very difficult to force the place, to withdraw their forces out of Attica, and by their navy to hinder all provision from being brought into the city; which being put in execution, the Athenians were reduced to extreme want of all things, especially of food, which was used to be imported to them by sea.

Want pressing upon them every day more and more, the city was filled with the dead; upon which those that survived sent forth ambassadors, and procured the terms and conditions following; viz.— That the long fortifications of the Piræus, and their walls, should be demolished; that they should never have above ten long ships; that they should leave all the cities, and be subject to the Lacedæmonians. And thus ended the Peloponnesian war, after it had continued seven-and-twenty years; a war of the longest duration of any come to our knowledge.

CHAP. XVI.

Agrigentum sacked by Amilcar the Carthaginian. The Carthaginians besiege Gela. Dionysius goes to the aid of Gela. The skirmishes before Gela. Camarina deserted by the order of Dionysius. The soldiers enraged at Dionysius; he hastens to Syracuse. Amilcar makes peace with Dionysius, and returns to Carthage. The end of the first Carthaginian war against Dionysius.

A LITTLE while after Darius* king of Asia died, having reigned nineteen years; Artaxerxes† his eldest son succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned forty-three years. About this time Apollodorus the Athenian reports that Antimachus the poet flourished. Amilcar the Carthaginian general, at the return of the spring sacked the city of Agrigentum in Sicily, and carried away the carved work, and richest furniture, out of all those temples that were not utterly consumed by the fire. From hence he made an inroad with his whole army into the country of Gela; from whence, and from the Camarinians, (having made great devastations), he filled his camp with all sorts of plunder. Then marching for Gela, he encamped at a river of the same name. There was a brazen statue of Apollo of a wonderful bigness at Gela, in the suburbs of the city, which the Carthaginians took and sent away to Tyre. The Gelians had dedicated it by the command of the oracle of Apollo. But the Tyrians some time after, when they were besieged by Alexander the Macedonian, reproached the image, as if it sided with the enemy. But after that Alexander had taken the city, the very same day of the week, and the very hour (as Timæus reports) that the Carthaginians committed the sacrilege against Apollo at Gela, the Grecians honoured the god with many magnificent gifts and costly sacrifices, as he by whose help they had won the city. Though these things happened in times far distant one from another, yet because the thing was very remarkable, I thought it no digression to compare one event with the other in this place.

The Carthaginians, when they had cut down all the trees about Gela, fortified themselves by a wall and deep trench drawn round their camp; for they expected that Dionysius would come to the aid

* Darius Nothus, who ordered the rebuilding of the temple.

† Artaxerxes Mnemon, in whose twentieth year Nehemiah came to Jerusalem.

of the besieged with a great army. They of Gela had at the beginning of the siege, to avoid danger, determined to send away their wives and children to Syracuse; but when the women all ran together to the altars in the forum, earnestly praying that they might undergo the same fate with their husbands, they were suffered to stay. After this the soldiers in the town, dividing themselves into several squadrons, sent out part abroad, who, being well acquainted with all the ways and passages, fell upon the enemy that were straggling here and there, and not only brought in prisoners every day, but killed many: and when the Carthaginians had battered down part of the walls with their rams, the besieged stoutly defended them, and what was beaten down in the day, both women and children joined with the rest and repaired in the night: for they that were young and able were continually in arms, and engaged with the enemy; the rest were diligently employed in working, and other necessary services. To conclude, they bore the brunt with that valour and resolution that, though their city was unfortified, and they received no aid from their confederates, and their walls were broken down in many places, yet fear did not at all abate their courage.

In the mean time Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, sent for the Grecian succours in Italy, and aids from his confederates, and employed every one almost that was able to bear arms in Syracuse, and joined the army of the mercenaries with the rest. The whole amounted not to above fifty (as some report) but (as Timæus relates) not above thirty thousand foot, and a thousand horse, with fifty sail of ships. With these forces he hastens to the aid of Gela. When he arrived at the city, he encamped near the sea: this he did that his forces might not be divided, but might fall upon the enemy both by sea and land at once; for, by skirmishing with his light-armed men, he prevented their foraging; and by his horse, and the help of his shipping, he endeavoured to intercept all provisions that should be brought to the Carthaginians from any part of their dominions. However, he effected nothing, after he had continued there twenty days. After this, he divided his foot into three bodies: one he delivered into the hands of the Sicilians, with a command that, having the city on the left, they should fall upon the trenches and fortifications of the enemy; another body, made up of succours from the confederates, he ordered should leave the city on the right, and march to the shore. He himself, with the mercenaries, designed to pass through the city, to the place where the Carthaginian engines were placed, and commanded the horse, that as soon as a sign was given by the foot, they should pass the river, and disperse themselves over the fields; and if they discerned that their own party prevailed, they should join them,

and if worsted, should succour them. He commanded, likewise, the officers of the fleet, that as soon as the Italian bands came up, they should sail near to the enemy's camp. While every one was executing the orders given him in charge, the Carthaginians opposed the enemy's landing, and made it their business to defend that part of their camp towards the shore, where it was not fortified. At the very same instant the Italians, coming in near the shore, set upon the Carthaginian camp, and there intercepted many that had issued out to prevent the landing: and when they had put them to flight that were left to guard that part, they assaulted the whole camp; upon which the Carthaginians with the greatest part of their army (now returned) hotly engaged them, and with much ado drove them back beyond the trenches, which they had gained, and passed. The Italians, being overpowered with the multitude of the barbarians, were forced to retreat, and fell into a strait and narrow pass within the lines, none of their fellows advancing to support them; for the Siculi, who were far off, came not up in convenient time, and Dionysius's mercenaries, because they could not march swift enough through the streets of the city, could not succour them. Indeed the Gelians for a little way made a sally to relieve the Italians, but, fearing the walls would be left naked, they halted and returned: so that the Iberians and Campanians, with the Carthaginian auxiliaries, fell very sharply upon the Greeks of Italy, and killed above a thousand of them; but the pursuers being driven back by darts and other shot from the ships, the rest came safe into the town. In the mean time the Siculi, being engaged with the Carthaginians in another part, killed many of them, and pursued the rest up to their very camp. But both the Iberians, Campanians, and Carthaginians coming to the aid of the Africans, the Siculi, having lost six hundred men, returned into the city. The horse, likewise, when they saw all was lost, made to the city, especially for that the enemy was pressing upon them on every side. Dionysius, having passed through the city with his mercenaries with great difficulty, when he understood that his army was broken, marched back, and sheltered himself within the walls of the town: then calling a senate of those that were friends, they consulted concerning the present state of the war; where it was concluded by all, that (because the enemy was so strong) it was not now the time to put all to hazard. Dionysius therefore sent forth a trumpet in the evening, to gain a cessation of arms for the burying of the dead till the next day. Then, about the first watch of the night, he sent a multitude of people out of the town, and he himself about midnight marched forth with the army, leaving behind him two thousand light-armed men, commanding

them to make fires all the night long, and set up continual shouts, that the enemy might believe that the whole army was still in the town; but as soon as it began to be light, those left behind with a swift march followed Dionysius's army. When the Carthaginians understood the cheat, they led the army into the city, and made a prey of whatever was left in the houses.

When Dionysius came to Camarina, he caused all the citizens, with their wives and children, to remove to Syracuse; and because fear would not admit of any delay, some carried what gold and silver they were able, others, with their parents and little children, hastened away, without the least regard to their estates. Some who were old and sick, were left behind by their friends and relations, every one thinking that the Carthaginians were at his heels: for the late ruin and destruction of Selinus, Himera, and Agrigentum, struck all with such a terror, and filled every one with such an apprehension of the beastly cruelty of the barbarians, as if it had been then present before their eyes; for they put all the captives to the sword, shewing no compassion to any: some they crucified, and others they tormented with intolerable scoffs and reproaches. The soldiers of Dionysius seeing men, women, and children driven in droves from two several cities in one and the same country, were much incensed, pitying the sad condition of the miserable people: for, when they saw young gentlemen and ladies in marriageable estate, unbecoming their rank and age, tumultuously and regardlessly to be driven, led, and dragged in droves through the high-ways, the time not allowing any regard or respect either to old and grave men, or young and tender women, they were not a little affected: and especially it greatly grieved them to see decrepid old people forced, beyond the strength of nature, to go as fast as those that were young. These were the things that inflamed the soldiers with rage against Dionysius; for they suspected that he did this on purpose that he might gain the sovereignty over the rest of the cities, through their fear of the Carthaginians: for they muttered among themselves, how small a time he gave his assistance; that none of his mercenary soldiers were killed; that he fled so hastily when he had suffered so little loss, and especially when no enemy pursued. Therefore, all those who had long wished for an opportunity to revolt, now did their utmost to shake off the yoke of his tyranny, prompted thereunto, as it were, by the instinct of a divine providence. So that all the Italians forthwith left his camp, and marched homewards through the heart of the country. The Syracusan horsemen likewise watched for an opportunity how they might readily kill the tyrant on the road: but, observing the mercenaries constantly to attend close to his person (unanimously with one

consent) they set spurs to their horses, and rode away to Syracuse, where they entered into the arsenal without any opposition, the guard being altogether ignorant of what was done at Gela. Upon their coming there, they forthwith rifled Dionysius's palace, and carried away all his gold, silver, and rich furniture out of his house, and most cruelly and filthily abused his wife, to vex and molest the tyrant the more, and that this sort of revenge might be a clear evidence to him of the conspiracy against him.

Dionysius suspecting upon his march what was done, hastens to the city with all the horse and foot he could confide in, with all possible speed; for he concluded he had no better course to take to disappoint the horsemen that were gone, than to prevent all intelligence, judging his design would be more easily accomplished if he were sooner at Syracuse than they could believe; which happened accordingly: for the horsemen thought that Dionysius durst neither stay with, nor be far from, his army. And therefore now, as confident that they had gained their purpose, they noised abroad that Dionysius pretended to fly from Gela for fear of the Carthaginians, but in truth he fled from the Syracusans. In the mean time Dionysius having marched without stopping almost four hundred furlongs, came about midnight to the gates of Acradina, with one hundred horse, and five hundred foot, and finding them shut against him, caused reeds there ready gathered out of the fens (with which the Syracusans used to burn lime) to be put to the gates: while the gates were on fire, those that marched slower came up to him; and when they were burnt down, he forthwith entered through Acradina with all the forces with him. Upon which those horsemen (who were very few) that were of the noblest birth and greatest wealth (without staying for the people's help) got together in the market-place to oppose the enemy; but were presently surrounded with the mercenaries, and every man killed with darts and pikes. Then Dionysius, scouring the streets of the city, put all to the sword he met that were running here and there to aid their fellows; and not only so, but entered likewise into the houses of those he took to be his enemies, of whom he cut the throats of some, and banished others. The rest of the horsemen escaped out of the walls to that part of the city called Acradina. About break of day the next morning, all the rest of the mercenaries, and the whole Sicilian army, came to Syracuse; but the Gelians and Camarinians, incensed against Dionysius, turned off to Leontium.

Amilcar at length, forced by the circumstances of his affairs, sends a herald to Syracuse, to offer terms of peace to the conquered: this was very acceptable news to Dionysius, and thereupon peace

was made upon these conditions—That, besides the antient colonies, the Sicanians, Selinuntines, Agrigentines, and the Himerians, should be under the power of the Carthaginians: that they of Gela and Camarina should be suffered to inhabit in their own cities, yet without walls, and be tributary for the future to the Carthaginians: that the Leontines, Messanians, and all the Sicilians, should be free, and enjoy all their own laws and liberties, save that the Syracusans should be subject to Dionysius. When all these articles were ratified, the Carthaginians passed over to Libya, after they had lost above one half of their army by the plague, which afterwards raging through Libya, multitudes perished both of the Carthaginians and their confederates.

And now we are come to the end of the wars; of the Peloponnesian war in Greece, and of the first Carthaginian war with Dionysius in Sicily: and so, having finished what we hitherto designed, we shall treat in the next book of those affairs that fell out afterwards.

DIODORUS SICULUS.

BOOK XIV.

PREFACE.

IT is common and natural for every man to be touched to the quick, to hear himself evil spoken of. For even they that are so notoriously wicked that they cannot escape reproaches, yet, if they be told of their faults, are presently in a rage, and do all they can to palliate and cover their crimes with fine-spun excuses. Every one therefore ought to be very careful to avoid the doing of that which is of bad report, especially those that are in high place and power, and advanced above others in dignity. For their actions, by reason of their eminency in the world, being more conspicuous than others, their faults and miscarriages likewise are more obvious. Therefore, let none in such places of power and authority, think to avoid censures and reproaches, if they are corrupt and unjust in their administration. For should they escape infamy and disgrace during their lives, yet let them be assured, that after times will publish that truth (to the stain of their memory) which was stifled and smothered some time before. Let this therefore startle wicked men to consider, that they leave behind them an ugly representation of themselves, to the view of posterity for ever.

For though those things that follow after death do nothing at all concern us, (as some philosophers have spread abroad among the common people), yet a wicked course of life is far the worse, inasmuch as the remembrance of it is hateful to all posterity. Of which truth, he who seriously considers things related in this book, may find ready at hand most clear and evident examples. For the thirty tyrants of Athens, who by their covetousness and ambition involved their country in dreadful calamities, thereby, in a short time, not only

lost their authority, but left behind them an immortal stain and dishonour to their names. And the Lacedæmonians, who had undoubtedly gained the sovereignty of all Greece, lost what they had gained, when they began to oppress their associates and confederates.—For the thrones of princes are supported by justice and mercy, but are overturned by cruelty and oppression of their subjects. As we may see in the example of Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse, who, though he had the smiles of fortune above all the other princes before him, yet plots were formed to entrap him all his life long; so that for fear of being assassinated, he was necessitated to wear an iron breastplate upon his coat, and after his death, became an instance and example of the people's hatred to all succeeding generations. But we shall speak of these things in their proper places.

And now we come to those affairs that have a coherence with them before related, only distinguished by difference of times. For in the foregoing books we have treated of things that were done from the sacking of Troy, to the end of the Peloponnesian war, and the Athenian dynasty; which comprehends the space of seven hundred and seventy-nine years. In this we shall add what next follows in order, and begin with the thirty tyrants of Athens, and from thence down to the taking of Rome by the Gauls, wherein is contained the history of eighteen years.

CHAP. I.

A peace between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. The Athenians disagree about the manner of their government. The government by thirty. The cruelty of the thirty tyrants; and especially towards Theramenes.

BY the dissolution of the government at Athens, (which happened the seven hundred and eightieth year current from the destruction of Troy), the city was involved in an anarchy; at that time were four military tribunes appointed at Rome to execute the consular dignity, Caius Furius, Caius Servilius, Caius Valerius, and Numerius Fabius.

And the ninety-fourth olympiad was celebrated this year, in which Cocynas of Larissa was victor. About this time, the Athenians (their power being broken) obtained a peace with the Lacedæmonians, and liberty to govern according to their own laws, upon condition they demolished their walls, which they pulled down accordingly, but could not agree among themselves about the form of their government. For they that were for an oligarchy, gave their votes for the restoring that antient government. But the greatest part who stood up for the democracy, preferred the government by the senators, declaring that to be the truest democracy.

When this banding one against another had continued some days, they for the oligarchy sent to Lysander the Spartan, hoping thereby to gain the point, in regard he was ordered (now the war was at an end) to settle the government of the cities; and in every place he set up an oligarchy. To this end they sailed to him at Samos, where he then was, having lately taken the city. When they arrived, and had craved his assistance, he promised them his aid: and thereupon (after he had made Thorax governor of Samos) passed over to the Piræus with an hundred sail. Then calling a general assembly, he advised them to choose thirty men, who should govern the commonwealth, and manage all the affairs of the city. Theramenes opposed this proposal, repeating the articles of the peace, whereby it was agreed—That they should be governed according to the laws of their own country; and declared it would be a most intolerable piece of injustice, if, (against the sacred ties of an oath), their liberties must be thus ravished from them. Lysander answered—That the Athenians had first broken the league themselves, because they did not pull down their walls within the time agreed, and grievously threatened Theramenes, and told him—That unless he desisted from his oppositions against the Lacedæmonians, he would put him to death.

Upon this, both Theramenes and the people, being in a great fright, were forced by a general suffrage to abolish the democracy; and thirty men were forthwith chosen to be governors of the commonwealth, in name called fit magistrates, but in deed and in truth nothing but tyrants. But because the justice and moderation of Theramenes was evidently discerned by the people, they judged he would be a bridle to the covetousness of the rest of those placed over them, and therefore chose him to be one of the thirty.

The duty and office of these men was to choose the members of the senate, to create magistrates, and to make laws for the government of the city. But they forbore to make any laws upon many specious pretences. Yet they filled the senate, and all the places in

the magistracy, with their own creatures; who were called pretors, but in truth, were the mere tools of the tyrants.

At first they executed justice upon malefactors with great severity, to the putting them to death: so that as yet they were well spoken of, and commended by every honest citizen. But not long after, when they resolved to be lawless, and set up an arbitrary power, they sent for a garrison from the Lacedæmonians, upon pretence that they would mould all things in the government to the advantage of their interest. For they knew very well, that, without a foreign force, they could not execute those slaughters and butcheries they designed, for that all would as one man rise up against them in their own defence.

When the garrison from Lacedæmon was come, they presently gained the governor Callibius, with bribes and other fawning and flattering addresses. Then they singled out some of the richest of the citizens, such as they thought fit, and charging them as innovators, and plotters against the government, put them to death, and confiscated their estates. But when Theramenes opposed his colleagues, and others (who were zealous for the commonwealth) stood up for the defence of their liberties, the thirty called a senate, in which Critias, the president, loads Theramenes with many grievous crimes, and chiefly that he betrayed that government, in the administration of which he himself voluntarily accepted a share with the rest. Theramenes, in answer to what he said, so cleared himself of every particular laid to his charge, that he gained the good opinion of the whole senate. Upon which Critias, with the rest of his faction, (being afraid lest this man should overturn the oligarchy), surrounded him by the soldiers with their swords drawn, with an intent forthwith to seize him.

But Theramenes foreseeing their purpose, rushes through, and flies to the altar in the senate-house, crying out—That he fled to the gods, not that he hoped thereby to save his life, but that the impiety of his murderers might be the more aggravated, by the violation of the sacred rites of their religion: but though he was thence violently hauled by the lictors, yet he bore all with an undaunted spirit, being well principled in the precepts of philosophy by his late master Socrates. The people generally lamented his sad misfortune, and unworthy usage; but none durst rescue him by reason of the soldiers that closed him round. But Socrates the philosopher, and two of his servants ran in, and endeavoured to hinder the lictors. But Theramenes entreated them they would forbear, declaring he could not but honour their love and courage shewed on his behalf, but that it would be his greatest misery if he should be the cause of the death

of those who so greatly loved him. Socrates, therefore, and the rest, (when they saw none come in to their assistance, and that the stronger faction more and more increased), let fall their design. Theramenes, thus forced from the altars, was led through the market-place to execution by the officers who had him in charge. But the common people, (affrighted with the armed men), while they bewailed the condition of this miserable man, (as one most unjustly condemned), at the same time likewise deplored their own bondage and slavery. For every poor man seeing the virtue of Theramenes so despised and trampled under foot, foresaw that they, by reason of their mean and low condition, would be valued no more than things set behind the door.

After they had executed him, the thirty, upon false accusations, put to death several others of the rich men whom they had written down in a list, and when they were dead, seized upon all they had. Among whom was Niceratus, the son of Nicias the general, who was formerly sent against the Syracusans. He was a man civil and courteous to all, and almost the richest and of greatest interest of any man in Athens; there was not therefore a family but lamented his death, the memory of his kind and sweet disposition forcing tears from every one. Yet the tyrants did not in the least remit any thing of their acts of injustice and violence, but growing still worse and worse in all manner of villanies, they cut the throats of threescore of the richest men in the city, that they might revel in their estates. The miserable citizens being thus slaughtered and butchered, every day, almost all that had any thing to lose fled out of the city.

Then they put to death Autolycus, a most excellent and fluent orator. And at length, every man that was in any respect eminent or remarkable, they sacrificed to their raging lusts. By these cruelties they so wasted and destroyed the city, that above one half of its inhabitants ran away and left it.

And although the Lacedæmonians saw the city thus spoiled and ruined, yet they laughed in their sleeves, having no desire it should recover its strength any more, as was very evident by many convincing arguments. For they made a decree—That all the fugitives from Athens, in every part of Greece, should be carried back bound to the tyrants; and whosoever opposed the execution of this decree, should be fined five talents.

This was in truth looked upon as a very cruel and inhuman edict, but the other cities stood so much in awe of the power of the Spartans, that it was every where obeyed. But the Argives were the first that shewed their abhorrence of the Lacedæmonian cruelty, and pitying the miserable condition of the exiles, received them with all

tenderness and compassion. The Thebans likewise decreed a mulct to be imposed upon him that did not to his utmost power assist any fugitive whom he saw to be carried away by force. To this pass were brought the affairs of Athens.

CHAP. II.

Dionysus's projects to strengthen himself in the sovereignty of Sicily. The Syracusans revolt. They are dispersed.

IN the mean time Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, having made peace with the Carthaginians, bent all his care to strengthen himself in the sovereignty. For he judged that the Syracusans, now brought under by the war, had nothing to do but to seek after the recovery of their liberty. Perceiving therefore the island belonging to the city (which was naturally fortified) would be easily defended by a small garrison, he divided it from the city by a strong wall, in which he built many high towers, near one another, and under them guard-houses and lodgings, which would contain great numbers of men: he built likewise there at great expense, a castle which commanded the city, that it might be a shelter ready to fly to upon any sudden commotion; with the same wall he took in the arsenal near to the little port called Laccius, capable to receive threescore sail, and had a gate through which only one ship at a time could enter. Then he marked out the best pieces of land, and gave them to his friends and officers: the rest he equally distributed amongst the citizens, and in the number of citizens he accounted manumitted slaves, and called them Neopolites, New Citizens. He bestowed likewise houses every where upon the common people, (except those houses that were in the island), and those he gave as a reward to his friends and mercenaries.

Having now firmly fixed himself in the throne, (as he conceived), he marched out with an army against the Sicilians, with a design to bring them into slavery, who as yet were free, especially those who had lately assisted the Carthaginians. To this end he lay before the city of Herbessus, and furnished himself with every thing necessary for the siege. They of Syracuse that were listed upon this expedition, having got arms into their hands, met together in private cabals, and blamed one another because they did not assist the horsemen in deposing the tyrant. It happened at that time, that one of Diony-

sius's captains threatening a soldier for his saucy language, and presently offering to beat him upon his sharp retorts, the soldiers were so enraged, that they killed the officer, whose name was Doricus; and calling out with a loud voice to the citizens to stand up for their liberty, they sent for the horse from Enna; for they at the beginning of the tyranny left the tyrant and possessed themselves of that castle. Dionysius being now terrified with the defection of the Syracusans, broke up the siege, and hastened away with all speed to Syracuse, to possess himself of the city before any of his enemies. Upon his flight thither, the fomenters of the rebellion created them their captains and leaders who had killed the officer, and being joined by the horse from Enna, they encamped in the Epipolæ (as they are called) lying over against the tyrant, blocking up his passage into the open field. These revolters likewise continually sent messengers to Messana and Rhegium to solicit their aid at sea, for the recovery of their liberty. For these cities at that time commonly set forth no less than fourscore gallies well manned, which they then sent to the Syracusans to assist them. Besides all this, they in the Epipolæ promised by the common crier a great reward to him that should kill the tyrant; and that they would enfranchise all foreigners that would come over to them. And now having provided engines for battering down the wall, they assaulted the island every day, and kindly received all strangers that came to them. Upon this, Dionysius seeing himself forsaken by the mercenaries, and that he was so straitly penned up, called his friends together to consult what was best to be done in the present exigency. For he so far despaired of keeping the sovereignty, that he did not so much as seek how he might subdue the Syracusans, but by what kind of death he might put an end to his life; lest he should be forced to a shameful abdication of the government. Heloris, one of his friends, (but others say the poet his father), told him—That the memory of his being a king, would be the glorious ornament of his sepulchre; and Polyxenus, his father-in-law, advised him to break through upon the swiftest horse he had, and get away to those parts under the power of the Carthaginians, and crave help of the Campanians whom Amilcar had left to defend his conquests in Sicily. But Philistus (who afterwards wrote the history) opposed Polyxenus, and said—Dionysius, it doth not become thee, by the swiftness of thy horse, to fly away from thy principality, but rather with thy whole strength to hold it fast within thy very thighs. Dionysius adopted this advice, and resolved to suffer any thing rather than voluntarily lay down the power he had gained. Whereupon he sent commissioners to them in rebellion, to desire liberty for himself and those with him to depart out

of the city: and in the mean time a messenger was secretly sent to the Campanians, to promise them as much money as they should demand, if they would come and raise the siege. Matters being agreed upon, the Syracusans consented that the tyrant should have liberty to be gone with five ships only. After this, things began to cool; and a part of them that lay at the siege were discharged and drawn off as useless; and many of the foot roved about in the fields, as if the tyranny had now been altogether at an end. In the mean time the Campanians, encouraged by such generous promises, first marched to Agyrium, and there leaving their baggage with Agyrus the prince of the place, with twelve hundred light horse hastened to Syracuse; where, suddenly arriving, they surprised the Syracusans, and killing many of them, they broke through into the fort to Dionysius. About the same time three hundred mercenaries arrived, and came in to the assistance of the tyrant; so that now he began to pluck up his spirits. But the Syracusans, when they perceived that the tyrant began to gather strength again, were divided into parties; some were for continuing the siege, others were for disbanding the army and leaving the city. As soon as Dionysius came to understand this, he sallies out with what he had, and coming upon them when they were in a distraction, easily put them to flight, and pursued them to the place called the New City: yet he killed not many there: for, riding amongst his men, he commanded them not to kill those that fled. The Syracusans were now suddenly scattered all over the fields; and awhile after above seven thousand in a body came up to the horsemen and surrendered themselves. After the burial of the Syracusans that were killed, Dionysius sent messengers to Enna to invite the exiles there to lay aside their animosities and return to their country, faithfully promising them that he would pardon and forget all that was past. Upon this, some who had left wives and children behind them, (through the irresistible force of natural affection), complied with the invitation. The rest, (when the messengers cried up his humanity in burying the dead), answered—That Dionysius himself deserved no other courtesy, and prayed to the gods that he might presently meet with it. So that these at Enna could not by any means be wrought upon to trust the tyrant's word, but continued at Enna, waiting for a fit opportunity to pull him down.

Dionysius carried himself with all the respect and tenderness imaginable towards those that returned, to encourage the rest to come back to their country. Then he discharged the Campanians with great rewards, for he durst not trust their fickle and inconstant humour. When they came to Entella, they prevailed with the citizens to

receive them into the town, and to enfranchize them as natural inhabitants: but in the night they treacherously fell upon the townsmen and cut all their throats, and marrying their wives, possessed themselves of the city.

CHAP. III.

The Lacedæmonians establish an oligarchy in every city; Dionysius disarms the Syracusans. Alcibiades killed; the manner of his death Clearchus's tyranny in Byzantium. The battle of Porus against his countrymen the Lacedæmonians. Lysander projects to deprive the Heraclidæ of the sovereign power.

IN Greece, after the end of the Peloponnesian war, the Lacedæmonians, by the general consent of all, had the sovereign command both at sea and land. Whereupon they created Lysander again high admiral, with power to establish the Hermoste,* (as they called them), in every city wherever he came. For, because the Democratists were enemies to the Lacedæmonians, they ordered an oligarchy to be settled in every city, and imposed a tribute upon all they subdued. And although they made no use of money at any time before, yet now they treasured up from the tributes paid in by the cities, a thousand talents every year.

When they had settled the affairs of Greece, as they thought best for the support of their authority, they sent Aristus, a noble person, to Syracuse, under colour of abrogating the tyranny, but in truth, and underhand, to confirm it. For they concluded, that if they were instrumental to fix him in his new-got empire, they should ever oblige him to be a friend to them. Aristus, after he came to Syracuse, had a private conference with Dionysius concerning these matters: and yet in the mean time encouraged the people with fair promises to restore them to their former liberties: but, instead of that, he betrayed Nicoteles, the general of the Syracusans, and others who trusted in his fidelity, and caused them all to be put to death, by which he strengthened the tyrant, and by so base an act, stained his own reputation, and dishonoured his country.

After this, when the people of Syracuse had left the city in the time of harvest, to gather the fruits, Dionysius enters every one of

* Those for an oligarchy.

their houses, and takes away all the arms he could find: and presently after draws another wall about the castle, builds shipping, and takes into pay a number of strangers, and prepares whatever was necessary for the supporting of his dominion; having experienced that the Syracusans would endure any thing rather than slavery.

While these things were acting here and there, Pharnabazus, Darius's lord-lieutenant, to gratify the Lacedæmonians, surprised Alcibiades and killed him. But in regard Ephorus gives an account of other things to be the causes of his death, I conceive it may not be altogether unprofitable, if we relate what this author hath recorded concerning the manner of Alcibiades losing his life.

In his seventeenth book he says, that Cyrus secretly compacted with the Lacedæmonians to make war against Artaxerxes, which coming to the ears of Alcibiades, he forthwith hastened away to Pharnabazus, and informs him of the intrigue, and desires from him a passport to go to Artaxerxes, judging it fittest for him to give the first information of the conspiracy to the king. But that when Pharnabazus heard this, he was resolved to be the first discoverer himself, and therefore forthwith sent a messenger in whom he could most confide, and by him laid all open before the king. That when Alcibiades saw that Pharnabazus would not furnish him with letters to make way for him to the king's palace, he made a journey to the lieutenant and governor of Paphlagonia, and desired his assistance to get to the king: and that Pharnabazus fearing lest the king should come to understand the truth, sent some to lie in wait for Alcibiades in the way, and to murder him: and that these finding him in his inn at Phrygia, raised up a pile of wood round his lodging in the night, and set it on fire; and that Alcibiades, endeavouring to save himself in the midst of the flames, partly by the fire, and partly by darts cast at him by his enemies, there perished.

About the same time Democrates the philosopher died, being ninety years of age. And Lasthenes, the Theban, who won the prize this olympiad, is said to run a race on foot with a running-horse, from Coronea* to the walls of Thebes, and won the match. In Italy the Volsci set upon the Roman garrison at Verugine†, took the city itself, and killed many of the garrison-soldiers.

After the affairs of this year, Euclides became chief magistrate of Athens. And four military tribunes bore the consular dignity at Rome, Publius Cornelius, Numerius Fabius, Lucius Valerius, and Terentius Maximus. During the time of their government, the affairs of Byzantium ware but in an ill posture, by reason of their

* From Corone's to Thebes, 50 miles; both situated in Bœotia in Greece.

† Verulæ in Latium.

intestine seditions, and their wars with the Thracians their neighbours. Not being able to put an end to their civil discords, they desired a governor from the Lacedæmonians; to which end Clearchus was sent to them, who, after the whole power was put into his hands, got together a great number of mercenaries, and acted more like a tyrant than a governor. For first, having invited the magistrates to a feast, after a public sacrifice, he caused them all to be put to death. Presently after, when there was none left to govern the city, he strangled thirty of the chief men of Byzantium, and seized upon all their goods to his own use. He likewise put to death some of the richest of the citizens under colour of pretended crimes, and others he banished. Having thus enriched himself, he inlisted vast numbers of foreign troops, and confirmed and strengthened himself in the sovereignty. When the cruelty and power of the tyrant was spread abroad; the Lacedæmonians at the first sent messengers to him to advise him to lay down his government: but when he flatly refused, they sent an army against him under the command of Pantheedas; but when Clearchus heard of his coming, he marched away with his forces to Selymbria, of which he had before possessed himself. For by reason of his cruelty in Byzantium he foresaw, that not only the Lacedæmonians, but the citizens, would be his enemies; and therefore concluding that he could with more safety march out against his enemies from Selymbria, he brought all his money, together with his army, thither. When he came there, and heard of the approach of the Lacedæmonians, he drew out to meet them, and at a place called Porus they engaged. The battle was doubtful a long time, but at length the valiant Spartans prevailed, and the tyrant's army was miserably destroyed. Clearchus with a few escaped to Selymbria, and was there awhile besieged, but afterwards in a great fright he fled out of the town in the night, and sailed over to Ionia, where, becoming familiar with Cyrus the king of Persia's brother, he was made general of his army. For Cyrus, being made chief of all the princes and governors of the sea-coasts, and being of a high and aspiring spirit, determined to make war against his brother Artaxerxes; looking therefore upon Clearchus to be a fellow of a bold and daring spirit, ready for any adventure, he furnished him with money, and ordered him to raise an army of as many foreigners as he could, hoping he had now got a fit companion to assist him in the execution of those bold attempts he had taken in hand. As for Lysander the Spartan, after he had settled all the cities subject to the Lacedæmonians, according to the orders and directions of the Ephori, some to be governed by a decemvirate, others by an oligarchy, became of great note and reputation at Sparta: for

by his conduct he had put an end to the Peloponnesian war, and thereby had gained for his country the sovereign command, both by sea and land, without controul. Being puffed up with this success, he designed to put an end to the reign of the Heraclidæ, and to that end endeavoured so to contrive the matter, as to procure a decree—That any Spartan whatsoever, should be capable of being elected king Thereby he hoped that the regal power would presently be conferred upon himself, for the great and noble services that he had done. But considering that the Lacedæmonians were led much by the answers given by the oracle, he resolved to bribe the prophetess of Delphos with a large sum of money; for, he concluded, that if he were favoured by the oracle, his business was done according to his heart's desire. But when he saw that by his repeated and continual promises of reward, day by day, he could not prevail, he addressed himself upon the same account to the priest of the oracle at Dodona, by one Pherecrates, of the family of Apolloniatus, who was familiarly acquainted with the officers of that temple.

But being disappointed here likewise, he took a journey to Cyrene, under colour to pay a vow to Jupiter Ammon, but in truth to no other purpose than to bribe that oracle. To that end he carried with him a great sum of money to bring over the priests of that temple to his interest; for Lybis, the king of that country, had been his father's guest, and for the great love and friendship there was between them, the brother of Lysander, was called Lybis. But notwithstanding all his hopes to prevail, by his interest in the king and the fulness of his purse, he was not only frustrated of his hope there, but the priests of the oracle sent ambassadors to Sparta, and accused Lysander for his offering of bribes to corrupt the oracle. Upon which, when he returned to Lacedæmon, he was called to answer to the charge: but he so subtilely managed his cause, that he came off clear: and nothing was discerned concerning his prospect to abolish the government of the Heraclidæ. But a little after his death, when some notes of accounts were sought for in his house, there was found a speech eloquently penned, which he had framed to persuade the people—That the kings might be chosen out of any of the families of Sparta.

CHAP. IV.

Dionysius's actions in Sicily. The Oropians subdued by the Thebans. The Lacedæmonians quarrel with the Elei. Dionysius fortifies the Epipolæ.

AS soon as Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, after his peace made with the Carthaginians, had quieted all at home, he prepared to bring all the towns and cities of the Chalcidonians into his power; that is to say, Naxos, Catana, and Leontium. And he was the more earnest to gain these, because they lay near to Syracuse, and would much facilitate the enlargement of his dominions. To this end he marches with his forces to Enna, and takes the castle, the exiles there not being able to resist so great an army.

Thence he goes against the Leontines, and encamps at the river Tyria, not far from the city, where he presently draws out his army, and sends a trumpet to the town, commanding them to surrender the place, supposing that out of fear they would submit. But when he perceived the Leontines slighted his commands, and prepared to furnish themselves with all things necessary for a siege, having not then with him his engines of battery, he drew off for the present, and wasted and spoiled the country round about.

Thence he marched against the Siculi, pretending these were the people he chiefly aimed at in the war, thereby to make the Naxians and Catanians the more secure. When he lay near to Enna, he persuaded Acimnestus of Enna to take upon him the sovereignty, promising to assist him: this Acimnestus accomplished. But when he would not receive Dionysius into the city, he began to storm, and change his measures, and stirred up the Ennians to throw off his authority. Upon this, to regain their liberty, they suddenly ran together armed into the market-place; and now the city was full of tumult and confusion; at which instant Dionysius hearing of the sedition, and getting together his trustiest friends, he advanced to a place where there was no guard, and on a sudden running into the city, takes Acimnestus, and delivers him up to the will of the Ennians, and returned without doing any hurt to the place. Not that he did this either out of love to justice, or to them, but that he might be trusted for the future by the rest of the cities.

Moving from thence, he besieged the city of Erbita*; but not

* Now St. Nicholas.

succeeding there, he made peace with them, and led away his army against Catana; for Arcesilaus the governor had promised to betray it: and in accomplishment of his treachery, about midnight let him in within the walls, and so he gained the city. Then he disarmed all the citizens, and placed there a sufficient garrison. Afterwards Procles, the general of the Naxians, (won over by promises of great rewards), betrayed the city to Dionysius. When he had rewarded the traitor, and set all his kindred at liberty, he razed the city, and gave the spoil thereof to his soldiers, and carried away all the rest of the citizens as slaves. He dealt not better with the inhabitants of Catana, whom he sold for slaves to the Syracusans. The country of the Naxians he gave to the neighbouring Sicilians, but the city of Catana he bestowed upon the Campanians for a habitation.

From thence he again moved to Leontium, and besieged it with all his forces, and by his messengers required them to submit to his government, and join themselves as one body to the city of Syracuse. The Leontines seeing no hope of relief, and considering the ruin of the Naxians and Catanians, were seized with great terror, lest they themselves should be swallowed up in the like destruction, therefore they concluded it most advisable to yield to the present exigency, and submitted to the conditions offered, left their country, and went to Syracuse.

Archonide, prince of the Erbitans, (after the people of Erbita had made peace with Dionysius), determined to build a new city, for he had many mercenaries, and a mixed multitude of strangers who fled thither for fear of the war by Dionysius; and many likewise of Erbita freely gave up their names to follow him to this new-intended colony. With these he possessed himself of a little hill, eight stages or furlongs from the sea, and there laid the foundation of the city Alese: but because there were other cities in Sicily that bore that name, he added to it, as it were, a surname, and called it from himself, Alese Archonidion. In process of time, when the city abounded in wealth, partly by reason of its traffic by sea, and privileges granted to it by the Romans, they of Alese would not own their original from Erbita, because they thought it a dishonourable thing to acknowledge themselves colonies from a place so inferior to their city. But at this day there remains the mutual kindnesses and respects, both of kindred and countrymen, betwixt these two cities; and in the temple of Apollo they use the same rites and ceremonies in their sacrifices. Some there are who say, this Alese was first built by the Carthaginians, when the peace was concluded between Amilcar and Dionysius.

In Italy the Romans made war upon the Veientes for the causes following*. At this time it was first decreed by the Roman senate, that the soldiers should be paid every year out of the public treasury. Also a city of the Volsci, then Anxur, now Tarracina, was taken by the Romans.

At the end of the year Micio was made chief magistrate, or lord-chancellor of Athens, and at Rome six military tribunes were created consuls, that is to say, Titus Quintius, Caius Julius, Aulus Manilius, Quintus Quintius, Lucius Furius Medullinus, and Marcus Æmilius Mamercus†. During the time these governed, the Oropians, upon a sedition raised in the city, expelled several of their inhabitants, who for some time did all they could to procure their return; but when all was to no purpose, they addressed themselves to the Thebans for the assistance of their arms to restore them. The Thebans undertook the expedition, and possessed themselves of the city, and removed the inhabitants seven furlongs farther from the sea, and for a time suffered them to enjoy their own laws; but afterwards, bringing them under the same government with themselves, they joined all their lands to Bœotia.

While these things were going on, the Lacedæmonians picked a quarrel with the Elei, laying several things to their charge; as that they would not suffer Pausanias their king to sacrifice to the gods; and that they denied the Spartans liberty to run at the olympic games. Upon these pretences they declared war against them: but first, for greater colour, demanded of them by ten ambassadors—That they would suffer the neighbouring cities to govern by their own laws; and that they would allow something towards the charge of the late war against the Athenians. This was done that they might have a specious pretence for the war.

The Elei not only refused to hearken to them, but charged them with a design to enslave all Greece; upon which they sent forth Pausanias, one of their kings, against them, with four thousand men; after whom followed a great army, almost from all their confederates, except the Bœotians and Corinthians; for these being angry at some things the Lacedæmonians had done, forbore the expedition against the Elei. Pausanias with all speed invades the country of Elis in Arcadia, and presently upon the first assault takes the castle Lasion. From thence he passes over the mountains with a swift march, and takes in four towns; that is to say, Threstus‡, Aulis, Eupagium, and Opus. Thence he marches to Pylos, and speedily takes it, which is distant from Elis about seventy furlongs;

* Here the causes are wanting. † These three last are not in the Greek copy.
‡ Rather Thryus, in Arcadia.

then without delay he makes for Elis itself, and marks out a place for his camp upon the hills between the town and the river. There came to the Elei a little before a thousand brave soldiers from the Etolians, who were appointed to guard the places about the Gymnasium. Pausanias resolved to attack these places chiefly, greatly contemning the enemy, as if they had no courage to march out against him. But presently on the sudden a vast number of the Etolians and citizens sally out and kill about thirty of his men, which greatly terrified the rest: upon which Pausanias intermits the assault. Afterwards perceiving that it would be a difficult task to storm the city, he wasted and destroyed the country, though consecrated to the deity, and carried away much spoil. But winter now drawing on, having fortified all the castles through the country of Elis, and put into them sufficient garrisons, with the rest of the army he wintered in Dymæ.

At the same time Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily, when all things answered his heart's desire, determined to make war upon the Carthaginians. But because he was not as yet sufficiently prepared, he kept it to himself, and made provision for what was necessary for the war in the mean time; but recollecting himself, and considering that the city was hemmed in by a wall, (drawn from one sea to another in the time of the war with Athens), he was afraid lest he should fall into the like misfortune again, to be penned up, so as he could not issue forth abroad, if occasion served: for he saw that the situation of the Epipolæ was such that it would easily command Syracuse. Having therefore sent for architects, and advised with them, he resolved to fortify the Epipolæ at the place where now the wall with six gates stands. For this place towards the north is so rough, craggy, and steep, that it is altogether inaccessible on the outside. Having therefore a great desire to finish this fortification, with all speed he gets together a great multitude from all parts of the country, out of which he chose threescore thousand that were freemen, and fit for his purpose, and proportioned the several parts of the work amongst them. To every furlong he ordered an overseer or master-workman, and to every Plethrum* a mason, and two hundred labourers. Besides these a great number were employed in cutting out of the quarries rough and unwrought stone.

He had likewise six thousand yoke of oxen appointed in several places for carrying on of the work. The multitude of the workmen produced great admiration in the spectators, whilst every one was diligent to perfect that which was allotted to his share. For Dionysius, to encourage them, here promised great rewards to the architects,

* About twenty yards.

there to the carpenters, and here again to the labourers; and he himself with his friends would often oversee the work, whole days together, going every where from one place to another, taking care to ease and relieve them that were tired out. At length, laying aside all state and majesty, he wrought like a private person, and would be the first that should set upon works of the greatest difficulty, and endure as much hardship as the meanest labourer; by which means every one strove who should do most, insomuch, as besides their daily labours, they wrought some part of the night, so great was the ambition of the very common people to finish the work; so that (beyond what could have been believed or imagined) the wall was finished in the space of twenty days, thirty furlongs in length, and proportionable in height; and as for its strength, it seemed to baffle the force of any assailant. For it had many high towers that stood at convenient distances one from another; and it was built of hewn stone, most artificially jointed and compacted, every stone four feet square.

CHAP. V.

The war between Cyrus and his brother Artaxerxes king of Persia. Cyrus routed. The Grecian forces in difficulties; their brave behaviour; and long and troublesome march out of Persia into Greece.

AT the end of the year Exenetus was made archon or lord chancellor of Athens, and six military tribunes, Publius Cornelius, Cæsio Fabius, Spurius Nausius, Caius Valerius, Marcus Sergius, and Junius Lucullus, executed the consular dignity at Rome. At this time Cyrus, chief of all the lord-lieutenants of the maritime provinces, now determined to prosecute that war against Artaxerxes, his brother, which he had long before been ruminating in his mind: for this young man was of a very high spirit, and much addicted to martial affairs. To this end he musters a great army of strangers, and furnishes himself with all things necessary for the expedition; but did not as yet discover to his army what he intended, but gave out that he raised an army to go against some tyrants in Cilicia who had rebelled against the king. He sent moreover an ambassador to the

Lacedæmonians, to put them in mind of the services he had done them in the war against Athens, and to desire their aid in the design he had now on foot. Upon this the Lacedæmonians, conceiving this war would be to their advantage, forthwith decreed aid to be sent to Cyrus, and presently sent orders to Samus, the admiral of their fleet, to observe whatever was commanded him by Cyrus. Hereupon Samus having then five-and-twenty gallies of three tier of oars under his command, with these passed over to Ephesus, to Cyrus's admiral, offering his assistance in every thing he should be commanded. The Lacedæmonians sent over, likewise, under the command of Chirosophus, eight hundred corseteers. One Tamos was admiral of the barbarian fleet, and had under his command fifty gallies well equipped. As soon as the Spartan fleet arrived, both fleets set sail, as if they intended for Cilicia.

When Cyrus had got together at Sardis the choicest soldiers of Asia, and thirteen thousand mercenaries, he made those Persians that were of his kindred, governors of Lydia and Phrygia, but the chief command of Ionia and Eolja he bestowed upon his trusty friend Tamos of Memphis. Having settled these matters, he then presently marched with his army towards Cilicia and Pisidia, a rumour being spread abroad that some of those nations had made a defection. He had out of Asia seventy thousand men, of which three thousand were horse: out of Peloponnesus and other parts of Greece thirteen thousand mercenaries. Clearchus the Lacedæmonian was general of all the Peloponnesians, except the Achaians; Proxenus of the Bœotians; Socrates of the Achaians; and Menon commanded the Thessalians. The Persians led the barbarians, every one in their proper companies and regiments, and Cyrus was generalissimo; who had now discovered the design of this expedition to his officers, but wisely concealed it from the common soldiers, lest by the greatness of the attempt they should be discouraged, and so desert him. And further, considering the great journey they were to march, he took special care of the soldiers, was very familiar with every one, and made plentiful provision for them in every place.

At length having passed through Libya and Phrygia, and the countries bordering on Cilicia, they came to the borders and gates leading into Cilicia. The passage there is very strait and rugged for the space of twenty furlongs, hemmed in on either side with vast and very high and inaccessible mountains; from these mountains on both sides a wall was drawn across the passage to defend it, in which were those gates before mentioned. When his forces had passed through this way, he entered into a champaign country, inferior to none in

Asia for sweetness and pleasantness: through these pleasant fields he marched to Tarsus, the largest city of Cilicia, which he easily forced to submit.

When Syennesis, king of Cilicia, heard of this great army, he was greatly perplexed what to do, because he saw he was in no condition to cope with so great a force. But being sent for by Cyrus, with promises of safe conduct, he came to him, and being acquainted with the design, promised his assistance against Artaxerxes, and straitway joined Cyrus with a small party, under the command of one of his sons: but being a crafty man, and preparing for the worst, he sent the other secretly to the king, to inform him of the great forces that were coming against him; and that though he himself, much against his will, was forced to join with Cyrus, yet he was still loyal and faithful to the king, and would fall off and return to the king's standard when he had an opportunity.

In the mean time Cyrus spent twenty days in refreshing his army, and inlisting more soldiers. Then breaking up his camp, he acquainted all the common soldiers, that this expedition was intended against Artaxerxes. Upon this every one weighing the thing seriously with himself, and considering the vast length of the way they were to march, and how many enemy's nations they were to pass through, took the matter very grievously: for a rumour was spread abroad that it was four months march to Bactria, and that the king had an army of four hundred thousand men: upon which the soldiers were so transported with fear and rage, that they resolved to kill all their officers as traitors. But when Cyrus (not without many entreaties) interposed his authority, and assured them that he did not intend to lead them against the king, but against a certain governor in Syria, the mutiny ceased: and upon the increase of their pay they all returned to their former love and esteem for their general.

Having now marched almost through all Cilicia, he took shipping, and arrived at last by sea at Issus, the utmost city of that country near the sea side. At the same time the Lacedæmonian fleet arrived there, and landed their men, assuring him of the friendship of the Spartans, where they delivered to Cyrus eight hundred foot, under the command of Chirosophus: they pretended that these were sent privately to Cyrus, by his friends, when in truth, all was done by the decree and order of the Ephori. For the Lacedæmonians had not as yet proclaimed open war against the king, but kept their counsels secret till they spied a fit opportunity, and how things were likely to go.

Decamping from thence, Cyrus moves towards Syria, and ordered the admirals to sail along near to the shore, and attend upon him

as he marched by land. When he came to the Pylæ* (as they are called) and found the entrance without any guard, he was much pleased; for he was full of fear lest the passes should be seized before him; for the place is naturally very narrow, and defended by craggy rocks on every side, so that it may be kept by a very few men. For there are two mountains that rise up on either side near one to another, the one mounting up with sharp rocks of a prodigious height, and the other called Libanus, beginning at the very entrance into the only passage that leads through those places, and runs out as far as to Phœnicia. The space lying between these two mountains is about three furlongs wide, strongly fortified, shut up with strait and narrow gates. When Cyrus had passed through this place, he discharged the fleet, and sent it back to Ephesus; for he had no occasion to use it, being now to march through the heart of the country.

After twenty days march, he came to Thapsacus, near to the river Euphrates. After he had continued here five days, and had gained the hearts of the soldiers by plenty of provision, and rich spoils and booties, he called a council, and discovered to them his whole design. But perceiving that the army was very uneasy upon what he said, he earnestly entreated all of them that they would not now desert him, and endeavoured to pacify them, by promising, besides other rewards, a mina a-piece to every man, as soon as he came to Babylon: upon which, being thus encouraged, and having their expectations raised high, they at length consented. Hereupon Cyrus passed his army over the Euphrates, and went forward without making any halt; and as soon as he came to the borders of Babylon he gave leave to his army to refresh themselves.

Artaxerxes, the king, had some time before notice given him by Pharnabazus, of the secret preparations of Cyrus against him, but now having certain intelligence of his march, he called all his forces together from every place to Ecbatana in Media; and with what force he then had, marched against Cyrus, not being willing to stay for the aids from India and other nations, who he perceived would be too long in coming up to him by reason of the great distances of the several places from whence they came. His army (as Ephorus relates) amounted to no less than four hundred thousand horse and foot.

When he came within the borders of Babylon, he encamped at the Euphrates, purposing there to leave his heavy baggage: for he knew the enemy was not far off, and therefore had just cause to fear their desparate and daring attempt: he therefore drew a trench threescore feet in breadth, and ten in depth, and barricaded it with

* Gates.

carts and carriages as with a wall; here he left his baggage, and those that were sick and weak, with but a slender guard, but he himself with a swift march made towards the enemy, who were then near at hand.

When Cyrus saw the king's army advancing, he forthwith commanded all his army to their arms. The Lacedæmonians and some mercenaries were in the right wing, stretched out to the river Euphrates, under the command of Clearchus the Macedonian, with whom were joined above a thousand Paphlagonian horse. The left wing was commanded by Aridæus, consisting of Phrygians and Lydians, and in this were about a thousand horse more. In the middle division was Cyrus himself, with a guard for his person, consisting of the best Persian soldiers and other barbarians, to the number of ten thousand men, before whom marched as a van-guard a thousand horse gallantly accoutred, with Grecian swords and coats of mail. On the other side, Artaxerxes placed a great number of hooked chariots in front of his whole army, and, committing the two wings to the command of Persian officers, he himself remained with the main body, guarded with no less than fifty thousand choice men.

When the armies came within three furlongs one of another, the Grecians sang the Pæan, and then silently led the van; and as soon as they came within the cast of a dart, they ran in upon the enemy with great fury; for so Clearchus had ordered them, conceiving that if they fought at a great distance, their whole bodies would be marks for their enemies during all the time of the fight; whereas, if they engaged close at hand, they would be less subject to the darts and arrows of the Persians. As soon as the main body with Cyrus came up to the king's, a shower of darts and arrows like a tempest fell upon them, as great as can be imagined might be discharged by a body of fifty thousand men. But, after they had fought awhile with their darts at a distance, at length they fell to it hand to hand. The Lacedæmonians and mercenaries at the first charge routed that part of the army that opposed them, far exceeding the barbarians both in dexterity of fight and the resplendent brightness of their arms; for all the barbarians were but lightly armed, and many of the regiments were of the meanest soldiers, and the greatest part but raw and inexpert in war. The Grecians, on the contrary, by so long and continual exercise of their arms in the late Peloponnesian war, were grown very skilful and excellent soldiers; so that they put their adversaries presently to flight, and made a great slaughter of the barbarians. It so happened, that both the generals, (who were contending for the kingdom), being in the main battle on either side, and weighing how fatal the issue would be, made one against the other, pur-

posing to decide the controversy by their own hands; and destiny seemed now to engage these two brothers in a duel, as if it had been in imitation of that antient and stout combat between Eteocles and Polynices, so memorized by poets in their tragedies. Here Cyrus made the onset, and at a distance threw his javelin with all his force at the king, and brought him down to the ground, who was presently taken up as dead, and carried out of the fight by them that were about him. Upon this Tissaphernes, a noble Persian, steps into the king's place, encourages the soldiers, and fights valiantly himself; and, endeavouring to revenge the supposed death of the king, flew about into every place with the choicest of the troops, and made a dreadful slaughter wherever he came, insomuch as his heat and extraordinary courage was taken notice of by them that were at a great distance.

Cyrus, likewise, lifted up with the success of his arms, fiercely rushes into the midst of the battle, and signalized his courage with the slaughter of many of his enemies; but rashly running himself into eminent dangers, he at length received a mortal wound from a common soldier of the Persians, and there fell down dead; upon whose fall the spirits of the royalists revived, who renewed the fight, and at last, by the number of their forces, and confidence of success, wearied out their opposers.

Aridæus, Cyrus's general and commander in the other part of the army, at the first valiantly received the charge of the barbarians; but afterwards (the wing of the enemy stretching in length far beyond him, and the rumour of the death of Cyrus coming to him, as a further discouragement) he retreated with those under his command to a post very commodious for that purpose. Clearchus, perceiving the main body of their army to be routed, and the rest ready to fly, stopped his own men in their pursuit; for he feared that if the whole army of the barbarians should fall upon the Grecians, they would be all utterly cut off. In the mean time, the body where the Persian king immediately commanded, having routed the party that engaged them, rifled Cyrus's camp. Afterwards, (it now growing towards night), in one body they made against the Greeks, who valiantly (like men of brave and generous spirits) received the charge; the barbarians did not long stand their ground, but, being worsted by the valour and dexterity of the Grecians, were presently put to flight.

Clearchus, after he had made a great slaughter among them, (it being now dark) erected a trophy, and then retired to his camp, about the time of the second watch. The battle thus ended, an account was taken of those that were slain on the king's side, which

amounted to above fifteen thousand, the greatest part of whom were killed by the Lacedæmonians and mercenaries, under the command of Clearchus. On the other hand, three thousand were slain of Cyrus's army. No account is given of any of the Grecians that were slain, but only a few wounded.

The next day Aridæus, who retired to his former post (as we have before related) sent to Clearchus, to desire him to join their forces, that so they might better secure themselves by the advantage of places near to the sea-side: for Cyrus being dead, and the king's forces now victors, a terror seized the whole army, and every one repented himself of his bold and rash attempt to depose Artaxerxes.

Hereupon Clearchus called a council of war of all the captains and officers of the army, to advise what was to be done in the present exigency of affairs. While they were in consultation, there came to them messengers from the king, the chief of whom was one Philenus, a Grecian, of the island Zacynthus. When they were introduced, they declared their message in this manner—Thus saith king Artaxerxes: Inasmuch as Cyrus is killed, and I am now conqueror, lay down your arms, make haste to my gates, and consider how to appease me, that ye may find some favour. Upon these words all the officers answered, as Leonidas had done in time past when Xerxes sent to the guard at Thermopylæ to give up their arms, which was to this purpose—That if at any time after they should become Xerxes's friends, they should be more able to do him service with their arms than without them; and, if they were forced to be his enemies, they could better defend themselves in fighting against him. After Clearchus had returned this answer to the same effect, Proxenus the Theban said thus—We have now lost almost all we have, only our hearts and our arms are still our own, and as long as we keep these, we doubt not but by our courage we may be able to better our condition; but when we part with our arms, our valour is useless and unprofitable; and therefore bid them tell the king, that if he designed any attack upon them, they were ready with their arms to oppose him. Sophilus, likewise, one of the commanders, is reported to have said—That he wondered at the king's demands: for, says he, if the king thinks himself stronger than the Grecians, let him draw down his army upon us, and take our arms by force; but, if he means only to persuade us, and intends to give us thanks for the favour, let him first say so. To this Socrates the Achaian added—The king, said he, deals with us without sense or reason; for, that which he would have to be taken from us, he demands forthwith to be delivered to him, and that which we are to expect in return, we must

seek for after as suppliants, by petition and entreaty. To conclude, if he be so ignorant how things stand, as that he thinks fit to command the conquerors, as if they were conquered, that he may learn the better to judge which side carries away the victory, let him set upon us with his innumerable army; but if he very well knows that we are conquerors, and yet seeks deceitfully with a lie to circumvent us, how can we rely upon his promises for things to come?—The messengers were dismissed with these answers, and so departed.

Clearchus afterwards marched with his squadron to the place where the rest of the army that escaped out of the battle were posted; and when all the forces were got together, they entered into a council of war concerning their marching back to the sea-side, and so from thence how to go on. In this consultation it was judged most adviseable not to return the same way they came; for that a great part of it was desert and barren, and the more hazardous, because the enemy would be pressing continually upon their heels. At length it was resolved, with a swift march to lead the army towards Paphlagonia, yet not so fast but that they might furnish themselves with provision in the way. But the king, as soon as he began to be healed of his wounds, and heard of the enemy's being retired, supposing that they fled, hastened after them with all speed; and, because they moved but slowly, at last he overtook them, and, night drawing on, encamped near at hand. About break of day next morning the Grecians drew up in battalia; upon which he sent messengers to them, and for that time granted to them a truce for three days; within which it was agreed that the king should suffer them to pass quietly through his country, and that he should allow them guides to the sea-side, and furnish them with provision in their march for their money. And that all the mercenaries under the command of Clearchus and Aridæus should pass peaceably through all places, provided they committed no outrages. Upon which they commenced their journey, and the king marched back with his army to Babylon, and there rewarded them that had behaved themselves courageously in the battle; amongst whom Tissaphernes was judged the bravest man, and therefore he honoured him with many rich and princely gifts, and bestowed his daughter upon him in marriage, using him ever after as his fast and faithful friend. He made him likewise governor and lord-lieutenant of all the provinces that had been under the command of Cyrus upon the sea-coasts. But Tissaphernes perceiving that the king was irreconcilably incensed against the Grecians, promised to destroy them all if he would furnish him with an army, and be reconciled to Aridæus; for through him, he said, he should be able to circumvent all the Grecians in their journey.

This advice was very acceptable to the king, and therefore he suffered him to choose the best of the soldiers, and as many as he thought fit out of the whole army. With these in all haste he pursued the Grecians, and at length encamped not far from them, and sent messengers to them to desire that Clearchus, and the rest of the commanders would come to him and hear what he had to say to them. Upon which, almost all the colonels and captains (as became them) went along with Clearchus to Tissaphernes; and about two hundred soldiers followed after to buy provisions. Tissaphernes called all the colonels and chief officers into his tent, but the captains and other inferior officers stood without.. In a short time after, upon the putting forth a purple flag from the top of his pavilion, the commanders within were all seized, and others (appointed for that purporse) killed all the rest that stood without; and the other soldiers that came to buy victuals, were killed in every place here and there as they were found; only one made his escape to the camp, and there related the slaughter. Upon the hearing of this bloody fact, the soldiers in great consternation ran in confusion to their arms, having neither general, colonel, nor almost any other officer.

When none was willing to undertake the charge, they chose several officers from amongst themselves, and fixed upon one of those to be the general, which was Chirosophus the Lacedæmonian. The army hereupon being marshalled by these officers into that order which was judged best, set forward towards Paphlagonia. Tissaphernes in the mean time, sends the general and the other officers bound in chains to Artaxerxes, who put them all to death, but only Menon, whom he released: for he was supposed to have been willing to have delivered up the Grecians, because he was angry with them for not surrendering themselves. After this horrid act, Tissaphernes with his forces pursued the Greeks, and picked up stragglers here and there, but durst never face their whole army, because he was afraid of the rage and valour of men in a desperate condition. And therefore setting upon them now and then, only in such places as he judged most for his advantage, he made no great slaughter of them, but with small and inconsiderable loss on the part of the Grecians, pursued them as far as the country of the Carduchi. But then perceiving he was not likely to gain any advantage by attacking the enemy thus in the rear, he marches his army to Ionia.

But the Grecians spent seven days in passing over the mountains of the Carduchi, and in that time suffered very much from the inhabitants, being a warlike people, and well acquainted with the passes in those parts. They were a free people, and enemies to the king, and very good soldiers, especially skilful and experinced in hurling

great stones out of slings, and shooting with bows of a vast bigness, and more than ordinary strength. These people galled the Grecians from the rising grounds, killing, and miserably wounding many of them; for their arrows, being above two cubits long, pierced both their shields and breast-plates, so that no armour could repel their force. And it is said that these sort of weapons were so extraordinarily big, that the Grecians used to cast these as Saunians, instead of their thong darts.

When they had passed this country with great difficulty, they came to the river Centrites, and passed over into Armenia, which was then under the government of Teribazus, lord-lieutenant to the king of Persia, with whom they made a league, and so passed quietly as friends through his province. But as they marched over the mountains of Armenia, the snow was so very deep, they were in danger every man of being lost. For at the first, when the wind begins to rise, the snow falls but leisurely and by degrees, so that it occasions no great molestation or trouble to the travellers: but then presently the wind increasing, the snow falls so tempestuously, and on a sudden covers the ground so thick and deep, that none can possibly see before them, nor know where they are. Hence fear and terror seized upon the whole army, seeing nothing but certain destruction was behind them if they returned, and no possibility to advance forward by reason of the depth of the snow; besides, winter was then very sharp, and coming on apace, and such a tempest of wind, with a storm of hail arose, and blew like a whirlwind in their very faces, that the whole army was forced to stand still. For none being able to endure so sad and lamentable a march, every man was necessitated to abide in the place where the storm found him: and though all were in extreme want, yet they patiently endured that whole night and day the sharpness of the winter's cold, attended with all manner of uncomfortable circumstances. For all their arms were covered with snow, which fell continually in great abundance. Their bodies were stiff and benumbed with ice, (which became more sharp and biting after the air was calm and still), and so grievous were the hardships they lay under, that they took no rest all the night long. Some indeed cherished themselves with a little fire they had kindled; others had their bodies so benumbed with cold, that little hopes of life remained, having all their fingers and toes perished. When the night was over, they found most of their carriage-horses and cattle lame and useless; many men dead; and not a few there were, who, though they had some life remaining, yet, through the sharpness of the cold, their bodies were immoveable; and some were as if they were struck blind by the whiteness of the snow: and every man had

certainly perished if they had not, by going a little farther, found some small villages, where there was plenty of supplies for their necessities: here the people went down under ground by steps, and the cattle by other passages made through the earth; and in these little cells were stored both hay for the cattle, and great plenty of all things necessary for the support and sustenance of man's life. After they had staid here eight days, they came at length to the river Phasis.

There they abode four days, and then passed through the country of the Chaoniti and Phasians, where being fallen upon by the inhabitants in their march, they made a great slaughter among them, and possessed themselves of their towns, which were full of provisions, and other rich booty, and there they rested fifteen days. Thence marching through the country of the Chalcidonians, in the space of seven days they arrived at the river called Harpasus, four plethra broad. From thence they marched through the plains of the Tascutians, where they had plenty of all things, and spent three days in refreshing themselves. In four days after they came to the great city called Gymnasia; here the prince of the country entered into a league with them, and allowed them guides as far as to the sea; after fifteen days journey they came to the mountain Chenius, where they that were in the van, as soon as they discerned the sea afar off, were transported with exceeding joy, and gave up so great a shout, as they that were in the rear suddenly put themselves in a posture of defence, supposing some enemy had broke in upon them; but as soon as they all came to the top of the hill, from whence they might have a prospect of the sea, they lifted up their hands, and gave thanks to the gods, as if now they were past all danger for the future. There they got together great heaps of stones, and of them raised up high altars, upon which they fixed the spoils taken from the barbarians, as eternal monuments of their expedition. They bestowed a silver cup and a Persian garment upon the guide; who, pointing to them the way to the Macrones, took his leave.

After the Grecians entered the country of the Macrones, they made a league with them; in confirmation of which the Grecians received a spear from the barbarians, and gave another to them; for this was a certain pledge of the faithful observance of their leagues, received from their forefathers, as the barbarians alleged. When they had passed the mountains in these parts, they came down into the country of the Colchians, where a great body of the inhabitants came forth against them, whom the Grecians routed, and killed vast numbers of them: then possessing themselves of a hill, naturally defensible, thence they wasted the country, and bringing all the spoil thither, they plentifully refreshed themselves. In these places were multi-

tudes of bee-hives, from whence might be had large honey-combs: but an astonishing mischief happened to them that tasted of them; for as many as eat ever so little went presently mad, and lay upon the ground as if they were dead. And because many fed themselves with these combs, a great multitude lay up and down, here and there, as if they had been slain in a field of battle. This was a very sad day to the whole army, being amazed with the strangeness of the thing, and the number of those that lay grovelling upon the ground. But the next day, about the same hour, all came to themselves again, and rose up of sound and perfect mind, and found themselves in no other condition than as if health and strength had been restored to them by drinking of a medicinal potion. Being thus recovered, three days after, they came to Trapezus, a Greek city. This is a colony of Sinopians, and belonging to the Colchians: here they continued thirty days, being bountifully entertained by the citizens, and there sacrificed to Hercules and to Jupiter Soter, and celebrated the Gymnic games. It is the common fame, that the ship Argos, with Jason and his companions, arrived here. Hence Chirosophus, the general, was sent to Byzantium to procure shipping to convey them thither; for he and Anaxibius, the Byzantine admiral, were accounted intimate and special friends; thither, therefore, he speedily sails. The Grecians in the mean time being furnished with two small vessels at Trapezus, made incursions both by sea and land upon the neighbouring barbarians. Thirty days they had waited for the return of Chirosophus; but he staying longer than they expected, and their provisions now growing scanty, they departed from thence, and after three days arrived at Cerasus, which is likewise a Grecian city, built by the Sinopians. After they had staid here a few days, they marched into the country of the Mosynæci, but here they were assailed by the inhabitants in great bodies, and in an engagement killed a great number; those that escaped fled to a town they inhabited, defended by wooden towers, with seven stories of chambers one above another. This town the Grecians assaulted, and at length took it by storm. This place was the metropolis, and chiefest fort of the country, and in the highest part stood the king's palace. It is the law of the country here, that the king must continue in this palace during his life, and thence issue all his edicts to the people. The Grecians related that they passed through no nation more barbarous than this; for the men scruple not to have carnal knowledge of the women in open view; and the better and richer sort fatten their children with boiled walnuts; and are stigmatized with divers marks burnt into their flesh, both upon their backs and breasts. The Grecians marched through this country in eight days, and through

the next called Tibaris in three. Thence they passed to Cotyora, a Greek city and colony of the Sinopians, where they abode fifty days, wasting and spoiling the barbarous nations bordering upon Paphlagonia. Here the Heracleans and Sinopians furnished them with shipping, in which both they and their cargo were conveyed into their own country.

Sinope was built by the Milesians, situated within the confines of Paphlagonia; of the greatest account and authority of any in those parts. Here Mithridates (so famous in our age by his wars against the Romans) kept his court. Chirosophus, who was sent away for shipping, but all in vain, returned to the army. But the other Sinopians having entertained them with all the demonstrations of kindness and humanity, took care to convey them to Heraclea, a city of the Megarensians. From thence the whole fleet arrived at a peninsula called Acherusias, where Hercules (as the fable is) drew Cerberus out of hell. Thence they marched by land through Bithynia, where they fell into great hazards and hardships by the attacks of the inhabitants, who assaulted them in every place as they passed. At last, however, with great difficulty, they came to Chrysopolis, a city of Chalcedonia, three thousand eight hundred being only left of ten thousand*. From hence some of them with ease and safety returned every man into his own country; the rest joined in a body at Chersonesus, and besieged a city bordering upon Thrace. And this was the issue of Cyrus's expedition against his brother Artaxerxes.

CHAP. VI.

Thrasybulus opposes the thirty tyrants. The cruelty of Psammetichus, king of Egypt, towards his old friend Tamos, that fled to him for succour from the Persians. Dercyllidas sent general against the Persians into Asia. Conon made admiral of the Persian fleet.

IN the mean time the usurping tyrants at Athens every day were banishing or putting to death some one or other. At which cruelty, while the Thebans were much incensed, and courteously entertained the exiles, Thrasybulus, surnamed Tyrius, (but a citizen of Athens,

* This is a mistake, as appears afterwards by the number of those that went with Xenophon into Thrace. Vide postea. Olymp. 95.

and forced to fly to avoid the rage of the thirty usurpers), by the aid of the Thebans, underhandedly possessed himself of a place in Attica, called Phila. It was a very strong castle, a hundred stages distant from Athens; by which means an easy passage might be had at all times to invade Attica.

As soon as the tyrants had intelligence of what was done, they led forth their forces in order to besiege the place; but as soon as they were set down before it, there fell a great snow; whereupon, while some were very busy in removing their tents, the common soldiers concluded that some of their army was put to flight by an enemy at hand, that had broke in suddenly upon them; upon which being struck with a panic fear, they drew off and encamped in another place. The thirty, when they saw the citizens of Athens (those that had no share in the administration of the commonwealth with the three thousand) to be hot and earnest to dissolve the government, encamped in the Piræus, and over-awed the city with foreign soldiers; and in the mean time put to death some of the inhabitants of Eleusis and Salamis, for joining in a conspiracy with the exiles.

Whilst these things were going on, great numbers of the fugitives flocked to the camp of Thrasybulus, and at the same time there came to him ambassadors from the thirty*, under colour of treating concerning some prisoners, but in truth privately to advise him to dismiss the fugitives, and to share with them in the government of the city in the room of Theramenes, and that he should have liberty to restore any ten of the exiles to their country, such as he thought fit to choose. To which Thrasybulus answered—That he looked upon his banishment to be far more honourable than the whole power and dominion of the thirty, and that he would never put up his sword till all the citizens from every place were received, and the people restored to their former liberties, descended to them from their ancestors.

When the tyrants perceived the defection increased, through hatred of their tyranny, and that the number of the exiles increased, they sent their ambassadors to Sparta to desire aid; and they themselves in the mean time got together what forces they could, and encamped at a place called Acarnas. Thrasybulus leaving but a small guard in the castle, marches out against them with twelve hundred of the exiles, and setting upon them in the night unawares, kills many of them, and the rest (being terrified with the tumult and confusion occasioned by the surprise) he forces in great precipitation to fly into the city. And presently after the success of this attack, he marches against the Piræus, and possesses himself of Munychia,

* Not in the Greek, but in the Latin, yet necessary for the sense.

a barren hill, but strong and well fortified. Upon this the tyrants brought all their forces into the Piræus, and assaulted Munychia by Critias their general; whereupon was a sharp encounter a long time; for the tyrants had the advantage of number, and the exiles of the strength of the place. At length the forces of the thirty (being discouraged and Critias slain) retired, but the exiles judged it not advisable to pursue them.

Frequent assaults were afterwards made upon the exiles; at length the army of Thrasybulus broke in on a sudden with great violence upon the enemy, and not only routed them, but gained possession of the Piræus.

A great multitude who hated the tyranny, continually flocked out of the city into the Piræus, and all the exiles from every place, hearing of the success of Thrasybulus, hastened thither to him, so that at length the number of the exiles exceeded the other; upon which encouragement they began to besiege the city. But they within, to the end a peace might be concluded upon fair terms, cast off the thirty, and sent them out of the city, and established a decemvirate with sovereign power. But as soon as these ten were settled in the magistracy, instead of minding any thing relating to the peace, they turned absolute tyrants, and sent to Lacedæmon for forty ships and a thousand soldiers, under the command of Lysander. Pausanias, then king of Lacedæmon, both out of envy to Lysander, and because he understood the rest of the Greeks had an evil eye against Sparta, marched with a great army to Athens, and reconciled the exiles and the citizens. Thus at length the Athenians were restored to their country, and now began to govern according to their own antient laws. Those that were afraid lest they should suffer due punishment for their former wickedness, had liberty to remove themselves to Eleusis.

About this time they of Elis, fearing the power of the Lacedæmonians, made peace with them upon these terms—That they should deliver their ships to the Lacedæmonians, and suffer the neighbouring cities to govern according to their own laws. And now Lacedæmon being at leisure and at peace with all her neighbours, prepares for war against them of Messena. Some of them then held a castle in Cephalenia, others inhabited in Naupactus, within the country of the Locrians, (called Hesperians), formerly given to them by the Athenians. But they cast them out of both, and restored the castle to the Cephalenians, and the other to the Locrians. The miserable Messenians (through the antient hatred of the Lacedæmonians) were expelled every where, and were forced to leave Greece, marching off with their arms; some of them went to Sicily, and inlisted themselves under Dionysius; others, to the number of three thousand,

made to Cyrene, and joined other exiles there: for at that time a great sedition arose among the Cyrenians after Ariston, with some others, had possessed themselves of the city, by whom five hundred of the principal men of the city on a sudden were slain; upon which all the persons of quality fled out of the town. Hereupon the exiles of Cyrene joined with the Messenians, and marched in a body against them who kept the city: the parties engaged, and in the fight a great slaughter was made of the Cyrenians, and almost all the Messenians were cut off. After the fight, messengers were sent to and fro, and the matter at length was composed by the Cyrenians, among themselves, who engaged, by solemn oath one to another—That all injuries should be afterwards for ever forgotten; so that they lived together from that time peaceably in the government of their commonwealth. About this time the Romans sent colonies to them called Ventras*.

The year ended, Laches was made lord chancellor of Athens. At Rome the consular dignity was given again to military tribunes, Manlius Claudius, Marcus Quintius†, Lucius Julius, Marcus Furius, and Lucius Valerius. Then was celebrated the ninety-fifth olympiad in which Minos the Athenian was victor. At the same time Artaxerxes king of Asia, after the defeat of Cyrus, sent Tissaphernes‡ to take into his care and charge all the governments on the sea-coasts; upon which the provinces and cities which had sided with Cyrus were greatly terrified, lest they should be punished for what they had done against the king; and therefore sought to qualify Tissaphernes by their messengers: and every one to the utmost of his power endeavoured to procure his favour. But Tamos, the chiefest of them, lord-lieutenant of Ionia, put his wealth and all his children on shipboard, (except one called Gaus, who was afterwards the king of Persia's general), out of fear of Tissaphernes, and went to Egypt for protection, to Psammetichus the king, (descended from the antient Psammetichus), whom he had formerly obliged by several good offices, and therefore hoped he should there find shelter and safe harbour, to secure him from the impending storm of the king's wrath. But Psammetichus neither valuing former benefits, nor regarding the law of nations to them in distress, (out of covetousness to gain the money and the ships), cut the throat of his friend and suppliant, and of all his children.

In the mean time, the Grecian cities throughout Asia, hearing of

* Velitræ.

† Livy says, Marcus Emilius, Appius Claudius, Marcus Quintilius, Lucius Julius, Marcus Posthumius, and Lucius Valerius.

‡ Pharnabazus is here put for Tissaphernes. Ush. An. 169.

the descent of Tissaphernes, sent ambassadors to the Lacedæmonians, and earnestly entreated them that they would not suffer them to be utterly destroyed by the barbarians. Upon this they promised forthwith to send them aid, and by their ambassadors solicited Tissaphernes that he would not invade the Grecian cities with his army. However, regardless of their ambassadors, he set upon the Cumeans in the first place, and wasted and spoiled the country round about, and took a vast number of prisoners, and afterwards besieged the city; but by reason of winter coming on, he could not take it, and therefore (after he had received a great sum of money for the redemption of the captives) he raised his siege.

The Lacedæmonians, in defence of the Greek cities, made Thimbron general in the war against the king, and gave him the command of a thousand Spartans, with orders to raise as many more men from among their confederates, as he thought fit for the present service.

Upon which Thimbron goes to Corinth, and mustering the aid he had got together from several places, he passes over to Ephesus, with no more than five thousand men: after he had raised two thousand more from the confederate cities and other places, having with him not above seven thousand men, he marched a hundred and twenty stages, and took Magnesia at the first assault, a city within the government of Tissaphernes. Then he came to Tralles, a town in Ionia, and determined to besiege it; but not being able to effect any thing to the purpose there, by reason of the strength of the place, he returned to Magnesia. This place being then unwalled, and therefore fearing lest Tissaphernes should retake it after he was gone, he removed higher to the next hill, called Thorax; from whence he made several incursions upon the enemy, and loaded his soldiers with a variety of plunder.

But hearing that Tissaphernes was near at hand with a great body of horse, he forthwith retired to Ephesus.

About this time part of those soldiers that went along with Cyrus against his brother, returned into Greece, every one to their own country. Others, (the greater part of them that were always accustomed to military employment), to the number almost of five thousand, chose Xenophon for their general, who with those forces made an expedition against the Thracians, who inhabited Salmydessus*. This is a long creek lying shooting out along the left side of Pontus, well known for the many shipwrecks that have been there; by reason whereof the Thracians near those parts used to seize upon the merchants that escaped on shore, and carried them away as captives.

* A promontory and bay in Pontus.

Xenophon therefore with his forces breaks into their country, overcomes them in battle, and burns many of their towns and villages. From hence they are sent for by Thimbron, with promise of being well paid, upon which they marched to him, being very eager to assist the Lacedæmonians against the Persians.

During these actions, Dionysius in Sicily, builds a town at the foot of Ætna, and from a certain famous temple, calls it Adranum. In Macedonia, king Archilaus, when he was hunting, was killed by Craterus, whom he dearly loved, after he had reigned seven years; and his son Orestes (yet a child) succeeded him. After the death of Archilaus Ætropus, the tutor and guardian of Orestes governed the kingdom for the space of six years. At the same time in Athens, Socrates the philosopher accused by Anytus and Melitus of atheism, and corrupting the youth, was condemned to die, and afterwards executed by drinking a cup of poison; of which wicked action the people in a short time after repented, when in vain they could have wished that excellent and worthy man alive again: therefore they turned all their fury upon his accusers, and killed them without waiting for any formalities of law.

When the year was ended, Aristocrates bore the office of archon at Athens for the year ensuing: and at Rome, six military tribunes were invested with consular dignity, Caius Servilius, Lucius Virginius, Quintus Sulpitius, Aulus Matilius*, Capitus†, Clodius‡, and Marcus Ancus§. During their magistracy, the Lacedæmonians understanding that the affairs of the war were badly managed by Thimbron, sent Dercyllidas general into Asia. Upon his arrival, he forthwith marched with the forces against the cities of Troas, and quickly took Arisba‖, Hamaxia, and Colonæ, afterwards Ilium, Cebrenia, and all the rest of the cities in the territory of Troas, some by tricks and surprise, and others by storm.

After this, he and Pharnabazus¶ agreed upon a truce for eight months; and in the mean time he fell upon the Thracians in Bithynia, and wasted their country, and then drew his army into winter quarters.

At that time a great sedition broke out in Heraclea, in Thrachinia, and thereupon the Lacedæmonians sent Eriphidas to compose the differences, who, when he came there, procured a council to be called, and having beset the senate round with armed men, seized the authors, and put all to death, to the number of five hundred men. He likewise marched with an army against the inhabitants of Œta, who had made a defection; and after he had reduced them to many hardships,

* Manlius. † Capitolinus. ‡ Quintus Servilius. § Marcus Sergius.
‖ For Larissa. ¶ Tissaphernes.

he forced them out of those places, and the greatest part of them, with their wives and children, fled into Thessaly, and five years after were transplanted into Bœotia.

During these affairs the Thracians in great bodies made an irruption into the Chersonesus of Thrace, wasting and ravaging the country every where, and there they possessed themselves of all the fenced cities. Upon this, they of the Chersonesus sent for Dercyllidas the Lacedæmonian out of Asia, who transported his army thither, and drove the Thracians out of the country; and, drawing a wall across from one sea to the other, fortified the Chersonesus so as that, by this means, he prevented the incursions of the Thracians for the time to come, and so he returned with his forces into Asia, after he had been bountifully rewarded for his services. During the time of the truce, Pharnabazus* went up to the king, and he and others persuaded him to equip a navy, and make Conon, the Athenian, admiral, for he was a very skilful and expert soldier, the best that was then in Cyprus with king Evagoras. Pharnabazus, having wrought upon the king, and received five hundred talents for that purpose, forthwith made it his business to fit out a fleet, and, after he had sounded Conon concerning his acceptance of chief command at sea, he created him admiral, making him many great and fair promises in the king's name. Hereupon Conon accepts the place, in hopes not only to recover the sovereignty of the seas for his country, by subduing the Lacedæmonians, but to advance his own reputation by the success of his arms. But in regard the whole fleet was not as yet ready, he sailed away only with forty sail into Cilicia, and there prepared himself for the war.

Pharnabazus, likewise, and Tissaphernes, having raised men out of their several provinces, marched forth, and made their way towards Ephesus, because the enemy's forces lay there. There were with them, under their command, twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. Dercyllidas the Lacedæmonian, hearing of the enemy's march, drew forth his army, having no more than seven thousand men; but when the armies drew near one to another, a truce was agreed upon, and a certain time prefixed, within which Pharnabazus might send the articles to the king to know his pleasure, whether he would have peace or war, and that Dercyllidas might inform the Spartans how affairs stood in the mean time. And upon these terms the armies drew off into their several quarters.

* Tissaphernes.

CHAP. VII.

The war between the Rhegians and Dionysius: he prepares to make war upon the Carthaginians. Most of the cities submit to Dionysius. He returns to the siege of Motya. It is taken. Forces sent from Carthage against Dionysius. A sea-fight between the Carthaginians and the Sicilians. Syracuse besieged. The speech of Theodorus against Dionysius. A grievous plague in the Carthaginian army. A great destruction of the Carthaginian fleet in the harbour of Syracuse. The miserable condition of Amilcar in his own country. The troubles of the Carthaginians.

THE Rhegians, formerly a colony of the Chalcidonians, were now uneasy under the growing power of Dionysius; for he had enslaved the Naxians and Catanæans, who were of their own blood and nation; and the Rhegians, seeing that they themselves were in the same common danger with those already expressed, were in a great consternation lest they should all be brought under the same calamity: therefore they judged it most advisable, and highly to concern them, to make war upon him while they had an opportunity, before the tyrant grew too strong. Those that were banished from Syracuse by Dionysius joined in this war, being furnished with all things necessary for that purpose by the Rhegians: for there was a great multitude of them at that time at Rhegium, who (being pressed by the Rhegians with the necessity and advantage they were likely to reap by the war) resolved to make use of the first opportunity. To that end officers were at length chosen, and with them they sent six thousand foot, and six hundred horse, with fifty crabyes: when they were landed, they solicited the Messanian commanders to join with them, telling them it would be a most dishonourable thing if they should suffer a Grecian city, and next to them, to be utterly destroyed by a tyrant. The officers, being thus persuaded, led forth the soldiers without the order of the state. The number was four thousand foot, and four hundred horse, and with them thirty gallies. Before they had marched to the utmost borders of Messana, there was raised a great mutiny among the soldiers, by a speech made to them by Laomedon a Messanian; for he advised them not to be the aggressors upon Dionysius, who had not hitherto offered them any injury. Upon which the soldiers of Messana (because the people had not by their suffrage ordered this war) presently followed his advice, and, forsak-

ing their captains, returned home. Whereupon the Rhegians, considering themselves not able to carry on the war alone, now the forces of Messana were fallen off, returned likewise to their own city. As for Dionysius, he had (upon the first notice of the design upon him) drawn out his forces to the utmost confines of Syracuse, expecting the enemy; but, hearing by his spies that they were marched back, he likewise returned with his to Syracuse.

After this, when they of Rhegium and Messana sent ambassadors to him to treat upon terms of peace (he, conceiving it much to the advantage of his affairs to prevent all other hostilities and disturbances from these cities) made peace with them. He likewise observed, that many of the Grecians ran into the Carthaginian garrisons, not only bringing along with them their goods and estates, but the laws and customs of their several cities; and therefore concluded, that as long as the peace continued with the Carthaginians, those that were yet his subjects would from time to time be sheltering themselves under their protection; to remedy which, he conceived that if he renewed the war against Carthage, all those that were fled to them, being oppressed by the Carthaginians, would return to him. And he was the more encouraged, for that he heard that in Africa a plague then raged, and swept away many of the Carthaginians. Having now, therefore, a fit opportunity to declare war against them, as he conceived, he determined to make it his chief care to prepare necessaries for so great an expedition, being to engage with the most potent nation that then had any footing in Europe; and judging (as he very well might) that it was likely to be a great war, and of long continuance. To this end he forthwith gets together all sorts of artificers, some out of the towns and cities of his own dominions, and others hired with more than ordinary wages out of Italy and Greece. For he resolved to make a vast number of all sorts of arms and weapons; likewise gallies, both of three oars on a bank, and of five, which last were never used before. For this purpose a great multitude of all sorts of workmen were brought together, to every one of whom he ordered their proper work, according to their several trades, and appointed some of the best and most substantial of the citizens to be overseers, promising great rewards for the encouragement of the diligent. He himself directed the form and fashion of every sort of weapon, because mercenary soldiers came flocking in to him out of many different countries: for he purposed that every one should use such arms (both offensive and defensive) as they were accustomed to in their own nations; for he concluded, that as it would strike a greater terror into his enemies, so his soldiers

would fight much the better with those arms they had most commonly used.

The Syracusans did all they could to forward him in his design; so that every one strove who could most advance the work; for, not only the porches and back parts of the temples, but the public schools and walks, and galleries about the forum, and every place up and down, were full of workmen; and besides these in public places, arms were made in great quantities in every large house belonging to the citizens. The art of making engines to hurl great stones was now first known at Syracuse, for at this time the most excellent artificers were met together from all parts: for the great wages and large promises of rewards to the perfecting of the work, made the tradesmen and artificers very intent and industrious. And besides all this, Dionysius himself came every day to oversee the workmen, speaking kindly and courteously to them; and when he saw any one more than ordinarily diligent, and quick in despatch, that man would be sure to receive some reward or honour as a mark of his favour, and sometimes, for further encouragement, he would invite such to dine or sup with him. The artificers, thus encouraged, wrought with all diligence, (striving to outvie one another), so that there were made a vast number of strange weapons and warlike engines for battery. He built likewise gallies with their boats, both of three and five oars on a bank, of which last he was the first inventor. For, when he understood the first galley of three oars was made at Corinth, he was desirous a colony from thence (as the Syracusans were) should be the first that should enlarge the number. Having, therefore, provided plenty of materials to be brought over from Italy, he sent one half of the workmen to Mount Ætna, (where in those days were abundance of fir and pitch trees); the rest he commanded to sail to Italy, and ordered them carts to convey the timber to the sea-side, and ships and seamen there to receive them, and thence without delay to transport them to Syracuse.

When Dionysius had got together materials sufficient for his purpose, he forthwith set about building above two hundred gallies, and to refit a hundred and ten. Besides, he built several holds round the harbour, for the receiving of the ships, to the number of a hundred and sixty, of which many would receive two ships a-piece: he likewise repaired and covered over with new planks a hundred and fifty old and useless vessels. This great preparation struck the beholders with admiration, to see so vast a number of ships, and all belonging to them, built together in one place. For indeed the preparation was such, that if a man did cast his eyes upon the ships, and

consider the great cost and expense in fitting them out, he would presently conclude that all the power and riches of Sicily were there employed; and then, to turn and look upon the army and engines, he would judge that there was no art or trade but what there had shewed the height of their skill, to the utmost of what could possibly be done in that kind. And though he had performed all these with so much cost and care, that nothing seemed to be wanting, or could be added, to make them magnificent and glorious, yet, for further state and grace to the preparation, he made a hundred and forty thousand bucklers or targets, as many swords and helmets, and caused to be forged fourteen thousand corslets, of all sorts of excellent workmanship: these he appointed and ordered to the horse, and to the colonels and captains of the foot, and to the mercenaries who were of his life-guard. He prepared, likewise, engines of battery of all fashions, and a vast number of darts. The city of Syracuse provided one half of the long ships with masters, pilots, and rowers of their own citizens; for the rest Dionysius hired foreigners. After all the ships and arms were ready and complete, he then began to call his army together: for he thought it not advisable to do it before, to the end to avoid charge and expense. About this time Astydamus the writer of tragedies began to open his school; he lived sixty years: and this year the Romans, as they were besieging the Veii, by a sally out of the city were totally routed, and shamefully put to flight.

After the former year expired, Ithycles was made lord chancelor of Athens, and at Rome six military tribunes bore the consular dignity; Lucius Julius, Marcus Furius, Æmilius Marcus*, Caius Cornelius†, Cæsio Fabius, and Paulus Sextus‡. This year Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse, when he had finished his preparation of ships and arms, (as is before related), began to muster his forces. To this end he chose out of the city companies such as he thought fittest for his purpose, and sent for such as he thought most serviceable from those towns that favoured his interest: he hired, likewise, soldiers out of Greece, and especially from the Lacedæmonians; for from them (to whom he owed the growth and increase of his power) he received as many soldiers as he chose for the completing of his army: for, designing to raise a numerous army of strangers, and to this end offering large pay, he had multitudes come in to him; and because he had determined upon a war which would be very great, he carried himself with all the complacency imaginable to the cities throughout the island, with a purpose thereby to gain their good-will and approbation. Knowing, likewise, that they of Rhegium and Messana, who bordered upon the sea, were able to bring great forces into the field,

* Marcus Æmilius Mamercus. † Cneius Cornelius. ‡ Lucius Valerius.

he began to fear lest they should join with the Carthaginians when they returned into the island; for he concluded that no small advantage would accrue to that side to which those two cities inclined. Being in this perplexity, he gave to the Messanians a large part of the country next adjoining to them, thereby the more to oblige them to his interest. He despatched, likewise, ambassadors to Rhegium, to desire that they would contract affinity with him, and to that end bestow upon him a virgin of their own city to be his wife; in grateful remembrance of which he would give them a large portion of land next adjoining to their territories, and that he would endeavour to advance and increase the wealth and prosperity of the city to the utmost of his power. For, after he had lost his former wife, the daughter of Hermocrates, who was killed in the late defection of the horsemen, he desired issue by another, supposing he should firmly settle himself in his sovereignty by the kindness and obliging demeanor of his children towards the people. But a council being called at Rhegium to consider of the proposal, after great banding on both sides, it was resolved not to enter into any such affinity.

Dionysius being disappointed in this project, sends ambassadors to Locris upon the same embassy; they embraced the motion: upon which he marries Doris, the daughter of Xenetus, at that time the most eminent citizen of that place. A few days before the marriage, he sends to Locris a galley of five oars on a bank (a piece of new and rare workmanship), adorned with gold and silver flags and streamers, to convey her over, and receives the lady upon her landing at Syracuse into the castle. He married, likewise, a noble lady of Syracuse, called Aristomache, whom he brought to his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses. Upon his celebrating this double marriage at one and the same time, he often feasted both the soldiers and most of the citizens. For now he laid aside his cruelty as a tyrant, and, minding the distribution of justice, carried himself more courteously and favourably towards his subjects, forbearing his former bloody slaughters and proscriptions.

Some few days after his marriage he called a senate, and there stirred up the people of Syracuse to a war against the Carthaginians, urging, that they were the most implacable enemies of the Grecians in the world, and especially, were continually plotting and contriving how to ruin the Sicilians. The reason, saith he, that they are now at present quiet is, because the plague rages so violently amongst them, and hath swept away great numbers of the Africans; but you will presently see that, as soon as they are free, and have recovered their strength, they will invade Sicily with all their power, which island they have for a long time most greedily gaped after. There-

fore, said he, it is much safer and better to fall upon them now they are weak, than to stay till they have recovered themselves. He added, moreover, that it would be a most unjust and dishonourable thing to suffer barbarians to enslave the cities, who, the more they coveted their freedom, and the fonder they were of their liberties, would be certainly more ready to engage in the common cause with their countrymen.

Having debated this matter in a long discourse, he easily gained upon the Syracusans for their consent, for they were as desirous of the war as Dionysius himself; and especially, they hated the Carthaginians, because by their means they had been brought under the power of the tyrant: and then they hoped, that out of fear of the enemy abroad, and plots by them that had been oppressed at home, Dionysius would be more moderate than he had been in former times. And that which weighed more than all was, that they hoped, if they were conquerors in this war, (and fortune favoured them), they should recover their antient liberties.

When the assembly was dissolved, he granted licence to the people of Syracuse to seize upon all the goods and estates of the Carthaginians; for there were many of them in Syracuse that were very rich, and many merchants had ships laden with rich goods and merchandize then lying in the harbour. The Syracusans, therefore, on a sudden flew upon the prey. Other cities, likewise, in Sicily, drove out the Carthaginians that inhabited amongst them, and took and carried away all their estates: for, though they all hated the tyranny of Dionysius, yet it was a delight to them to join in the war against the Carthaginians, by reason of the barbarous and beastly cruelty of the men. And therefore those Grecians that inhabited the cities within the power and jurisdiction of the Carthaginians, when they saw that now open war was declared against them by Dionysius, gave instances, likewise, of their hatred against the Africans; for they not only seized upon all their estates, but likewise their persons; and executed all manner of cruelty and disgraces upon the bodies of these miserable wretches, in memory and retribution of those they had themselves before suffered when their cities were destroyed by them. And they went on and continued this sharp revenge upon them, to the end they might learn for the future, by this example of retaliation, not to execute such barbarous cruelties upon them they should afterwards subdue: for hereby they would be taught, (having learned by experience), that in the events of war, and common turns of fortune, the party subdued must expect to suffer that which they themselves before executed upon those they had conquered.

Dionysius having now prepared all things necessary for the war,

determined to send messengers to Carthage to denounce war against them, in the name of the people of Syracuse, unless they restored all the Greek cities they had subdued to their antient laws and liberties. Thus were the thoughts of Dionysius at this time employed. With this year Ctesias ends his history of the Persians, brought down from Ninus and Semiramis. At this time flourished the famous poets for Dithyrambic verse, Philoxenus, Cythereus, Timotheus, Philesius, Telestes of Selinus, and Bolycidus, an excellent limner and musician.

Upon the expiration of the former year Lysiades entered upon the chief magistracy at Athens, and six military tribunes were invested with the consular dignity at Rome, viz. Publius Mellius, Marius Spurius, Furius Lucius, and three others. At that time the Syracusan tyrant (being furnished with all things necessary for the war, according to his heart's desire) sends a herald with a letter to the senate at Carthage, in which was written—That the people of Syracuse had decreed to make war upon the Carthaginians, unless they quitted all the Grecian cities in Sicily. The herald, according to order, sails over into Africa, and delivers the letter to the senate, which being read first in the house, and then to the people, it occasioned no small disturbance and perplexity to the Carthaginians, through fear of the war coming so suddenly upon them, for the plague had destroyed an infinite number of people, and they were altogether unprovided of every thing necessary. Therefore they had now nothing to do but to observe how far the designs of the Syracusans would proceed, and whither they would tend; and in the mean time to send some of the senate, with a considerable sum of money, to raise soldiers out of Europe.

Dionysius now marches out of Syracuse towards Eryx, with Syracusans, mercenaries, and confederate auxiliaries. Not far from this hill stood the city Motya, a colony of Carthage, which was a strong castle and inlet into Sicily: by reducing of this they hoped they should gain no small advantage, and prevent the enemy. To this end he stirred up the people every where to arms, and auxiliaries from all the Greek cities came in to him all along in his march: for they were eager and hot for the war, both because they hated the slavery they suffered under the Carthaginians, and were likewise urged forward with the ardent desire and hopes they had at length to recover their liberties. First, the Camarinians joined him, then the Gelians and Agrigentines; then he sent to them of Himera, who inhabited farther off in another part of Sicily. With these and the Selinuntines, who joined with him in his march, he came to Motya: his army consisted of fourscore thousand foot, and above three thou-

and horse; in his fleet he had little less than two hundred long gallies, or men of war; and, to attend these, there were at least five hundred ships of burden, full of warlike engines, and all manner of provision.

When they of Eryx saw the wonderful preparation that was made, and being terrified with the greatness of the army, and withal hating the Carthaginians, they sided with Dionysius. But they of Motya, in expectation of aid and relief from Carthage, were not affrighted at the greatness of Dionysius's army, but were resolved to abide a siege; for they knew very well that the Syracusans would besiege them in the first place, because they were so wholly devoted to the interest of Carthage. This city is situated in an island about half a league from the shore of Sicily, large and beautifully built, and the inhabitants very rich. A strait and narrow way had been made by art from the island to the shore, which they of Motya at that time ruined, to prevent so ready an access for the enemy. Dionysius, after he had taken a view of the situation of the city with his architects, began to fill up the place between the island and the shore with rubbish, and brought his gallies into the mouth of the harbour, and lay at anchor with his ships of burthen near to the shore. This done, he leaves Leptinus, the admiral of his fleet, to carry on the siege, and he himself, with the land-army, sets upon the cities that were confederated with the Carthaginians.

All the cities of Sicily, terrified with the greatness of his army, presently submit to him, except only five, viz. Ancyra, Solœis, Egesta, Panormus, and Entella: upon which he spoils and wastes the territories of the Selinuntines, Panormians, and Ancyreans, and cuts down all their trees, but besieges the city of the Egestines and Entellans, and by fierce and continual assaults uses his utmost endeavour to take them by storm. And thus now stood the affairs of Dionysius.

In the mean time, Himilco, the Carthaginian general, was busy in raising men from all parts, and making other preparations, but forthwith sends away the admiral, with ten gallies, with a command secretly to weigh anchor, and make straight for Syracuse, and in the night to destroy the ships that he should then find in the harbour. His project was, by this means to divide the enemy's forces, constraining Dionysius to send away part of his fleet to defend Syracuse. The admiral without delay observes his orders, and, entering the harbour of Syracuse in the night, privately (not discerned of any) breaks in pieces, sinks, and destroys almost all the ships that were then in the port, and sails back towards Carthage.

Dionysius having wasted and spoiled the fields and territories of

all them that were under the protection of the Carthaginians, and driven the enemy every where within their walls, returns with his whole army to Motya, supposing that when he had reduced this, the rest would all presently surrender: and now, setting more hands at work, he speedily fills up the channel with heaps of stone and rubbish, and by that means makes his approaches with his batteries nearer to the town.

About this very time, Himilco, the Carthaginian general, hearing that Dionysius had brought his ships into the harbour, forthwith manned a hundred of his best gallies, supposing that by a sudden and unexpected attack he should easily possess himself of the fleet as they lay in the harbour, (none being out at sea to obstruct his design) which, if it succeeded, he should raise the siege at Motya, and carry the war to Syracuse.

To this end, he departs from Carthage with a hundred sail, and arrived in the night upon the coasts of Selinus, and so, sailing round the promontory of Lilybæum, about break of day reaches Motya, where, surprising the enemy, he breaks some of their ships to pieces, and burns others, Dionysius not being able then to afford any assistance. Then he enters into the port, and so orders and places his ships as if he designed to set upon the fleet as they lay. Upon this, Dionysius commands his army to march down to the mouth of the harbour: but seeing that the enemy had possessed themselves of the passage, he durst not bring his ships out of the port; for he knew that the mouth being very narrow and strait, a few ships were able to fight with many above their number, and to advantage. And therefore, having many soldiers, he easily drew the ships over the land into the sea, at a farther distance from the harbour, and so preserved them.

In the mean time Himilco pressing upon those gallies that lay foremost, and next to him, was by a multitude of darts repulsed; for many darters and slingers were placed upon the decks. The Syracusans, likewise, from land killed great numbers of the enemy, by their sharp arrows, shot out of their engines of battery. And in truth these sort of darts struck great terror into the enemy, being the first time that they were used and found out. When the Carthaginian saw he could not accomplish his design, he drew off, and sailed back for Africa, judging it in no wise prudent to engage in a sea-fight with an enemy double his number.

When Dionysius, by the help of many workmen, had perfected the bank or rampart, he applied all sorts of engines of battery to the walls, battering the towers with the rams, and driving the defendants from

the bulwarks with the shot from the engines. He approached likewise to the walls with six-floored towers, which moved upon wheels, and were as high as any house.

However, the citizens of Motya, although they were now in imminent danger, and destitute of all aid from their confederates, yet feared not all the force and power of Dionysius; but, bravely opposing the assailants, they first placed soldiers clothed in coats of mail upon the masts of their ships, who hoisting up their main-yards, threw burning firebrands, and sticks dipped in pitch, down upon the engines, which set them presently on fire; upon which the Sicilians ran in, and having quenched the flame, so plied their work, that with the frequent and repeated batterings by the rams, a great part of the wall fell down. Upon which both sides rushing into the breach with great fury, there was a sharp engagement: for the Sicilians thinking the town now had been their own, endured any thing, from the insatiable desire they had to revenge themselves upon the Carthaginians, for the many injuries they had suffered by them. On the other hand the besieged, to avoid the misery of bondage and slavery, and seeing no hopes to escape, either by sea or land, resolved valiantly to die. At length, doubtful of defending the walls any longer, they stopped up all the sally ports, and betook themselves to the holds and buildings at the foot of the walls, which were perfectly built as another strong wall. From hence the soldiers of Dionysius were put harder to it than they were before; for when they had got within the walls, (thronging in one upon another), and thought they had now gained the town, they were presently most miserably galled by them that were on the tops and roofs of these buildings. However, with all the speed they could, by the help of the wooden towers, they advanced their scaling-ladders to the houses that were next to them; and now they fought hand to hand from the towers and the tops of the houses, which equalled one another in height: and here the Motyans stood to it, and fought with undaunted resolution, having their wives and children in their eyes, and possessed with the sense of the imminent danger of the ruin and destruction both of them and theirs: for some, moved with the earnest prayers of their poor parents then present, entreating them not to suffer them to be made a scoff and scorn to their enemies, renewed their courage, and without any regard to their lives rushed into the midst of the assailants: others hearing the cries and complaints of their wives and children, made the more haste rather to die valiantly, than to see the captivity and slavery of their dearest relations. There was no way left to escape or fly out of the city, for they were hemmed in by the sea, which was commanded by their enemies. The cruelty of the Grecians, which

they had already executed upon their prisoners, and in all likelihood would execute upon them, was that which chiefly terrified the Carthaginians, and made them desparate. And therefore nothing remained but either to conquer or die.

This obstinacy of the besieged occasioned great toil and hardship to the Sicilians; for they were lamentably hurled off the scaffolds which they had made; and besides the narrowness of the place, (by which they were greatly prejudiced) they fought with men that were desperate and prodigal of their lives.

Thus therefore being engaged, some giving and receiving wounds fell on the one hand, others repulsed by the Motyans, were thrown down headlong from the scaffolds and house tops, and so miserably perished on the other. At length the assault having continued in this manner several whole days together, and every evening Dionysius by a trumpet sounding a retreat to his men, the Motyans were inured how to this way of fighting: after, therefore, both sides were drawn off, Dionysius sent forth Archylus the Thurian, with some of the best regiments, who on a sudden, in the dead of the night, by scaling-ladders, got over the shattered houses, and having possessed himself of a convenient pass, presently the rest (which were sent to his assistance by Dionysius) came in to him. But when the Motyans perceived it, with great courage and resolution they set upon them to beat them back, and though they had not timed it right, yet their valour was not in the least impaired: so that there was now begun a fierce encounter; upon which (many more likewise mounting over) the Sicilians with much ado, overpowering them by their multitude, at length drove them from the post; and presently, by the mould and bank that was raised, Dionysius's whole army broke into the city; and now every place was strewed with dead bodies. For the Sicilians, resolving to revenge themselves upon the Carthaginians for their former cruelties, without any regard either to age or sex, slew all before them, putting man, woman, and child to the sword. But Dionysius having a mind to sell all the citizens for slaves, thereby to raise money, commanded the soldiers to forbear killing the prisoners; but when he saw that none regarded him, but that the Sicilians raged like wild beasts, he ordered a crier by public proclamation to declare —That he would have the Motyans to fly for refuge to the Grecian temples. Upon which the common soldiers stopped their hands, but forthwith began plundering and spoiling all through the city, and carried away abundance of silver and gold, rich garments, and all sorts of other wealth and treasure. For Dionysius, for the encouragement of his soldiers for the time to come, had given them the plunder of the city.

After all was over, he rewarded Archylus, who first mounted the wall, with a hundred minas, and all the rest every one according to his merit. As many of the Motyans as were left alive he sold for slaves: but Daimenes, and some other Greeks who joined with the Carthaginians, and were taken prisoners, he commanded to be crucified. After this he put a garrison into Motya, and made Bito the Syracusan governor; the greater part of the garrison were Sicilians. Then he ordered Leptinus the admiral, with a hundred and twenty sail, to watch the Carthaginians at sea; and likewise to make incursions (as he had before designed) upon Egesta and Entella. He himself returned with the army to Syracuse, summer now drawing near to an end. At this time Sophocles, the son of Sophocles, began to write tragedies at Athens, and came off twelve times a conqueror.

When this year was ended, Phormio entered on the chief magistracy at Athens; and at Rome six military tribunes executed the consular authority; Cneius Genusius, Lucius Atilius, Marcus Pomponius, Caius Duilius, Marcus Veturius, and Valerius Publius. At this time was celebrated the ninety-sixth olympiad, in which Eupolis of Elis was victor.

In the time of their governments, Dionysius, lord of Syracuse, marched from thence with his army, and invaded the territories of the Carthaginians. When he was wasting and spoiling the country, the Halicyans, out of fear of him, sent ambassadors to his camp, and became confederates. But they of Egesta made a sudden and unexpected sally upon the guards of the besiegers, and burnt their tents, which caused a great consternation and tumult through the camp. For the flames catching and running along at a great distance, were not easily quenched, so that some of the soldiers, in quenching the fire, were destroyed, and many horses were burnt and the tents together: but Dionysius went on spoiling and wasting the country without any opposition.

In the mean time Leptinus the admiral, who lay then with the fleet at Motya, was very intent in observing the enemy at sea. And the Carthaginians having certain intelligence of the strength of Dionysius, resolved to exceed him in all warlike provision and preparation whatsoever. To which end (according to their laws) they made Himilco their king, and raised forces out of all parts of Africa and Spain, of which some were their own confederates, and others mercenaries; at length they got together an army of above three hundred thousand foot, and four thousand horse, besides chariots to the number of four hundred. They had likewise a fleet to the number of three hundred long gallies, for men of war, and six hundred ships

of burden, (as Ephorus relates), to transport all manner of provisions, engines of battery, and all other necessaries for the war. But Timæus affirms, that not above a hundred thousand were transported from Africa into Sicily, with which three thousand of the Sicilians joined when they came over. Himilco delivered commissions sealed up to every one of the officers, with a command they should not open them till they were out at sea, and then to execute their orders. He did this that the spies which might be amongst them, might not be able to inform Dionysius of the design of the fleet. The orders were—That they should make straight to Panormus. Upon this they all set sail with a fair wind: the transport-ships made directly into the open sea, but the gallies sailed along the coast of Africa.

When the transport-ships and ships of burden with a fresh gale came within sight of Sicily, Dionysius sent out Leptinus with thirty sail against them, with orders to sink and destroy as many as he could, who forthwith made up to them, and fought those he first met with, and sunk several with all the men in them. The rest, (though they were heavily laden), by the help of the wind fortunately veering about, easily escaped; but about fifty were sunk downright, in which were lost five thousand soldiers, and two hundred chariots.

In the mean time Himilco arrived at Panormus, and landing his men marched directly against the enemy, commanding the fleet to sail along upon the coast near to him. In his march he entered Eryx by treachery, and thence hastened with all speed to Motya: and because Dionysius was then busy in besieging Egesta, Himilco had the opportunity to take Motya by storm.

Although the Sicilians were very earnest and desirous to fight the enemy, yet Dionysius judged it more advisable for him to draw off to some other place, because he was both far off from his confederates, and his provisions too began to grow very low. Determining therefore to be gone, he advised the Sicilians for the present to quit their cities, and join themselves to the army, promising to plant them in a richer, and in no less a country than their own; and telling them that when the war was ended, as many as would might return to their former habitations: upon this, some few of them embraced the offer, lest, if they refused, they should have been plundered by the soldiers: the rest deserted, together with the Halicyans, who sent ambassadors to the Carthaginians, and renewed their league with them. Dionysius therefore made with all speed to Syracuse, spoiling and wasting the country all along as he marched. But Himilco seeing all things succeed according to his heart's desire, marched with his army against Messana, earnest to possess himself of that city, by reason of its fit and convenient situation; for the haven there was very commodious,

capable to receive his whole fleet, which consisted of about six hundred sail; and by that means having the command of the sea in those parts, he judged he should be able to intercept all the shipping that should be sent both from Italy and Peloponnesus, to aid them of Syracuse. While he was musing and considering of these things, he made peace with them of Himera, and the inhabitants of Cephaledion. And taking in the city of Lipara, he imposed a mulct of thirty talents upon the islanders. Then he marched straight away with his forces for Messana, (his fleet sailing near at hand over against him), and in a short time encamped at Pelorus, not above a hundred stages from thence. When they of the city heard of the approach of the enemy, they began to disagree about the concerns of the war. For some of them understanding the great strength of the Carthaginian army, and seeing how they were deserted by their confederates, and that they wanted their horse, which were then at Syracuse, were of opinion that the city could not be defended. Besides, to their further discouragement, their walls were down in many places, and they had now no time to make the necessary preparations for their defence. Therefore they sent away their wives and children, and all their choicest goods, and the richest of their treasures to the neighbouring cities. Others there were who remembered the old prophecy, whereby it was foretold by the oracle—That the Carthaginians should be carriers of water in that city: which was commonly interpreted in that sense as might portend most advantage to themselves, as if the Carthaginians should be slaves in Messana. From hence they were very confident, and by this means greatly encouraged others, so that they resolved to undergo the utmost extremity in defence of their common liberty.

They presently sent out, therefore, a select number of their briskest young men to Pelorus, to prevent the enemy's inroads into the country, who did according to order: upon which Himilco, seeing the Messanians dispersed and scattered in order to oppose his descent, he commanded two hundred ships to make towards the city; for he hoped (as he might easily conjecture) that the whole garrison of Messana would be so earnest in opposing his breaking into their borders, that the city would be left unguarded, so that it would be easy for his fleet to enter; and at that time the north wind blew fresh, by which means the ships were carried with a full gale strait into the harbour; and, though the guard sent to Pelorus hastened back with all speed, yet the enemy's fleet was in before they returned. And now the Carthaginian army, coming in on every side, speedily battered down the walls, entered, and took the city Messana. As many of the Messanians as engaged with the enemy died valiantly

upon the spot; the rest fled to the next cities: many of the common people fled to the mountains near at hand, and were dispersed and scattered into several garrisons in the country: some were taken by the enemy, others that were got into narrow creeks about the harbour, flung themselves into the sea, thinking they should be able to swim over to land on the other side: but of two hundred scarcely fifty recovered the shore of Italy. Afterwards Himilco entered Messana with his whole army; and the first thing he set upon, was the besieging the castles and forts near to the city, but being very strong, and bravely defended by them that had fled thither, when he saw he could not gain them by force, he returned to the city; and having refreshed and recruited his army, resolved to march against Syracuse.

The Sicilians bearing an inveterate hatred to Dionysius, having now a fair opportunity, all of them (except the Asserini) deserted to the Carthaginians. Dionysius, therefore, to the end he might be supplied with men, sets free all the slaves and servants of the Syracusans, and with them sufficiently manned threescore gallies: he was furnished likewise with a thousand mercenaries from the Lacedæmonians: passing likewise from place to place through the country, he fortified all the castles and strong holds, and furnished them with provisions. But his greatest care was to fortify the castles of the Leontines, and to that end laid up stores and magazines there, brought in from all parts. He likewise persuaded the Campanians, who at that time inhabited Catana, to remove to the city of Enna, because it was a place of great strength.

After things were thus settled, Dionysius led forth his army a hundred and sixty stages from Syracuse, and encamped near to a place called Taurus. He then had with him thirty thousand foot, and something above three thousand horse: his navy consisted of a hundred and fourscore ships, of which there were but few that had three oars on a bank. In the mean time Himilco demolished Messana, and commanded his soldiers to pull down the houses to the ground, so as not one stick should be left standing, or one stone upon another; which was effectually executed, by burning some, and pulling down others; for by so many hands the business was done in a trice; and such was the ruin and desolation of the city, that that place which was so lately full of inhabitants, could now scarce be known where it stood. For Himilco, considering how remote it was from the confederate cities, and yet the best port and situation in all Sicily, judged it absolutely necessary either to ruin it as he had done, or at least so far to destroy it, as that it could not be repaired for a long time. And thus Himilco, having sufficiently discovered his implacable hatred to the Grecians, commanded Mago the admiral to sail with the whole

fleet to the promontory of Taurus. Here the Sicilians inhabited in great numbers, but without any head or certain commander. Dionysius had heretofore given the country of the Naxians to these Sicilians; but they, induced by the promises of Himilco, then dwelt upon the hill, (which was naturally fortified), and there at that time they were, and so continued after the war, in a city strongly walled, called Taurominium, from its situation upon Taurus.

Himilco himself by swift marches came with his army to the before mentioned place of Naxia, Mago sailing all along near to the coast: but because mount Ætna had a little before vomited out fire as far as to the shore, the army at land could not march so as to have the fleet near at hand to attend them. For the passages by the sea-shore were so spoiled and choaked up by rivers and streams of fire from Ætna, that the army was forced to take a compass, and march round the mountain. Therefore Himilco commanded Mago to sail towards Catana, and he himself with the army hastened through the heart of the country, to join again with the fleet at that city.

For he was afraid lest, when the forces were divided and far asunder, the Sicilians should set upon Mago by sea, which happened accordingly. For Dionysius having intelligence that Mago sailed very slowly, and that the land army was engaged in a long and difficult march, hastened with all speed to Catana, that he might fight Mago by sea before Himilco's army came up. For he hoped that being upon the shore near at hand with his land forces, it would much encourage his own, and discourage the enemy: and that which was the most considerable was—That if his fleet were worsted, both ships and men had a place ready to retreat to for their safety.

Things thus ordered, he sent forth Leptinus with the whole fleet against the enemy, commanding him to engage in close order, and not to break his line upon any account, unless he were over-pressed with multitudes. There were in Mago's fleet ships of burden and gallies with brazen beaks, to the number of five hundred. The Carthaginians, as soon as they saw the coasts full of ships, and the Grecian navy making out strait upon them, were greatly amazed, and began to tack about and make into the shore: but presently recollecting themselves, they considered the insuperable hazard they should run themselves into, if they should fight both with the soldiers at land, and them in the ships at one time, therefore they resolved to try it out at sea; and so putting themselves into a line of battle, waited to receive the enemy. Leptinus eagerly forcing on with thirty of the best gallies in the van, with more valour than prudence, began the fight; and presently falling in upon the first squadron, sunk several of their ships: but when Mago with his fleet all joined together,

they surrounded the thirty sail, the first exceeding in number, and the other in valour.

And now was begun a sharp engagement, which looked like a fight upon land, the ships grappling close one to another, for there was no distance left for them to strike with their beaks, but they fought hand to hand with their forecastles close in front together: some, while they were attempting to board their adversary, were hurled overboard; others effecting what they designed, fought valiantly aboard in the midst of their enemy's ships. At length Leptinus, overpowered by numbers, was forced to hoist up sail and fly; the rest of the fleet coming on upon the enemy, who were in disorder, were easily routed by the Carthaginians; for the flight of the admiral encouraged them, and greatly discouraged and distracted the Sicilians.

The fight thus ended, the Carthaginians made a very hot pursuit, and sunk and destroyed above a hundred vessels; and they that were in the transport ships that lay along the shore, killed the seamen as they saw them swimming to get to the forces that were upon the land; so that many being killed near the land, the shore was full of carcases and wrecks: the Dionysians being not able in the least to help them. Many were killed on the side of the Carthaginians; but there were above a hundred gallies of the Sicilians sunk and taken, and more than twenty thousand men killed.

After the fight, the Carthaginian navy anchored at Catana, whither they brought along with them the ships they had taken, and drawing them up to the shore, refitted them, that the eyes as well as the ears of the Carthaginians might be entertained with the greatness of their victory.

Upon this misfortune the Sicilians, judging that by returning to Syracuse they should suffer much, and be brought into great straits by being suddenly besieged, persuaded Dionysius rather to fight Himilco, alleging—That by an unexpected onset, the barbarians would be terrified, and by that means they might in great probability repair their late overthrow. Dionysius inclining to this advice, and preparing to march against the enemy, some of his friends told him he ran a great hazard, and had reason to fear lest Himilco would invade Syracuse with his whole fleet, and so he should lose the city. Upon this he altered his resolution, knowing that Messana was lately lost by such an oversight; thereupon he hastened to Syracuse, not thinking it safe for that place to be without a strong garrison. Many of the Sicilians upon this were much displeased, and therefore some returned to their own habitations, and others dispersed themselves into several castles and forts near at hand.

Himilco in two days march came to Catana, and caused the ships that were there to be drawn up into the harbour, by reason of the present wind and storm: here he staid some days, and refreshed his army, and from thence sent ambassadors to the Campanians at Enna, to court them to a defection from Dionysius, promising to bestow on them large possessions, and that they should be equal sharers in the spoils of the war. He likewise acquainted them, that the Campanians of Entella had sided with the Carthaginians, and had supplied them with aids against the Sicilians. In sum he told them that the Grecians bore an inveterate hatred to all other nations whatsoever. But the Campanians having given hostages to Dionysius, and sent the best of their soldiers to Syracuse, were forced to stand to the league they had made with him, though they had a desire rather to fall to the other side.

After these misfortunes, Dionysius being now afraid of the power of the Carthaginians, sends Polyxenus, his father-in-law, ambassador to the Grecians in Italy, Lacedæmon, and Corinth, to desire their assistance, and that they would not stand by, and see the Greek cities in Sicily utterly destroyed: he sent likewise several paymasters into Peloponnesus with great sums of money, to raise what men they could, not sparing any cost.

But Himilco now enters with his navy, richly adorned with the spoils of his enemies, into the great haven of Syracuse. This filled the citizens with terror and amazement; for a navy of two hundred and eighty sail of men of war, in excellent order, entered the port: and after them came in above a thousand transport ships, wherein were above five hundred soldiers: so that the ships were near two thousand sail; insomuch as the whole haven (though it were large) was so filled with shipping, that it was almost covered over. When the navy had cast anchor in the harbour, presently appeared the land-army on the other side, consisting (as some report) of three hundred thousand foot, and three thousand horse, besides two hundred long ships. Himilco the general pitched his tent in the temple of Jupiter; the rest of the army encamped round him, about twelve stages distant from the city.

A while after, Himilco draws out his whole army in battalia under the walls of Syracuse, daring the Syracusans to battle; and at the same time ordered a hundred of his best ships to enter into all the rest of the harbours, the more to terrify the Syracusans, and to convince them that the Carthaginians were masters at sea; but when he saw none durst come out against him, he marched back to the camp.

After this, he most shamefully, for the space of thirty days, wasted and spoiled all the country round about, to the end to gratify his soldiers on the one hand, and to discourage his enemies on the other. He won also the suburbs of the Acradina*, and plundered the temples of Ceres and Proserpina. But he paid for his sacrilege within a short time after; for his fortune began to change, and things to go worse and worse with him every day. And whenever Dionysius took courage and skirmished with the enemy, the Syracusans came off conquerors. Such terror sometimes seized the Carthaginians in their camp, that in the night they would run with great terror and confusion to their arms, as if an enemy had broken in upon them. Besides, a disease at length seized upon them, which was the cause of all the mischiefs which afterwards overtook them, of which we shall speak hereafter, that we may observe due course and order of time in the relation.

Himilco, now eager to block up the city, demolishes almost all the sepulchres, amongst which were the monuments of Gelon and his wife Demareta, of rich and excellent workmanship. He raised likewise three forts near the sea, one at Plemmyrium, another about the middle of the port, and the third near the temple of Jupiter.

In these he laid up stores of meat and drink, and all other necessaries, believing the siege would continue long. He sent away likewise the transport ships to Sardinia and Africa, to bring from thence corn and all other provisions.

About this time Polyxenus, Dionysius's father-in-law, (being returned from Italy and Peloponnesus), brought with him thirty gallies (men of war) from the confederates, under the command of Pharacides the Lacedæmonian. After this, Dionysius and Leptinus made out to sea with a few gallies, to endeavour to procure some provisions for the town; and while they were cruising about, the Syracusans from the city espied a ship laden with provisions, coming up to Himilco's army; upon which they made out with five sail upon it, and took it, and brought it into the town. As they were sailing away with their prize, forty sail of the Carthaginians pursued them; upon which the whole Syracusan fleet presently hoisted up sail, and engaged; took the admiral, and sunk and destroyed twenty ships more: the rest they put to flight, and pursued the Carthaginians to their main fleet, and dared them to battle; but they, amazed with this sudden disaster, stirred not. Then the Syracusans fastened the gallies they had taken, to the poops of their own ships, and brought them into the city.

* Part of Syracuse.

Being now puffed up with this good success, they proudly vaunted—That Dionysius was often overcome by the Carthaginians; but that now, when they had not him with them, they triumphed, and were returned conquerors. And in their cabals here and there they would frequently discourse, and ask each other why they should suffer themselves to be made slaves by Dionysius, especially when they had now so fair an opportunity to depose him? For till of late, they said, they were disarmed, but now, by occasion of the present war, they had again got arms into their hands.

While these things were thus whispered up and down, Dionysius lands at the port, and presently after calls an assembly, and in a harangue highly praises the Syracusans, wishing them, that as they had done, so they would still continue to shew their valour and courage for the time to come, promising them, that in a short time he would put an end to the war. When the assembly was ready to break up, Theodorus a Syracusan, a man of great authority among the nobility, and one that had done remarkable service for his country, stood up, and boldly made this speech concerning their liberties—

The Speech of Theodorus.

ALTHOUGH Dionysius has interlaced his discourse with many lies, yet, what he said in the close of his harangue—That he would make a speedy despatch of the war, he may truly perform, if he himself (who has always been beaten) be not the general, but forthwith restore us to our own laws and liberties: for there are none of us that can freely and cheerfully venture our lives in the field, when there is not a pin to choose whether we be conquered by the Carthaginians, or, being conquerors, become slaves at home to Dionysius: for, whilst conquerors or conquered, we are sure either to serve the Carthaginians on the one hand, or a more severe and tyrannical master on the other. If the Carthaginians prevail, by paying of tribute we shall enjoy our laws; but this tyrant robs our temples, seizes our estates, takes away our lives, and deprives masters of their servants to fill up the number of his mercenaries. And he that has acted as great cruelties in a time of peace, as any that have been executed upon the storming of cities in a time of war, now promises to put an end to the Carthaginian war. But it as highly concerns us, Oh fellow citizens, to be rid of the tyrant within our walls, as to put an end to the war without: for the castle, which is now garrisoned by our own slaves, is built as a fort against the city itself, and the mercenary soldiers are kept in pay to keep the Syracusans in slavery, and he himself lords it over the city, not as a good magistrate, for the execu-

tion of justice, but as sole and absolute lord, to rule according to the dictates of his own insatiable desires. The enemy now enjoys but a small part of the country, but Dionysius has bestowed all that he has conquered upon them that have given assistance to the advancement of his tyranny. Why are we content so long tamely to suffer these base abuses? such as a generous spirit would rather choose to die than to be brought into a hazard and danger to suffer and undergo. We, to say the truth, courageously endure the extremest hardships in fighting against the Carthaginians; but we are so poor-spirited, that we dare not speak a word for the laws and liberties of our country against a most cruel tyrant. We that dare bravely charge so many thousands of our enemies, are dastardly afraid of one tyrant, that has not the courage of a generous slave. No man ever presumed to compare or equal Dionysius with Gelon, for he, (through the innate goodness of his disposition), with the assistance of the Syracusans and other Sicilians, restored all Sicily to their liberty; but this vile man, when he found the cities free, either exposed them to the will of the enemy, or he himself made them perfect slaves. The other, after he had fought many battles in the cause of Sicily, was so successful that an enemy was not to be seen; but this tyrant, running away from Motya through the whole island, at length penned himself up, not daring to look his enemy in the face, yet fierce and cruel enough towards the citizens. The other, for his valour and remarkable services done for his country, had the sovereignty freely and willingly bestowed on him, not only by the Syracusans, but by all the Sicilians: but this man, who has usurped the sovereign power, to the ruin of the confederates and slavery of the citizens, why should he not be hated by all, who is not only unworthy of the supreme power, but deserves a thousand deaths besides? Through him Gela and Camarina are spoiled, Messana razed and laid in rubbish, and twenty thousand of our confederates destroyed; and things are now brought to that pass, that all the Greek cities throughout Sicily are ruined, and we are all cooped up into one. Among other mischiefs and miseries, Naxos and Catana are by him sold for nought, and many of the best situated and confederate cities razed to the ground. He fought twice with the Carthaginians, and was beaten in both. As soon as ever the sovereign power was given into his hand, he forthwith deprived the citizens of their liberties, putting to death all those that stood up for the laws of their country, and banishing those that were rich, to gain their estates, giving their wives in marriage to their servants, and to the lowest of the people, and putting arms into the hands of strangers and barbarians. All these wickednesses, Oh Jupiter, and all the gods! has this hangman and base mean fellow committed.

Where is now the love of the laws and liberties among the Syracusans? Where are the noble actions of our ancestors? by whom were destroyed at Himera three hundred thousand Carthaginians; not to say any thing of the tyrants deposed by Gelon. But that which is to be most admired is, that though your fathers, even but yesterday, routed so great an army of the Athenians that came against Syracuse, and that in such a manner as that they left not one to be a messenger of their destruction; though, I say, you have so fresh an example of your fathers' valour, yet that you should bow your necks to the yoke of Dionysius, and at this instant of time, when you have arms in your hands, is most strange. Certainly some good providence of the gods has brought you now hither together in arms, that you may have an opportunity to regain your liberty. Now is the day come wherein you may shew yourselves men of courage, and unanimously rescue yourselves from so base and shameful a slavery. It was an easy matter when we had no assistance, and the city was full of mercenary soldiers, to keep us under; but now that we are armed, now that we have confederates to assist us, and stand by us as spectators of our valour, let us not yield an inch, but make it manifest to all, that it was not cowardice, but want of opportunity, that made us seem to be willing and content to be slaves. May we not be ashamed to have an enemy to be our general, one who has sacrilegiously robbed all the temples in the city! to intrust one in matters of the greatest public concern, that none (in his wits) would trust with his own private estate! And when we see that all men generally are more than ordinarily religious in times of war and imminent dangers, can we hope that such a notorious atheist as this should be instrumental to put a happy issue to this war? And if any man will but seriously consider, he may easily conclude that Dionysius is more afraid of peace than war. For he knows that the Syracusans (through fear of the bad consequences of commotions at this present time) dare not attempt any thing against him: but he foresees, that if the Carthaginians be conquered, the Syracusans, being then in arms and encouraged with the success, will seek to redeem themselves, and regain their liberty. And this was the cause (as I conceive) that in the former war he most treacherously depopulated Gela and Camarina, and stripped them of all their inhabitants; and likewise agreed, as part of the articles of the league—That many of the Greek cities should never after be inhabited by the Grecians. This was likewise the cause that afterwards, in a time of peace, and against the conditions agreed on, he enslaved Naxos and Catana, razed the one down to the ground, and gave away the other to the Campanians, a colony out of Italy. And when he perceived that, after the cities were thus ruined, the

rest were continually plotting how to rescue themselves from his tyranny, he then, for a diversion, began this second war against the Carthaginians: for the sacred bonds of an oath did not so much awe him to the keeping of his league, as the fear of those Sicilians that remained tormented him, whose destruction he continually watched all opportunities to effect. When the enemy lately, weak and weather-beaten, landed at Panormus, though he might easily then have fallen upon them with his whole army, yet was very far from doing any such service for his country. Afterwards he suffered Messana, (that large city and commodious port), for want of relief, to be laid waste, not only because there were many Sicilians by that means cut off, but likewise that all aids by shipping from Italy and Peloponnesus might be intercepted by the Carthaginians. Then at last he fought upon the coasts near to Catana, even close to the city, that the enemy, if they were beaten, might have ready shelter in the port of their own allies. After this, and the fight was over, a storm arose, by reason whereof the Carthaginians were forced to draw up their ships into the harbour, at which time we had a fair opportunity of ruining them, their land army being not then come up, and their ships, many of them thrown upon the shore by the violence of the storm. If we then had set upon them with our land-army, they must all necessarily have either fallen into our hands, if they had come to land, or by the violence and rage of the sea the shore had been filled with wrecks. But I know I need not spend many words in accusing Dionysius among the Syracusans: for if the incurable injuries and wrongs themselves will not raise the spirits of the sufferers, how can words prevail to take revenge of this miscreant? When besides all that they have suffered, they may clearly see that he is the most impious wretch of the citizens, the cruelest tyrant, and most slothful and careless general: for as often as we fight the enemy under his conduct, so often are we beaten: but now when we lately engaged ourselves without him, we routed the enemy's whole fleet with a few gallies. We ought, therefore, to provide a new general, lest, while we make use of one who has sacrilegiously robbed the temples, we fight against God himself: for the deity apparently opposes them who make such an atheist their head and governor. For, to see all our forces, in the height of their strength, dispersed and scattered when he is with them, and yet a small part of our army conquerors when he is absent, what does it but evidence to all the special and remarkable presence of the gods? Therefore, Oh ye Syracusans, if he will freely abdicate his government, let us as freely consent that he may depart out of the city with all that belongs to him; but if he refuses so to do, now we have an opportunity to regain our liberty. We are

now here altogether, we have arms in our hands, and those that will assist us both out of Italy and Peloponnesus are near at hand. And by the law, the chief command in the army ought either to be given to some of the citizens, or to some of the Corinthians, who are the natural inhabitants, or to the Spartans, who now command all Greece.

When Theodorus had thus spoken, the Syracusans (much perplexed in their minds, and doubtful what to do) looked back upon their confederates. Upon which, Pharacides the Lacedæmonian admiral of the fleet, (lately sent to their assistance), ascended the tribunal; and every man now hoped he would be very earnest in persuading them to stand up for their liberties. But he being Dionysius's guest, and then one of his family, told them—That he was sent by the Lacedæmonians to assist the Syracusans and Dionysius against the Carthaginians, and not to deprive him of his kingdom. And while he was, (contrary to all men's expectations), opposing what had been said, the mercenary soldiers all flocked about Dionysius, but the Syracusans, not a little amazed, sat still, but raged in their minds against the Spartans: for not long before, Aretas the Lacedæmonian had betrayed them under the covert and pretence of being sent to free them from their slavery; and now Pharacides obstructed the Syracusans in their endeavours to free themselves. However, Dionysius was now in a great fright, and forthwith dissolved the assembly: and afterwards courted the people with very fair and smooth words, presenting some with large gifts, and inviting others to his feasts and banquets. But as to the Carthaginians, after they had ruined the suburbs, and rifled and plundered the temples of Ceres and Proserpina, a plague seized upon their army, and the more to increase and sharpen the vengeance of the gods upon them, both the time of the year, and the multitudes of men thronging together, greatly contributed to the enhancement and aggravation of their misery: for the summer was hotter than ordinary, and the place itself was the great occasion that the distemper raged above all bounds. For the Athenians in the very same place, not long before, were in multitudes swept away by the plague, for it was a marshy and spungy ground. In the beginning of the distemper, before the sun arose, through the coldness of the air that came off from the water, their bodies would fall a-shaking and trembling; but about noon, being so close pent up together, they were choaked with the heat. The infection was brought in among them by the south wind, which swept them away in heaps, and for awhile they buried them: but the number of the dead increasing to that degree, that those who attended the sick were likewise cut off, none durst approach the infected, and

(besides the want of attendance) the distemper seemed to be incurable. For first, catarrhs and swellings of the throat were caused by the stench of the bodies that lay unburied, and the putrifaction of the soil. Then followed fevers, pains in the back, heaviness of the loins, dysenteries, and botches and boiles over the whole body. Thus were many tormented by this plague; others were struck mad, and ran about the camp like wild beasts, and beat every one they met. All the help of physicians was in vain, both by reason of the violence of the distemper, and the sudden despatch it made of many: for in the midst of great pains and horrible torments, they died commonly the fifth, or at most, the sixth day; so that they who died by the war, were accounted happy by all. And it was further observable, that all that attended upon the sick, died of the same distemper: and that which aggravated the misery was, that none were willing to come near to the distressed and languishing persons in order to administer to them any sort of help. For not only strangers, but even brothers, and dear and familiar friends and acquaintances, were forced, out of fear of the infection, to avoid and forsake one another. Dionysius, therefore, hearing of the miserable condition of the Carthaginians, manned fourscore sail, and ordered Pharacides and Leptinus the admirals, at spring of day, to fall upon the enemy's fleet. And he himself before the moon was up in the night, got his army together, and marching to the temple of Cyane, came up without being discovered, to the enemy's camp about break of day: he had sent the horse, and a thousand foot of the mercenaries before him, to fall upon that part of the enemy's camp that lay up farther into the land. These mercenaries hated Dionysius more than any other that were about him, and were often making disturbances, and mutinying upon all occasions; therefore Dionysius ordered the horse, as soon as they were engaged with the enemy, to fly and leave the mercenaries to be cut off, which was accordingly observed, and they were all killed upon the spot. Dionysius himself determined to assault the camp and the castles both at once. The barbarians, upon this sudden and unexpected incursion of the enemy, running in great confusion and disorder to their arms, gave him an opportunity to take the castle called Policma by storm. On the other side, in the mean time, the horse, with some gallies, made to the fort near Dascon, and took it; and forthwith came up the whole fleet, and the army assaulted the rest of the forts with a mighty shout, which struck the barbarians with great terror and amazement; for at the first, they all ran to defend their camp, but now seeing the enemy's whole fleet come up, they bestirred themselves to preserve their navy that then lay at anchor: but all their care was to little purpose, for they were

prevented by the suddenness of the surprise. For while they were ascending the decks, and hastening on board, the enemy's ships came up with that fierceness upon them, and so pierced their broadsides, that some were sunk downright at the first shock: others by repeated and frequent assaults were broken in pieces, so that the Carthaginians were filled with dread and horror. And while the best and greatest of their ships were up and down pierced through and through, the air resounded with a terrible noise by the crashing of the vessels, broken by the beaks of the gallies, and the shore over against them was presently filled with dead bodies. The Syracusans still more and more encouraged by their success, while each strove who should first leap into their enemy's ships, in every place killed and dispersed and scattered the barbarians, astonished and amazed with the fear of the present destruction. Neither was the land-army wanting in their assistance, in which Dionysius then was (by chance) having rode to Dascon some time before; for finding there forty ships of fifty oars apiece, besides ships of burthen that lay near them, and some gallies, they threw fire amongst them; upon which, the flame mounting up, and spreading itself far and wide, set all the ships on fire, and neither merchants nor mariners were able to stop the violence of the flame, which (the wind being then high) ran along from the ships at anchor, and caught upon the transport ships which lay near to them; and the men, to avoid the fire, leaping out of the ships into the sea, and the cables snapping asunder, the ships fell foul one upon another, by reason whereof some broke in pieces, many were burnt, and others by the violence of the winds scattered and dispersed here and there, so that all, one way or other, were destroyed. And here a show, as upon a theatre, was represented to the citizens, while the fire ran through the transport ships from one to another, and the flame mounted the masts, and consumed the main yards, and the ruin of the barbarians seemed like the overthrow of such as were destroyed for some notorious impiety by thunder and lightning from heaven. Upon these successes, both young and old that were able, took boats and passed over to the harbour, to rifle those ships that were almost consumed by the fire, and to save such as might be refitted; and those that were yet sound and untouched, to tow them by their boats to the city. Yea, such was the exceeding joy and emulation of all to share in the honour of the victory, that those whom age might well have excused from intermedling with matters of war, yet now beyond their age and natural strength made themselves remarkable. And now the victory spread swiftly through the city; upon which the women and children and whole families left their houses and ran to the walls and filled them with spectators, of whom some lifted up their

hands to heaven, and gave thanks to the gods; others cried out that the barbarians were justly punished for their profaneness in rifling and plundering of the temples. For, indeed, it seemed as if the gods themselves were engaged in the fight, where so many ships were on fire, with the flame mounting into the air, above the masts, and the Grecians only standing by (with joyful acclamations) as eye-witnesses of the happy event: and on the contrary, the barbarians, amazed and astonished with the dreadful misfortune, (in great confusion, and with mournful cries), bewailing themselves. But night put an end to the battle; and Dionysius encamped near to the barbarians, at the temple of Jupiter.

The Carthaginians being thus routed both by sea and land, sent ambassadors privately to Dionysius, to offer him three hundred talents, which they had then ready in their camp, if he would permit the remainder of their army to transport themselves into Africa. To this Dionysius answered, that he could not suffer all to be gone, but he was content that those who were citizens of Carthage might depart privately in the night, but no other: for he knew well enough that neither the Syracusans nor his confederates would ever suffer him to grant to them any such liberty. But he did this because he was unwilling utterly to destroy the Carthaginians, that the Syracusans (through fear of them) might find no opportunity or leisure, by disturbing of him, to seek after the regaining of their liberty. Having therefore agreed with the Carthaginians that they should go the fourth night next after, he draws his whole army into the city: upon which Himilco delivered the three hundred talents to persons appointed for that purpose, who conveyed them secretly in the night into the castle. When the time appointed was come, Himilco filled forty gallies with citizens of Carthage, with an intent to be gone, leaving the rest of the army behind him. And he was no sooner entered into the port, but some Corinthians, discerning that Dionysius trifled away the time in getting the soldiers and officers together, were impatient, and forthwith made after them; and, by rowing hard, at length got up to the Carthaginian ships that were in the rear, which they sunk, by piercing them through with the beaks of their ships. Afterwards Dionysius drew out his army; but the Sicilians who sided with the Carthaginians were almost all fled through the heart of the country, and escaped to their several cities, before the Syracusans could reach them. In the mean time, when Dionysius had placed guards at several passes to intercept those that fled, he marched with his army in the night to the enemy's camp: upon which all the barbarians, now betrayed both by their general and the Carthaginians, and likewise by the Sicilians, fled away in great fear

and amazement, of whom part were taken falling in among their enemy's guards that waylaid them; others, and the greatest part, threw away their arms, and cried for quarter; but the Spaniards, with their arms, got into a body and sent a trumpet to Dionysius, to offer themselves to him as confederates: upon which he made a league with them, and joined them to the regiments of his mercenaries. The rest of the common soldiers he took, and whatever was left of the bag and baggage he gave for plunder to the soldiers. And thus was the sudden change and turn of the Carthaginian affairs; from whence all men may learn, that whoever they be that above measure exalt themselves, may come in a short time to be convinced how weak and inconsiderable creatures they are. They who a little before were possessed of all the cities of Sicily but Syracuse, (which they accounted themselves likewise sure of), were presently brought into such a dilemma, as to be afraid lest they should lose their own country: and they who lately destroyed the sepulchres of the Syracusans, were now eye-witnesses of a hundred and fifty thousand carcases of their own men, that perished by the plague, lying rotting upon the ground without the honour of burial. They who had before burnt up all before them belonging to the Syracusans, by a sudden change of fortune, now saw their whole fleet wrapped up and consumed in flames. They who not long ago, in great pride and ostentation, entered into the port of Syracuse, boasting of their successes, little thought that in a short time after they should be forced to fly away in the night, and treacherously leave their confederates to the mercy of their enemies. The general himself, who had pitched his tent in the temple of Jupiter, and had robbed the temples of the riches laid up in them, shamefully fled away with a few to Carthage, and, though he escaped with life, yet he could not fly from the vengeance of the gods for his impiety, but lived all his days in disgrace in his own country, reproached and scorned by all: nay, he was reduced to that extremity of misery, that he wandered about all the temples of the city in rags, convinced of his own impiety, and doing penance for his notorious wickedness; and at length murdered himself, and died in extreme want and poverty, by his example leaving behind him an awful reverence for the gods among the citizens. Presently after, many other calamities of war overtook them: for, this overthrow being spread all over Africa, their confederates, who hated them before, now, for their treacherous desertion of the soldeirs at Syracuse, abhorred the Carthaginians much more than formerly: and therefore, stirred up by rage on the one hand, and encouraged to contemn the Carthaginians, by reason of their late misfortune, on the other, they resolved to stand up for their liberty; and, having sent ambassadors into all

parts, they raised an army, and at length encamped themselves in the field: upon which there presently came in to them not only free men, but slaves, so that in a little time they made up a body of two hundred thousand men.

In the first place they took Tunis, not far from Carthage; from thence they marched in a body, fought, and beat the Carthaginians, and drove them within their walls. At length the Carthaginians, (against whom the gods thus apparently fought) with faint and trembling hearts, assembled themselves together, to supplicate the deity to be appeased, and to put an end to his wrath and indignation against them; and presently a spirit of devotion (joined with fear) possessed the whole city, whilst every one expected to become miserable slaves. Therefore, all were of opinion that the gods, who were offended, should by all means in the first place be pacified: and although they never before sacrificed to Proserpina or Ceres, yet now the chiefest of the citizens were consecrated to be priests for this service. And having set forth the statues of the gods with all pomp and solemnity, they ordered the sacrifices for the future to be made according to the Grecian rites and ceremonies; and they carefully made use of those Grecians that were with them, and who were best acquainted with the rites of their religion, to officiate in the sacrifices. But after this they prepared another navy, and all other things necessary for the carrying on of the war.

In the mean time the rebels, though they were a vast number of men, yet they wanted good and expert officers; and that which was worst of all, they wanted sufficient provision for such a multitude, which the Carthaginians were supplied with, having enough brought to them by sea from Sardinia. And, besides all this, the revolters fell a-quarrelling among themselves about the supreme command of the army; and some, bribed with money by the Carthaginians, fell off and deserted the common cause: and hence it came to pass, that (through want of provision, and treachery of some of their associates) this great rabble broke in pieces, and were dispersed here and there, every one to their own country and places of habitation, and so freed Carthage from the great fright they were lately in. And this was the state of affairs in Africa at this time.

As for Dionysius, he, discerning that the mercenaries bore him no good will, and therefore, lest they should depose him, seized upon Aristotle, their general; upon which the common soldiers ran to their arms, and in great rage demanded their pay. But he, to appease them, told them, that he would send Aristotle to Lacedæmon, to be tried there by the democracy, and gave them (who were about ten thousand) the city and country of Leontium for their pay, which they

readily accepted, for the sweetness and pleasantness of the place; and divided the land amongst themselves by lot. Then he raised other mercenaries, to whom, and to those that were freemen of his own family, he committed the care and protection of his government.

After the overthrow of the Carthaginians, all those that remained of them that belonged to the cities that were taken by the Carthaginians throughout Sicily, got together, and, being restored to their several countries, began to get strength again: and Dionysius repeopled Messana with a thousand Locrians, four thousand Medimnians, and six hundred Milesians of Peloponnesus, who were exiles from Zacynthus and Naupactus. But when he discerned that he had offended the Lacedæmonians, by planting the Messanians (whom they had driven out) in so eminent and considerable a city, he removed them into another place in the province of Abacene, near the sea, limiting them within certain bounds. The Messanians called this city Tyndaris, and, living peaceably among themselves, and receiving many into the freedom of their city, they increased in a short time to above the number of five thousand. After many expeditions and incursions into the territories of the Sicilians, they took Simethus and Morgantium, and entered into a league with Agyrus, king of the Agyrinenses, and Damon, the petty prince of the Centuripians, as likewise with the Erbessians and Astorines. Cephaledion, Selinus, and Enna, were also brought under their power and government by treachery, and they made peace with them of Erbessa. And so stood the affairs of Sicily at that time.

CHAP. VIII.

Agesilaus made general against the Persians by the Lacedæmonians; goes to Ephesus. They send to the king of Egypt for assistance. The Persians routed at Sipylus by Agesilaus. Tissaphernes's head cut off in a bath at Larissa. The war between the Phocians and Bœotians.

IN Greece, when the Lacedæmonians foresaw the great war they were likely to have with the Persians, they made Agesilaus, one of their two kings, their general; who, raising six thousand men, and choosing thirty of the most eminent citizens to be members of the senate, passed over out of Europe to Ephesus. There he raised four thousand

more, and so marched into the field with an army of ten thousand foot, and four hundred horse.

After the camp followed a rabble, (for the sake of pillage and plunder), not inferior in number to the army itself. He ran through the plains of the Caystrians, and wasted and spoiled all that belonged to the Persians as far as to Cuma. Moving from thence, he spent the greatest part of the summer in spoiling and wasting Phrygia, the country next adjoining; and having loaded his army with pillage and spoil, about the latter end of autumn returned with his army to Ephesus.

While these things were going on, the Lacedæmonians sent ambassadors to Nephreus*, king of Egypt, in order to procure his assistance in the war; who sent to the Spartans tackle and furniture for a hundred gallies, and five hundred thousand bushels of wheat instead of soldiers. Pharax, therefore, the Lacedæmonian admiral, departing from Rhodes with a hundred and twenty sail, arrived at Cassandra, a castle of Caria, distant a hundred and fifty stages from Caunus. Setting sail from thence, he besieged Caunus, and Conon the Persian admiral, who then lay there with a fleet of forty sail. But Artaphernes and Pharnabazus approaching to the relief of Caunus with a great army, Pharax raised the siege, and returned with his fleet to Rhodes.

After this, Conon got together fourscore gallies, and with these sailed over to Chersonesus. In the mean time the inhabitants of Rhodes refuse to suffer the Peloponnesian fleet to enter their harbour, revolt from the Lacedæmonians, and receive Conon with his navy into their port and city. And presently after, they who brought corn out of Egypt, (designed for the Lacedæmonians), not knowing any thing of the defection of the Rhodians, sailed boldly to the island: upon which Conon, the Persian admiral, with the help of the Rhodians, brought them and their lading into the port, and stored the city with corn. And there came likewise other ships to Conon, ten from Silicia, and fourscore from Phœnicia, under the command of the lord-lieutenant of the province of Sidon.

But afterwards Agesilaus, drawing out his army into the plain of Caystrus, and the places near to Sipylus, plundered and spoiled the inhabitants. Upon which Tissaphernes, with an army of ten thousand horse, and fifty thousand foot, came upon the backs of the Lacedæmonians, and killed all the stragglers as they were foraging and ranging about the country. But Agesilaus, with a phalanx (drawn up in a square) possessed himself of the rising grounds at Sipylus, watching his opportunity to set upon the enemy: and from thence

* Otherwise called Nepherites.

overran all the country as far as to Sardis, and amongst others wasted and destroyed a garden belonging to Tissaphernes, set with all sorts of trees, and other things for delight and divertisement in time of peace, beautified with very great art and cost. Marching thence, when he came half way between Sardis and Thybarne, he sent Xenocles the Spartan in the night, with fourteen hundred men into a wood to lie in ambush, in order to intercept the enemy, he himself (about spring of day) marching forward with the army: as soon as he had passed the ambuscade, the barbarians in great fury, on the sudden set upon his rear; upon which he forthwith wheeled about, and when they were hotly engaged, he lifted up a sign to them in ambush, who forthwith with a great shout came in and fell upon the enemy, who seeing themselves surrounded, (in great fear and terror), betook themselves to their heels, of whom six thousand were killed in the pursuit, and a great number of prisoners taken, and the Lacedæmonians seized the enemy's camp, which was very rich. Tissaphernes himself, amazed at the valour of the Spartans, in a great fright fled out of the battle to Sardis. Agesilaus was moved to march up higher into the other provinces, but because the sacrifices did not point out to him any great success, he returned with his army to the sea-side.

Artaxerxes, king of Asia, hearing of the routing of his army, was both afraid and angry; afraid of the Lacedæmonians, and angry at Tissaphernes, who was the occasion of the war. And Parysatis the queen-mother had not long before prayed Artaxerxes, even upon her knees, to take revenge upon Tissaphernes; for she bore him a mortal hatred, because he was instrumental in frustrating the expedition of her son against his brother. Artaxerxes therefore makes Tithraustes general, and commanded him to seize Tissaphernes, giving him likewise letters directed to all the cities and governors of the provinces, ordering them to observe his commands. As soon as Tithraustes came to Colosse in Phrygia, by the help off the governor of Larissa, he seized Tissaphernes in a bath, and cut off his head and sent it to the king. After which, he made a truce with Agesilaus for six months.

While affairs went thus in Asia, the Phocians made war upon the Bœotians, and prayed aid and assistance from the Lacedæmonians. Upon which, Lysander was sent thither with a few soldiers, who raised more after he came to Phocis; but not long after, Pausanias, king of Sparta, was sent to Phocis with six thousand, whereupon the Bœotians drew out their forces, and being joined by the Athenians their confederates, found Haliartus besieged by Lysander and the Phocians. Whereupon a battle was fought, in which Lysander, and many of the Lacedæmonians, with their confederates,

were killed. The Bœotians pursued not far, but two hundred Thebans lost their lives, by falling down some steep precipices through their own carelessness. This was afterwards called the Bœotian war. But Pausanias hearing of the defeat of the Lacedæmonians, entered into a truce with the Bœotians, and returned with his army into Peloponnesus.

In the mean time, Conon the Persian admiral committed the care of the fleet to Hieronymus and Nicodemus, two Athenians, and he himself hastened away to the king, sailing to Cilicia, and from thence passing to Thapsacus in Syria, he put himself in a barge, and sailed down the river Euphrates to Babylon. Here being admitted to the king, he promised—That if the king would but furnish him with money and other necessaries as he should think fit, he would undertake to ruin the Lacedæmonian fleet. The king was much pleased, and highly commended and rewarded him, and ordered a paymaster to attend him, and pay him as much money as he should from time to time require. He gave him liberty to chuse what Persian he would to be his colleague and assistant in the command; he thereupon chose Pharnabazus, and after he had taken order for all things, (according to the utmost of his power), he went down to sea.

CHAP. IX.

The confederate war by the Argives and others against the Lacedæmonians. The battle at Aricas. The fight at Nemæa. Pisander the Lacedæmonian admiral routed in a sea-fight at Cnidus by the Persian fleet, commanded by Conon the Athenian. The Corinthian war against the Lacedæmonians, and the great sedition there.

AT the end of the year Diophantus was made lord chancellor at Athens, and at Rome six military tribunes were invested with the consular authority; that is to say, Lucius Valerius, Marcus Furius, Quintus Servilius, Quintus Sulpitius, Claudius Ogron*, and Marius Appius†. In the time of their governments, the Bœotians and Athenians, the Corinthians and the Argives, confederated: for they conceived, that if they (being the most considerable and largest cities of Greece) did but stick close one to another, they might easily over-

* Marcus Valerius Maximus. † Lucius Furius.

come the lordly power of the Lacedæmonians, and the rather, because they were hated of their confederates for their tyrannical government. To this end they first ordered a general assembly of members from the several cities to meet at Corinth, where being met, they ordered all things necessary concerning the war. Afterwards they sent messengers from city to city, and by that means took off many from siding with the Lacedæmonians. And presently there joined with them all Eubœa generally, the Leucadians, Acarnanians, Ambracians, and Chalcidonians of Thrace. They then endeavoured to bring into the confederacy the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, but none of them would hearken to them: for Sparta lying close to the sides of Peloponnesus, was as a castle or bulwark for the defence of the country. Medicus, the prince of Larissa in Thessaly, was about that time engaged in a war with Lycophron, tyrant of the Pheræans*, to whom, upon his request, this general assembly sent in aid two thousand men, who being furnished with these aids, takes Pharsalus, (a Lacedæmonian garrison), and sells all the inhabitants for slaves. After this, the Bœotians, with them of Argos, separating themselves from Medicus, took Heraclea in Trachinia, being let within the walls in the night; and there they put all the Lacedæmonians to the sword, but suffered the Peloponnesians to depart with all that belonged to them. Then they recalled the Trachinians to inhabit the city, whom the Lacedæmonians had forced to till the land, though they were the antient inhabitants of the country.

And not long after, Ismenias the general of the Bœotians leaving the Argives to guard the city, caused the Æneans and Achamenians to desert the Lacedæmonians, and having raised among them and other confederates many soldiers, he marched with an army of no less than six thousand men against the Phocians. Not long after he encamped near Aricas, a city of Locris, (the birth-place of Ajax, as it is said), where the Phocians, under the conduct of Lacisthenes a Laconian, came out against him and fought him: the dispute was very sharp for a long time, but at length the Bœotians got the day, and pursued the enemy till it grew dark, of whom they killed above a thousand, and lost five hundred of their own. After this battle, both sides disbanded their armies, and the Phocians returned to their own country, and the other to Corinth; where, having called a senate, and encouraged by this good success, (as they conceived it), they mustered an army at Corinth, (raised out of all the cities far and near), to the number of about fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse.

The Lacedæmonians seeing that the greatest cities of Greece had

* Pheræ, a city in Macedonia.

confederated against them, determined to send for Agesilaus, and the army he had with him, out of Asia. Yet in the mean time they marched out against the enemy with three-and-twenty thousand foot, and five hundred horse, which they had raised out of their own city, and from among their confederates. And not long after a battle was fought at the river Nemæa, which continued till night parted them, wherein part of the army on both sides prevailed one against the other. There fell of the Lacedæmonians and their confederates, eleven hundred; but of the Bœotians and their confederates, were slain two thousand eight hundred.

As soon as Agesilaus had landed his army in Europe, he was encountered by a great body of Thracians, whom he routed, and killed the greatest part of them. Thence he marched through Macedonia, on purpose to pass that way Xerxes had formerly done, when he came with a powerful army into Greece. Having therefore passed through Macedon and Thessaly, he went on forward to the straits of Thermopylæ, and passed through that way.

In the mean time Conon and Pharnabazus, the Persian admirals, lay at Doryma in the Chersonesus with a fleet of more than ninety men of war; and being informed that the enemy's navy lay at Cnidus, they prepared for a sea-fight Periarchus* the admiral of the Lacedæmonian fleet weighing anchor from Cnidus, arrived at Physcus in Chersonesus with eighty-five gallies; and departing from thence, fell upon the king's fleet, and had the advantage against those ships he first attacked: but upon the Persian gallies coming up in a full body to rescue their fellows, his confederates fled, and made to the shore; but he judging it a base and dishonourable thing for a Spartan to turn his back, tacked about to front the enemy, and fighting with gallantry, (after he had destroyed many of the Persians in the heat of the fight), was at length killed, and so fell with honour worthy of his country. Then they with Conon pursuing the Lacedæmonians to the shore, took fifty of their gallies, but the most part of the men swam to land and escaped, only five hundred were taken prisoners, and the rest of the gallies came to Cnidus.

But Agesilaus being strengthened with forces from Peloponnesus, entered with an army into Bœotia, where the Bœotians and their confederates forthwith met him at Coronea, and engaged, in which battle the Bœotians put that wing of the Lacedæmonians to flight that opposed them, and pursued them to their camp; but the rest, after a small resistance, were routed by Agesilaus and his party. Whereupon the Lacedæmonians looking upon themselves as conquerors, in token of victory erected a trophy, and gave leave to the

* Periarchus is here mistaken for Pisander. Ush. An. 179.

enemy to bury their dead. For there were killed of the Bœotians and their confederates above six hundred; and of the Lacedæmonians and their associates above three hundred and fifty; Agesilaus himself being sorely wounded, and carried to Delphos to be cured.

After the late sea-fight, Pharnabazus and Conon invaded the confederates of the Lacedæmonians with their whole fleet; and first forced them of Coos to a defection from the Lacedæmonians, then those of Nisæa, and Teos or Teium. Afterwards the Chians (forcing out the garrison there) revolted to Conon.

The Mityleneans, Ephesians, and Erythræans likewise followed the examples of the former. And thus all the cities on a sudden revolted, some of which (casting out the Lacedæmonian garrisons) took the opportunity absolutely to free themselves: others from that time gave themselves up into Conon's hands, and from that time forward the Lacedæmonians lost the sovereignty of the sea.

Conon determining to sail for Attica with his whole fleet, weighed anchor, and by the way bringing over the islands of the Cyclades to his side, he makes strait for Cythera, which he gained upon the first approach; and, taking hostages of the Cytherians for their fidelity, he sent them away to Laconia; and when he had put a strong garrison into the city, he sailed for Corinth, where he had audience of the senate; and then entering into a league, and leaving money with them for the carrying on of the war, he returned into Asia. About this time Eropus king of Macedonia died, after he had reigned six years; his son Pausanias succeeded him, and reigned only one year. Theopompus of Chios ends his history with this year, and with the sea-fight at Cnidus, containing the relation of the Grecian affairs in twelve books, beginning at the sea-fight at Cynossema, where Thucydides ends, comprehending seventeen years.

After the end of the last year, Eubulides was made lord chancellor of Athens, and six military tribunes executed the consular dignity at Rome, Lucius Sergius, Aulus Posthumius, Publius Cornelius, Sextus Centius, Quintus Manlius, and Anitius Camillus*. At that time Conon the Persian admiral arrived in the Piræus at Athens with four-score sail, and promised the citizens to rebuild the walls of the city: for the walls and long thighs of the Piræus were demolished by the Lacedæmonians, according to the articles of the peace when the Athenians were brought very low, and their power broken by the Peloponnesian war. To this end Conon hired many workmen, and ordered several out of the fleet to be assisting to the carrying on the work, so that the greatest part of the wall was finished in a short time. For the Thebans sent in five hundred carpenters and masons, and several

* Lucius Junius and Lucius Furius.

other cities gave their assistance. But Teribazus, general of the land forces in Asia, envying Conon's successes, contrived falsely to charge him, as if he only made use of the king's soldiers to get towns and cities for the Athenians; therefore sending for him to Sardis, upon his appearance he seized him and threw him into prison.

But now at Corinth, some that had thirsted after the chief rule and command in the government, entered into a conspiracy, and at the time of the public plays killed many in the playhouse, and filled the city with tumult and sedition. And being assisted by the Argives, they cut the throats of a hundred and twenty citizens, and banished five hundred more. The Lacedæmonians raised forces in order to reduce these murderers by force of arms: but the Athenians and Bœotians came with an army to their assistance, but with an eye to bring the city into their subjection. But the exiles with the Lacedæmonians and other confederates, in the night came up to the Lechæum and Arsenal, and took it by storm. The next day the townsmen drew out their forces under the command of Iphicrates, but were routed by the Lacedæmonians, who slew a great number of them. After this, the Bœotians and Athenians, together with the Argives and Corinthians, marched down with their forces to the Lechæum, and at first (after a short resistance) forced their way into the castle. But the Lacedæmonians and exiles (valiantly renewing the fight) drove out the Bœotians, and all with them, who were forced to return into the city, with the loss of about a thousand men.

And now the time of celebrating the Isthmian games approached, and a contest fell out amongst them concerning the ordering and management of the sports: and after much wrangling, the Lacedæmonians prevailed, and gave to the exiles the authority of ordering that affair. And because almost all the skirmishes and encounters in this war happened near Corinth, it was called the Corinthian war, and lasted eight years.

CHAP. X.

The quarrel between the Rhegians and Dionysius. Mago, the Carthaginian, settles affairs in Sicily. Routed at Abacene by Dionysius. Rhegium nearly surprized by Dionysius. The acts of Iphicrates at Corinth, Phlius, and Sicyon. Amyntas lost his kingdom of Macedonia, but was restored. The Romans take Veii; dedicate a golden cup to Apollo. Their ambassadors are taken by the pirates of the Lipari islands, but discharged by Timasitheus.

MOREOVER, about this time they of Rhegium quarrelled with Dionysius in Sicily, because he had fortified Messana, as if he intended thereby some mischief against them. Upon which they received into their protection all that were driven out by Dionysius, and all others that hated his government. Then they gave Mylas to the late inhabitants of Naxos and Catana to be inhabited by them; and sent Heloris with an army to besiege Messana; and while he in the first place besieged the castle, the townsmen with the mercenaries of Dionysius drew out and fell upon him, routed him, and killed above five hundred of his followers. Then they presently set upon Mylas and took it, and discharged all the Naxians that were there upon terms of mutual friendship, who went to the Sicilian and Grecian cities, some to one place and some to another.

Dionysius having now made a league with the cities that lay on the sea-coasts, determined to pass over with an army against Rhegium: but for the present his design was retarded by the Sicilians at Taurominium, whom therefore he resolved in the first place to reduce; to which end he marched thither with all his forces, and encamped on that side towards Naxos, and continued the siege all winter, in hopes that the Sicilians would leave the hill, because they had not been long there. But they having heard their fathers declare that the antient Sicilians (the former inhabitants of that place, were expelled thence by the Grecians when they arrived there, and built Naxos, they therefore concluded they had just cause both to defend their own country, and to revenge the injury done to their ancestors by the Greeks, and so they defended the place with great resolution.

In the mean time, while the dispute was hot on both sides, the winter solstice drew near at hand, and winter coming on apace, all the places near the castle were full of snow; and Dionysius conceiving that the Sicilians, by reason of the strength of the place

and height of the walls, kept but a slender guard in the castle, he ascends those high and steep places in a dark tempestuous night, and with much difficulty (by reason of the steepness of the rock and depth of the snow) at length, with a scarred face, and half blind with cold and snow, possessed himself of one part of the castle. Then presently forcing into another, he laid open a passage for his army into the city: upon which the whole power and strength of the Sicilians ran together, and drove the Dionysians out of the city and castle: and he himself (by a blow upon his brigandine) in the pursuit was knocked down, and was very near falling alive into the hands of his enemies. And in regard the Sicilians had the advantage of high ground, (from whence they galled the other), above six hundred of Dionysius's men were killed, and many lost their arms; Dionysius himself saved only his corslet. After this misfortune, they of Agrigentum and Messana, (those that sided with Dionysius being at a great distance), were altogether intent upon regaining their liberty, and therefore sent back Dionysius's ambassador, who was ordered to them to renew and continue the confederacy and league that then was between them and the tyrant.

About this time Pausanias, king of Sparta, fled out of his country, by reason of some heinous crimes laid to his charge by the citizens, when he had reigned fourteen years; Agisipolis his son succeeded him, and continued as many years more. Then likewise died Pausanias, king of Macedon, whom Amyntas treacherously murdered after he had reigned only one year. Amyntas, who thus got the kingdom, held it four-and-twenty years.

At the end of the year, Demostratus was chosen archon of Athens; and six military tribunes, Lucius Titinius, Publius Licinius, Publius Melius, Quintus Mallius*, Cneius Genutius, and Lucius Attilius, governed as consuls at Rome. In their time Mago, the Carthaginian general, was busy in Sicily, endeavouring to settle the affairs of Carthage there, which were then but in a bad condition, since the last slaughter and ruin of their army. To this end he carried himself with all mildness and humanity towards all the cities within his government, and received all others into his protection that were enemies to Dionysius, and entered into leagues with many of the Sicilians. At length he raised an army, and marched against Messana; and when he had wasted the country, he returned with rich booty, and encamped near Abacene, a city of his confederates. But Dionysius with his army marched up to him, and, upon his approach, both armies were drawn out in order of battle; upon which there was a sharp and hot engagement, in which the Carthaginians were routed

* Manius.

and fled to the city, with the loss of above eight hundred men; and Dionysius returned to Syracuse. But within a few days after, he made an expedition against Rhegium with a hundred sail well manned; and coming upon them on a sudden in the night, he set the gates on fire; and reared scaling ladders to the walls. A few only of the Rhegians at first ran to repulse the enemy, and busied themselves in extinguishing the fire; but by the advice of Heloris the governor, they left the fire, and fell with all their force upon the enemy, and by that means saved their city. For if they had continued still in quenching the flames, so small a number could not keep out the Dionysians till the rest of the citizens had come in to their assistance. For by throwing of timber and other combustible matter from the tops of the houses next adjoining, they rather increased the fire. Dionysius being thus disappointed in his design, wastes and destroys all the country round about with fire and sword; but afterwards made a truce with them for one year, and so returned to Syracuse.

In the mean time, the Grecians in Italy, perceiving that Dionysius's covetousness and ambition extended as far as to their countries, entered into a general league, and appointed a public place for their common assemblies. By this means they hoped that they should both be able to oppose Dionysius, and likewise have an army always ready to fight the Lucanians, who were ever and anon making inroads upon them.

While these things were doing, the exiles that were in the Lechæum at Corinth, being let into the city in the night, endeavoured to possess themselves of the walls, but were driven out again by Iphicrates, and forced to fly to the arsenal, with the loss of three hundred men. Within a few days after, part of the Spartan army marched through the territories of Corinth, and were suddenly fallen upon by Iphicrates and some other confederates, who cut off the greater part of them. And, marching from thence with his light-armed men against Phlius, he engaged with them that came out of the town, and killed above three hundred of them. Hence he made against Sicyon, where the inhabitants drew out under the walls and fought him, but were beaten and forced into the city, with the loss of five hundred citizens.

After these things, the Argives, with all their forces, came against Corinth, and took both the castle and city, and joined that territory to their own. Iphicrates the Athenian had had a design to be master of that territory, as a place conducing much to the gaining and keeping the principality of Greece: but the people opposing it, he abdicated the government, and the Athenians ordered Cabrias to Corinth in his room.

CHAP. XI.

The acts of Thrasybulus, the Athenian general. The Carthaginians, under Mago, begin a new war in Sicily against Dionysius. A peace concluded. Rhodes falls off from the Athenians. Evagoras becomes king of Salamis, in Cyprus. Makes war against the Persians. The acts of Thimbron, the Lacedæmonian general, in Asia.

WHEN the year was ended, Philocles was made lord-chancellor of Athens, and six military tribunes, Publius Sextus*, Publius Cornelius Crassus†, Cæsio Fabius, Lucius Furius, Quintus Servilius, and Marcus Valerius, executed the office of consuls at Rome. At this time was celebrated the ninety-seventh Olympiad, in which Terites was victor. And then the Athenians ordered forth their general, Thrasybulus, with forty sail of men of war, who hastened to Ionia, and there being furnished with money from the confederates, he weighed anchor from thence, and arrived at Chersonesus, where he staid awhile, and procured Medicus and Seuthes, princes of Thrace, to become confederates. Presently after, he passed over to Lesbos, and anchored, with his fleet, near to Eresus: but, by a violent storm, three-and-twenty of his ships were then lost. However, with those that were left, he endeavoured to reduce the cities of Lesbos to their obedience, for all had made a defection, except Mitylene; and first he sets upon Methymna, and fought with the citizens led by Therimachus, a Spartan, whom he killed, with many of the Methymnians, his followers, and drove the rest within their walls; and, after he had made great spoil and havoc in the country, Eresus and Antissa were surrendered to him: then (being furnished with shipping from Chios and Mitylene) he sailed to Rhodes.

And now the Carthaginians having (after the slaughter at Syracuse) at length recovered their strength, resolved to renew their attempts for the bettering their affairs in Sicily; and, because they determined to try their fortune by a battle on land, they passed over with but a few long ships, but raised soldiers out of Africa, Sardinia, and from among the barbarians in Italy, and armed them all completely at their own charge; and with these they landed in Sicily, to the number of fourscore thousand, under their general Mago, who, marching through the territories of the Sicilians, caused many cities to desert and fall

* Publius Cornelius Scipio. † Consul.

off from Dionysius, and at length encamped at the river Chrysa, in the country of the Agyrinenses, near the road leading to Morgantium: but, when he could not bring over the Agyrinenses to join with him, either by fair means or foul, he made a halt, and especially because he heard an army was upon their march against him from Syracuse. For Dionysius, having intelligence of the motion of the Carthaginians through the heart of the country, without delay got together what forces he could, both Syracusans and mercenaries, and marched against the enemy with no fewer than twenty thousand men. And, when he came near to the enemy's camp, he sent ambassadors to Agyrus, prince of the Agyrinenses, who at that time was the greatest and most powerful prince of Sicily, next to Dionysius: for he had almost all the castles and strong-holds lying round about under his power and government, and the city of the Agyrinenses, which he commanded, was at that time very populous, having in it no less than twenty thousand citizens; besides, it was sufficiently provided with all sorts of victuals, and a vast treasure was laid up in the castle, which Agyrus had hoarded up from the confiscations of the richest of the citizens whom he had put to death. Dionysius, therefore, entering with a few into the city, gained Agyrus to join with him, promising to bestow on him a large territory next adjoining to him if he succeeded in the war.

Agyrus then freely and liberally furnished Dionysius's army with bread, and all other provision, and afterwards drew out his whole forces, and joined him in the war against the Carthaginians.

But Mago, being in an enemy's country, (and every day more and more pinched by the want of every thing that was necessary), was very uneasy: for the Agyrinenses, being well acquainted with all the ways and passes, often surprised his men, and intercepted his provisions. The Syracusans were for fighting with all speed, but Dionysius would not yield to that, affirming, that time and want would ruin the Carthaginians without fighting. Upon this delay the Syracusans were so enraged, that they deserted his camp; whereupon he was in a great fright, and forthwith made free all the slaves. Yet afterwards, the Carthaginians sending ambassadors to treat upon terms of peace, he made peace with them, and forthwith restored the servants and slaves to their masters.

The conditions were like the former, but something fuller in this, that the Sicilians should be subject to Dionysius, and that he should have Taurominium.

When the articles were signed and confirmed, Mago left Sicily, and Dionysius, after his taking possession of Taurominium, banished thence most of the Sicilians, and placed in their room the choicest

of his mercenaries. Thus stood the affairs of Sicily at this time; and in Italy, the Romans took Falerium*, a city of the Falisci, by storm.

After the end of the former, this year Nicoteles executed the office of chief magistrate at Athens, and three military tribunes, Marcus Furius, Caius Æmilius, and Catulus Berus, were vested with the consular dignity at Rome. At this time they of Rhodes that sided with the Lacedæmonians expelled all the citizens that favoured the Athenians; and, when they got together in arms to defend their interest, the Lacedæmonian confederates routed them with the slaughter of many, and proscribed all the rest that made their escape; and because they were afraid lest the citizens should be contriving some innovations, they sent for aid from Lacedæmon. Upon this, the Lacedæmonians setting out seven gallies, sent away Eudocimus, Philodicus, and Diphilas, to manage affairs there, who, arriving at Samos, caused the city to fall off from the Athenians; then, coming to Rhodes, they busied themselves in settling and composing matters there. And now the Lacedæmonians, seeing their affairs to succeed and prosper, they resolved again to recover the dominion of the sea, and to that end prepared a fleet, and by degrees brought in more and more confederates to join with them; and, for the same purpose, they sailed to Samos, Rhodes, and Cnidus, and, getting together shipping from all parts, they listed from thence the best seamen they could get, and at length bravely equipped a fleet of twenty-seven gallies.

At that time Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmon, hearing that the Argives lay encamped at the siege of Corinth, made an incursion into the territories of Argos with all the forces of Sparta except one regiment, and, having plundered and spoiled the people of their goods and cattle, and cutting down the trees all along through the country, he returned to Sparta.

In Cyprus, Evagoras of Salamis, a man of a noble family, (for he was descended from the founders of that city), who was then some time before expelled the city by a sedition, (but returned not long after), with a small number of men, his confederates, drove Abdemon the Tyrian, petit-prince of Salamis, (a friend and ally of the king of Persia), out of the city, and so at first became king only of Salamis, the greatest and richest city of Cyprus, but in a short time after, growing rich, he raised an army, and purposed to bring the whole island under his dominion. To which end he gained some cities by force, and others he won by fair promises. But the Amathusians,

* Rather Falarium.

Solians, and Citians, (resolving to stand it out), sent ambassadors to Artaxerxes for aid, and charged Evagoras with the killing of Agyrus, the Persian confederate, and promised to be assistant to the king in getting the island into his hands. The king therefore, both to clip the wings of Evagoras, that he might not grow too strong, and because he considered the commodious situation of the place for the supply and provisioning of shipping, whereby he might defend Asia, gave orders to send aid to the islanders.

Therefore, dismissing the ambassadors, he sent letters to all the sea-port towns and their governors, to build with all speed what ships they could, and to furnish them with tackle, and all things necessary for the use of the navy. He commanded, likewise, Hecatomnus*, lord-lieutenant of Caria, to make war upon Evagoras: and he himself (going through the cities of the Upper Asia) sailed thence with a great army to Cyprus. And such were the affairs of Asia at this time.

In Italy, the Romans, after they had made peace with the Falisci, began the fourth war against the Equi; and took Sutrium by storm, but lost the town of Verrugo.

When this year was ended, Demostratus was chosen archon, or lord-chancellor of Athens, and Lucius Lucretius, and Servilius Cossus†, were Roman consuls. At this time Artaxerxes declared Struthus his general, and sent him down with an army to the sea-coasts against the Lacedæmonians; and they, hearing of his march, sent Thimbron their general into Asia against him, who possessed himself of the castle Jonda, and of the high and steep mountain Corossus, about forty stages‡ distant from Ephesus. From thence he wasted and spoiled the king's provinces with eight thousand men that he had raised in Asia. But Struthus (who with a great body of horse, and five thousand heavy-armed men, and with above twenty thousand light-armed, encamped near to the Lacedæmonians) at length, when Thimbron was out with a party, and had loaded himself with plunder, on a sudden, and by surprise, fell upon him, and killed him, and took and killed many of his soldiers, and the rest (being but few) escaped to the castle Cnidinium.

At the same time, Thrasybulus the Athenian general, departing from Lesbos, arrived with his fleet at Aspendus, and anchored at the river Eurymedon, and, though he received contributions from them of Aspendus, yet some of his soldiers ravaged and plundered the country, which highly provoked the Aspendians, insomuch that in the night they set upon the Athenians, and killed many of them, toge-

* Hercatomnus. † Servilius Sulpitius. ‡ About five miles.

ther with Thrasybulus himself; which struck such a terror into the captains and officers of the fleet, that they forthwith returned to their ships, and sailed to Rhodes, where, finding that the city had deserted them, they joined with the exiles, who possessed themselves of a certain castle, and put themselves in array against the city. But as soon as the Athenians heard of the death of Thrasybulus, they despatched Agyrius to be general in his room. Thus stood the affairs of Asia at that time.

CHAP. XII.

Dionysius's expedition against Rhegium. The war between the Lucanians and Thurians, in Italy. The Thurians cut off by their own rashness. Leptines generously saved those that swam to his ships, though he was a friend to their enemies. Dionysius's second expedition into Italy: besieges Caulonia, and routs Heloris. Makes peace with the Rhegians. Razes Caulonia to the ground, and transplants the inhabitants to Syracuse. Watches an occasion to be revenged on them of Rhegium. Besieges it. He sends rich chariots to the Olympic games. His poetry ridiculed.

IN Sicily, Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse, though he had a design, and did what he could, to bring all Sicily and the neighbouring Greeks in Italy under his power, yet deferred the expedition against them to some other time, as we said before. Having, therefore, in the mean time considered how greatly it would advance his affairs, if he could gain Rhegium, (the key of Italy), he now drew out his army into the field. He had then under his command twenty thousand foot, and a thousand horse, and a hundred and twenty gallies. With these he passed over to the borders of Locris, and, thence marching through the heart of the country, he wasted and spoiled all the territories of Rhegium with fire and sword; his fleet attending over against him, he at length encamped, with all his forces, near the sea. But the Italians, hearing of the arrival of Dionysius, and his design upon Rhegium, with all speed put forth sixty sail from Crotona, for the aid of the Rhegians. Whereupon Dionysius made forth against them with fifty gallies, and, though they made to the shore to avoid him, yet he pursued them so close, that he threw grappling irons into

them, to draw them off from the land; and all the sixty sail had certainly fallen into his hands, if the whole body of the Rhegians had not with showers of darts, forced him from the shore, and, by the advantage of a storm (that then arose) hauled up the ships to land. And, though Dionysius fought very valiantly, yet he lost seven gallies, and no less than fifteen hundred men on the Rhegian shore; and, both ships and men being thrown upon the shore by the storm, many of the seamen were taken prisoners by the citizens. The tyrant himself, flying in a vessel of five oars, very narrowly escaped drowning, and landed at length, with much difficulty, about midnight, at the port of Messana: and because winter now drew on, having made a league with the Lucanians, he returned with his army to Syracuse.

After this, the Lucanians made an incursion into the territories of the Thurians; upon which they sent forthwith to their confederates for assistance: for the Greek cities throughout all Italy had agreed together, that if the Lucanians fell upon any one of them, all the rest should come in to the help of them that were so oppressed; and if any city should not have their forces ready to defend them, the chief commanders should be put to death.

As soon, therefore, as the cities had notice by the posts of the march of the enemy, the Thurians all unanimously prepared for the encounter, and hastily and unadvisedly, in an imprudent heat, (not waiting for their confederates),with above fourteen thousand foot and a thousand horse, marched against the enemy.

The Lucanians, hearing of their approach, suffered them to enter into their country: upon which they pierced into Lucania with great violence, and at the first were so successful as that they took a castle, and carried away thence much plunder, which was in truth but as a bait laid in their way for their destruction. For, while they were puffed up and grown high-crested with this success, they contemned the enemy, so far as that they daringly ventured through strait and craggy passages, (through the heat of ambition and covetousness), eager to possess themselves of a city and country so blessed with the fullness of all things as that was; but, as soon as they came into the plain, surrounded with high and steep hills on every side, the Lucanians, coming in with their forces from all parts, intercepted all the passages, leaving them no hopes of return any way; and, shewing themselves on every side from the tops of the hills, the Grecians were struck with great fear and terror, both with the greatness of their army, and the difficulty of the places; for the Lucanians were no fewer than thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. While the Grecians were in this perplexity, unexpectedly surrounded with insuperable danger, the barbarians marched down into the plain,

and battle being joined, the Italians were overpowered by multitude, and above ten thousand of them killed upon the spot, (for the Lucanians gave no quarter, as they were before ordered); the rest fled to a hill near the sea-side, from whence, espying some long ships sailing towards them, hoping that they came from Rhegium, (out of eagerness to save themselves) they leaped into the sea, and some of them, by swimming, got to the ships. But this fleet proved to be ships sent by Dionysius to the assistance of the Lucanians, under the command of Leptines, his brother, who very generously received them that swam, into his ships, and set them all on shore, (being about a thousand, and prevailed with the Lucanians to accept a mina for every man, for their ransom, and he himself engaged for the payment, and so ordered matters among them, that the Lucanians and Italians made peace one with another.

From this time Leptines was in great favour and much esteem with the Italians, having made an end of the war, more to his own, than to the advantage of Dionysius, who was in hopes that, by means of the differences between the Lucanians and the Greeks of Italy, he should be able with much ease to accomplish his designs there; but, if he should make peace, he judged his conquest would be difficult. Therefore he discarded Leptines, and created Thearidas, his other brother, admiral of the fleet. During these transactions, the Romans divided the country of the Veians, distributing to every one four plethra of land, but, as others say, eight-and-twenty. At the same time they made war upon the Equi, and took Liflus by storm. They sent forces, likewise, against the Veliterni*, who had revolted. Satricum, likewise, made a defection, and a colony was sent forth into Certium.

At the close of the year, Antipater was chosen chief governor of Athens, and Lucius Valerius, and Aulus Manlius, were Roman consuls. Now Dionysius, king of Syracuse, declared openly his design of a descent upon Italy, and to that end marched from Syracuse with a numerous army; for he had with him above twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, a navy of forty long ships, or men of war, besides three hundred transport-ships, for carrying of corn and provisions. He arrived at Messana the fifth day, and there refreshed his army; from thence he sent away Thearidas, his brother, with forty sail to the Lipari islands, for it was reported that ten ships of Rhegium lay there; Thearidas, therefore, hastening thither, found out the ships in a place fit for his purpose, and, possessing himself of

* The Volsci, whose chief city was Velitræ.

them, with all their men on board, he forthwith returned to Messana to Dionysius, who delivered the prisoners bound in chains to the custody of the Messanians. Then he transported his forces to Caulonia*, and laid close siege to the city on every side, and battered it with his engines.

But the Greeks in Italy, as soon as they heard of the landing of Dionysius's forces, raised men and got together an army from all parts. Crotona at that time was very populous, and many that fled and that were forced out of Syracuse inhabited there. The chief command and management, therefore, of the war was committed to them, and Heloris the Syracusan was made general of all the forces. He was a valiant man, and they concluded he would be faithful, because he hated the tyrant, who had banished him out of his country. When he had mustered all the confederate army at Crotona, and ordered all things as he thought fit, he hastened away with a swift march towards Caulonia, hoping, by coming upon them suddenly and unexpectedly, he should not only raise the siege, but likewise rout them with ease, being harassed and tired out with their continual toil and labour in assaulting the town. His army consisted of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Having marched the greatest part of the way, he encamped at the river Helorus: thereupon Dionysius drew off from the city to meet the Italians; upon which Heloris, at the head of five hundred of the choicest men in the army, marched before the rest. Dionysius, encamping about forty stages from the enemy, understood by his spies that the Italians drew near; upon which he forthwith, very early in the morning, rouzed his soldiers from sleep, and commanded them to march forward, and, about break of day, fell upon the Helorians, with his army in good order of battle, giving the enemy no time to get into a body: so that Heloris was in a great strait, and, with those he had with him, bore the brunt of the enemy's whole force; but, in the mean time, he sent away some friends to the camp to bring up the rest of the army with all speed, who diligently executed their orders; upon which the Italians, hearing in what hazard their general was, ran in a great hurry to his assistance. But Dionysius, with a well-ordered body of men, doing execution in every place, cut off Heloris and almost all his party, though they fought with great resolution and gallantry. For, the Italians coming in to their help but scattering, and by parties, and the Sicilians (keeping orderly together) easily overcame them. However, the Grecians for some time despised danger, and suffered much,

* Or Caulam, in Locris.

though they saw great numbers of their fellows lie dead upon the spot. But, when they heard of the death of their general, (in great confusion), they trod down and killed one another, and at last, being totally discouraged and out of heart, they fled outright: upon which many were killed up and down in the fields, and the rest betook themselves to a mount sufficiently fortified and very defensible, save that it wanted water. Dionysius blocked up the place with his army, and closely guarded it all that day and the following night; the next day they that were on the hill (being much incommoded by the heat and the want of water) sent a trumpet to Dionysius, that they might have liberty to ransom themselves; who at length (growing moderate in the height of his good fortune) sent them word, that they should lay down their arms, and surrender themselves upon discretion. On return of these harsh and hard terms, they held out for some short time longer; but, being grievously pressed by the necessity of nature, and almost starved, they surrendered themselves about the eighth hour. Dionysius hereupon numbered them as they came down, by striking the ground with a staff, and they amounted to above ten thousand. They were all afraid he would have been as cruel as a wild beast; but he then approved himself the mildest of all men living: for he discharged all the prisoners without ransom, and made peace with them, and suffered the cities to govern according to their own laws: for which great grace and favour he was highly honoured; and his name was so great, that they presented him with golden crowns. And this was the most noble action that ever he did almost throughout his whole life.

From hence he marched with his forces against Rhegium, with a design to besiege it, to be revenged for their slight of him, in denying him a wife from some of their own city. The Rhegians were greatly terrified at his approach, for they had neither confederates nor forces of their own sufficient to cope with him; besides, they foresaw that there was no mercy to be expected, if the city were taken: therefore they sent an ambassador to him, to entreat him to shew them favour, and to use them like men. Upon which he demanded a tribute of three hundred talents, and that they should deliver into his hands all their fleet, (which were seventy in number), and send out to him a hundred hostages, all which terms were agreed to.

Whereupon he moved towards Caulonia, and transported all the inhabitants of that place to Syracuse, and incorporated them into the city, and granted to them freedom from the public taxes for the space of five years. As for Caulonia itself, he razed it to the ground, but

gave the territory to the Locrians. About the same time, the Romans (after the taking of the city Liflus from the Equi) celebrated the stately plays which the consuls had vowed to Jupiter.

After the end of the year, Pyrrhio executed the office of lord-chancellor of Athens the next; and four military tribunes, Lucius Lucretius, Servius Sulpitius, Caius Æmilius, and Caius Rufus, were invested with the consular dignity at Rome. Then was acted the ninety-eighth Olympiad, wherein Sosippus the Athenian carried away the prize. About the same time Dionysius, the prince of Syracuse, entered Hipponium* with his army, and transported all the citizens to Syracuse, and, when he had razed the town, he gave the lands to the Locrians; for he was always very desirous to oblige them, because they so readily complied with him in the business of his marriage. On the other hand, he studied revenge upon the Rhegians for their denial: for, when he sent an ambassador to them, to treat with them to send him a virgin of some of their citizens to be his wife, it is said the Rhegians answered his ambassadors—That he should have none from them, except it were the hangman's daughter. Being highly incensed at this gross abuse, (as he took it to be), he continually studied how to be revenged. For he made not peace with them the year before out of any design of kindness or friendship with them, but only out of a desire he had to possess himself of their fleet of seventy sail. For he knew he could easily take the city, when they could have no aid or assistance by sea. To this end he made several halts, and delayed as much as he could his drawing his forces out of Italy, waiting for some colourable pretence or occasion to break his league with the Rhegians, without any reflection upon his honour. Drawing, therefore, his forces down to the sea-side, he prepares all things necessary for his passage; and then desires that the Rhegians would furnish him with provisions for his army, and he would send them as much back again from Syracuse. His design in this was, that, if they refused to supply him, he thought he might have a just ground to raze their city; and, if they readily answered his request, then, after their corn and provision was spent, (upon laying siege to the town), he might with more ease (through their scarcity of food) possess himself of the place. The Rhegians, not suspecting any thing, for some few days furnished him liberally. But, when he delayed and trifled away the time, sometimes pretending himself sick, and other times framing other excuses, they at length suspected his design, and therefore forbore sending any

* A city of the Brutii, in Italy.

further provision to his camp. Upon which Dionysius, seeming to be much enraged at this affront, returned to them all the hostages, and, encompassing the town round with his forces, assaulted it every day; and, with a great number of engines (of an incredible bigness) so battered the walls, as if they had been shaken by a storm and tempest, so earnest was he to gain the city. The Rhegians, on the other hand, (having made Philo their general), ordered all that were of age and strength to take up arms, and to keep strict guard; and, spying a fit opportunity, they made a vigorous sally, and burnt the enemy's engines; and often skirmished out of the walls with that valour and resolution (to the exasperating of the enemy) that they both lost many of their own, and killed no few of the Sicilians: nay, Dionysius himself was so wounded with a lance about the scrotum, that he was very near losing his life, it being a long time before he recovered. Notwithstanding, though the siege was tedious, and the Rhegians resolved to defend their liberty, yet he employed his soldiers in continual assaults, not in the least receding from his former design and purpose. The Olympic games in the mean time drawing on, he sent to that solemnity many chariots drawn with four horses a-piece, and exceeding swift; and likewise tents glistering with gold, and adorned with rich and various embroideries of admirable workmanship; and with these he sent, likewise, the most skilful singers, to advance his own praise by the reciting of poems composed by himself; for he was (even to madness) given to poetry: and he committed the care and oversight of all these things to his brother Thearidas, (who, when he came to the ground, by the multitude of the chariots, and richness and splendour of the tents and pavilions) attracted the eyes of all the beholders. And, when the singers began to recite the poems of Dionysius, the people at first ran together, and greatly admired the sweet and pleasant airs of the stage-players. But, as soon as they perceived how bad and ballad-like the verses were, they ridiculed Dionysius, and despised him to that degree, that they rifled the tents. Lysias, likewise, the orator, then at Olympia, advised the people that they should not admit any of those procurators, sent by so wicked a tyrant, to have any thing to do with those sacred sports. At which time he made the speech stiled by him the *Olympic Oration*. And now the race began, and it so happened, that the chariots of Dionysius were some of them driven out of the line, others were broken in pieces by dashing one upon another. Neither did the ship prosper better which conveyed the procurators: for, in their return from the games to Sicily, they were forced by the violence of a tempest to Tarentum, a city in Italy.

And it is reported, that when they came to Syracuse they spread it abroad—That the badness of Dionysius's verses had not only disgraced the singers, but prejudiced both the chariots and the ship. However, though he knew that his verses were hissed at, yet still he addicted himself to poetry, being told by his flatterers, that those that envied every thing that was noble and brave, would at length admire what they then despised. At that time the Romans slew a great number of the Volsci in the battle at Gurasum.

CHAP. XIII.

The peace of Antalcidas. The war by the Persians against Evagoras in Cyprus. The miserable condition of Rhegium. Its surrender. The cruel usage of Philo, the governor of Rhegium, and of his son. The expedition of the Gauls against Italy. The Romans routed by the Gauls at the river Allia. Rome taken by the Gauls. The Romans besieged in the Capitol. The Volsci revolt from the Romans. The Gauls routed by Marcus Furius in their return. All cut off afterwards in the plains of Trausium.

WITH these actions the year ended, and now Theodotus was made chief magistrate of Athens; and six military tribunes executed the consular authority at Rome, Quintus Cæsus, Sulpitius Ænos, Cæsus Fabius, Quintus Cervilius*, Publius Cornelius, and Marcus Claudius†. At this time the Lacedæmonians, tired out with the war both against the Greeks and Persians, ordered their admiral Antalcidas to go to Artaxerxes, to strike up a peace. When he had delivered his embassy to the king, he answered, that he would make peace with the Grecians, upon condition that all the Greek cities in Asia should return to their obedience, and that the rest of the Grecians should all govern their cities according to their own laws; and that, if any should stand out, and not submit to these conditions, it should be lawful for him to make war upon them, by those that did agree. These terms were allowed, and so the Lacedæmonians rested from war. But the Athenians and Thebans, with some others,

* Quintus Sulpitius. † Servius Cornelius.

were much vexed, and highly concerned to see the cities of Asia thus betrayed; but, not being able to contend with Persia by their own strength, they were forced to embrace peace upon the same terms.

And now the king, being free from the long and tedious war with the Grecians, he prepared and made ready an army for the Cyprian war. For Evagoras had raised a vast army almost throughout all Cyprus, taking advantage of Artaxerxes's being engaged in a war with the Greeks.

In the mean time Dionysius, having continued the siege of Rhegium now for the space of eleven months, and obstructed all ways and means of relief, he brought the besieged to the utmost extremity, through want of all things necessary: for it is reported that at that time a bushel of wheat was sold for five minas; and the famine was so great, that they first eat up their horses, and then all other beasts of burthen, and at length fed upon boiled skins and leather. And at the last they came out of the town, and, like cattle, began to eat the grass that grew under the walls; so that, to supply nature, they were forced to feed upon those things proper to the beasts of the field, for want of man's ordinary food. When Dionysius heard what the Rhegians did, he was so far from commiserating them, who were sunk in misery below the common condition of mankind, that he added to their affliction, and put in his carriage horses, and other draught cattle, to graze there, where they used to feed, and so ate up all that poor provision which was only left for them. The citizens, being thus overcome by extreme famine, (no longer to be borne), were forced to deliver up themselves and their city to the tyrant's mercy. When he entered, he found heaps of carcases lying in the streets, who had perished for want of bread; and, those that were alive were like walking ghosts, lean, and almost pined away by famine: however, he got together above six thousand prisoners, and sent them to Syracuse, with orders, that whoever paid a mina might be redeemed; and, as for those that were not able, he sold them all for slaves. Philo, the governor, he bound in chains, and caused his son to be hurled into the sea, and fastened Philo himself to the top of one of his highest engines, that the severity of his punishment might be taken notice of by all, and sent one of his guard to tell him, that his son was drowned the day before; to whom Philo answered, that his son was by one day more happy than his father. After this, he ordered him to be whipped through the city, and to be scoffed and scorned, and undergo all sorts of cruelty, a cryer in the mean time making proclamation—That the rascal was so severely dealt with, be-

se he stirred up the city to the war. [illegible] had all along through the siege approved himself a vali[illegible]r, and during his whole life was esteemed and honoured, was not then the least discouraged at death, but, with an un aunted courage, cried out, That he thus suffered because he would not betray the city to Dionysius; however, God would revenge him of the tyrant in a short time. This admirable courage and brave spirit of the man began to work compassion in some of Dionysius's soldiers, so that they began to murmur: upon which Dionysius (being afraid lest Philo should be rescued) left off tormenting him, and ordered the miserable man, with all his kindred, to be drowned in the sea. Thus suffered this worthy man, who deserved much better than to undergo so heavy and dreadful a punishment: and many Grecians there were who grieved at his sad misfortune; and several po[illegible] in after times made elegies upon his mournful and lamentable end.

At the same time when Dionysius lay at the siege of Rhegium, the Gauls who lay beyond the Alps passed over those straits with a numerous army, and possessed themselves of all the country between the Apenine hills and the Alps, driving thence the Tyrrhenians, the natural inhabitants. Some say they were colonies sent thither from twelve cities in Tyrrhenia*; others say they were Pelasgians, who, before the Trojan war, fled out of Thessaly at the time of Deucalion's flood, and settled themselves in these parts. As for the Gauls, they were a people that were divided into several tribes, and dwelt in several countries. Those called the Sinones inhabited the mountain farthest from the sea of all the other mountains, and because the heat was excessive and troublesome to them, they resolved to seek for themselves some more commodious habitations. To this end they sent forth the ablest of their young men, well armed, to find out some other seats, who, making an irruption into Tyrrhenia† with thirty thousand men, wasted and spoiled the territories of the Caulonians.

About this time the Romans sent ambassadors into Tyrrhenia, to gain intelligence what this expedition of the Gauls meant; who, when they came to Clusium, and saw the armies on both sides drawn up in battalia ready to engage, with more valour than prudence, they joined with them of Clusium, and fought with the enemy; and one of the ambassadors by good fortune killed one of the noblest commanders of the Gauls; who, when they heard of it, sent ambassadors to Rome, to require the ambassador who had killed the Gaul to be

* A province in Italy. † Hetruria, rather.

delivered up to them, as one that had begun an unjust war: upon which, the senate would have persuaded the ambassadors to have accepted money in satisfaction of the injury; but, when they refused it, it was decreed that the person should be delivered. Upon this, the father of him who was to be given up into the enemy's hands (being then of consular dignity, and one of the military tribunes, and being likewise very rich, and of great interest and account with the commonalty) referred the decision of the matter to the people, and so easily procured the judgment and decree of the senate to be repealed. From this time the people began to rescind the decrees of the senate, though ever before they always submitted to them.

But the ambassadors of the Gauls returned to their camp, and declared what answer was given them by the Romans: upon which they were in a great rage, and increased their army with new-raised forces out of their own country, and forthwith marched towards Rome with above seventy thousand men.

When the news came to Rome, the military tribunes commanded all that were able to bear arms to list themselves, who, marching out of the city, passed over the Tiber, and came with all their forces unto a river* fourscore furlongs from Rome; where, when they understood that the enemy was near at hand, they drew up their army in this manner: their best soldiers, to the number of four-and-twenty thousand, they posted all along from the river to the hills adjoining, the rest were placed upon the rising grounds. On the other hand, the enemy out-winging the Romans, their strongest and ablest soldiers (whether on purpose or by chance is uncertain) fronted those weaker and inexperienced soldiers on the hills. And now the trumpets on both sides sounded a charge. Whereupon the armies ran one upon another with a great shout; and those Gauls that set upon them that were upon the hills presently cleared the place of them, who fled in great confusion to their own men into the plain; so that by their flight, and the hot pursuit of the Gauls, they broke and disordered their own army, and put them likewise to the run. And, while the greatest part of them made to the river, and in great precipitation and confusion trod down one another, the enemy without intermission killed all still that were in the rear, so that the whole field was covered with dead bodies. Some of the stoutest of those that fled to the river swam over with their arms, prizing them as much as their lives; but many of them (through the violence of the stream, and the weight of their arms) were drowned. Some with great difficulty,

* Allia, ten miles from Rome.

(after they had fled a long way, and in by-paths, with much ado), escaped. However, many (still pursued close by the enemy, who made a great slaughter among them upon the bank of the river) threw away their arms, and swam over the Tiber. And, though the Gauls had cut off so many upon the shore, yet such was their continued rage, that they cast their darts and javelins after them that took the water; and, many darts being hurled amongst shoals of them that were swimming, no small execution was done, so that some were killed forthwith, and others so wounded, that through loss of blood, and strength of the current, they were spent and carried away by the stream.

The greatest number of those that escaped from this sad overthrow of the Romans, fled into Veii, lately ruined by them, and, fortifying the place as well as they could, received the rest that fled thither. Those few who swam the river, and returned unarmed into Rome, related how the whole army was destroyed, which sad news greatly amazed all those that were left in the city: for, the strength and flower of the citizens being now cut off, they looked upon themselves unable in the least to resist; and besides, to aggravate their misery, it seemed to them impossible to fly, with their wives and children, without the greatest hazard imaginable, the enemy being so near. Therefore, many of the ordinary sort removed, with their whole families, to the neighbouring towns and villages; but the city magistrates, encouraging the people, ordered that victuals and all other necessaries should be brought into the capitol; by which means both the castle and capitol were filled not only with meat and provisions, but with silver and gold, and all sorts of rich garments and attire, goods of all kinds throughout the whole city being heaped together in this one place; for they had but three days time to remove what was moveable, and to fortify the place: for the Gauls spent the first day (according to the custom of their country) in cutting off the heads of those that were slain; the other two days they lay quiet in their camp, now close to the city: for, when they discerned that the walls were left bare and undefended, and yet heard a confused noise (occasioned by the bringing in of household goods, and other things useful into the capitol) they suspected some stratagem was designing against them. But the fourth day, when they came to understand the truth, they broke down the gates, and laid all the city in rubbish, except a few houses upon Mount Pallatine: and though afterwards they pressed upon them in the capitol with continual assaults, yet they within suffered little by it, but many of the Gauls perished. However, they stuck close to the siege, hoping, though they could

not gain the place by force, yet at least in time, when all the provisions and victuals were spent, they might possess themselves of the fort.

While the Roman affairs were thus perplexed, the Tuscans, their neighbours, made an incursion with a great army into their territories, and wasted and destroyed all before them. But, when they had got many prisoners, and much spoil and plunder into their hands, the Romans that had fled to Veii set upon them on the sudden, and put them to flight, and not only recovered all the spoil, but likewise possessed themselves of all their tents: and by this means, being furnished with a great number of arms, they armed their fellow-soldiers, who hitherto were unarmed since the late defeat, and got together a company of country-fellows from several parts, and armed them likewise: for they had a design to raise the siege of the capitol, but were most perplexed and concerned how to give notice of their purpose to the besieged, in regard the Gauls so straitly blocked it up. Upon this, one Pontius Caminius undertook to get into the capitol; to which end he passed on himself alone, and privately in the night swam over the river, and, ascending a steep rock of the capitol with great difficulty, drew himself up, and so came to the besieged, and acquainted them that they of Veii were in a body, and that they intended to fall upon the Gauls upon the first opportunity; and, having delivered his message, he returned to Veii the same way he came. But when the Gauls perceived, by the impressions of a man's feet, that some person had lately passed that way into the castle, they determined to attempt to make an entry by climbing the rock in that part: and to that end, about midnight (the guards being careless, trusting to the strength of the place) some of the Gauls got up to the top, and were not taken notice of by the watch; but the geese dedicated to Juno, that fed there, (seeing them appear above the walls) presently made a great gaggling and noise, which so alarmed the watch, that they all ran to the place: upon which the Gauls, now betrayed and affrighted, durst not proceed any farther.

In the mean time that famous man Marcus Manlius, hastening to the defence of the place, cut off the hand of a Gaul as he was raising himself to recover the wall, and, by a thrust in his breast with the boss of his buckler, cast him down headlong from the top of the rock; and another being destroyed after the same manner, the rest in all haste retired; and, because the rock was very steep, (being in a great terror and amazement), they all miserably perished. The Romans hereupon sending ambassadors to them to treat upon terms

of peace, obtained it upon these conditions—That upon receiving a thousand pound weight of gold, they should leave the city, and depart out of the Roman territories.

After this, because the houses were destroyed, and many of the citizens killed, the Romans gave leave to every one that would, to build, and roofed and covered all the houses at the public charge, which were therefore ever after to this day called the public houses. And because every man built according to his own humour, where he pleased, the streets were made very narrow and crooked, which (notwithstanding the riches of the city) in succeeding times could never be reformed. Some have reported, that the Roman matrons gave all their golden ornaments for the redeeming of their country; for which they have this honour allowed them, that they may at any time be carried in chariots through the city.

The Romans being thus impoverished and brought low by the late calamity, the Volsci took the advantage, and raised arms against them. Upon which, the consular tribunes got their forces together, and marched out into the *Campus Martius* (as it is called) and encamped about two hundred stages from the city. The Volsci far exceeded the Romans in number, and set upon their camp: upon which the senate, much concerned for them in the field, made Marcus Furius dictator, who ordered the young men in the city to take up arms, with whom he marched out in the night, and came upon the backs of the Volsci, (when they were very busy and intent in assaulting the Romans), and easily put them to flight: upon which, they within the camp sallying out, the Volsci by this means were hemmed in on every side, and almost all cut off. And thus this nation, who were before a strong and potent people, by this overthrow were brought extremely low, and weaker than any of the nations round about them.

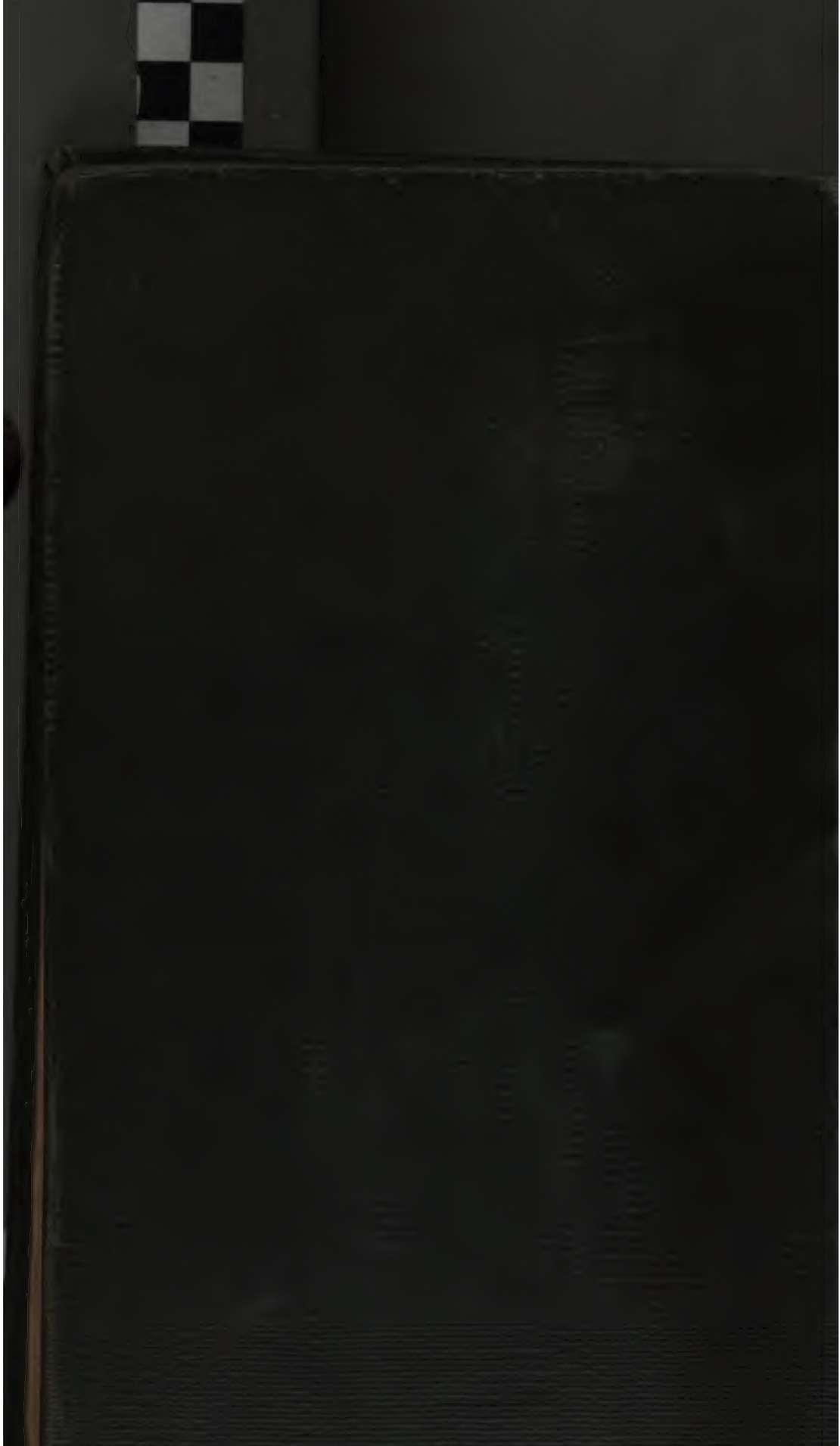
The dictator afterwards, hearing that Bola was besieged by the Æqui, marched thither, and killed most of the besiegers. Thence he moved to Sutrinum*, a colony of the Romans, but then possessed by the Æqui, and, falling upon them on the sudden, he made a great slaughter among them, and restored the city to them of Sutrinum.

About this time the Gauls, in their march from Rome, besieged Veascus, a confederate city of the Romans; upon which the dictator marched against them, fought, and routed them, and seized their bag and baggage, amongst which was the gold weighed at Rome,

* Sutrium.

and recovered almost all the prey and plunder they had gained in taking of the city. And, though he had performed all this good service, yet the tribunes of the people, through envy, denied him a triumph. Yet some relate that he did triumph in a chariot drawn by four white horses for the victory over the Tuscans, and within two days after was fined by the people in a great sum of money, which we shall mention hereafter in its proper place.

Those Gauls that went to Japygium, designed to return through the Roman territories; but the Cerii laid an ambush for them in the night, and cut them all off in the plains of Trausium.

Callisthenes the historian began his Grecian memoirs from this year, wherein the peace was made between the Grecians and Artaxerxes, and ended them with the year the temple of Delphos was taken and rifled by Philomelus the Phocian, comprehending an account of affairs for the space of thirty years in ten books. And now, being come to the peace between Artaxerxes and the Greeks, and the danger threatened to Rome by the Gauls, according to our purpose at the beginning, we shall put an end to this book.

END OF VOL. I.